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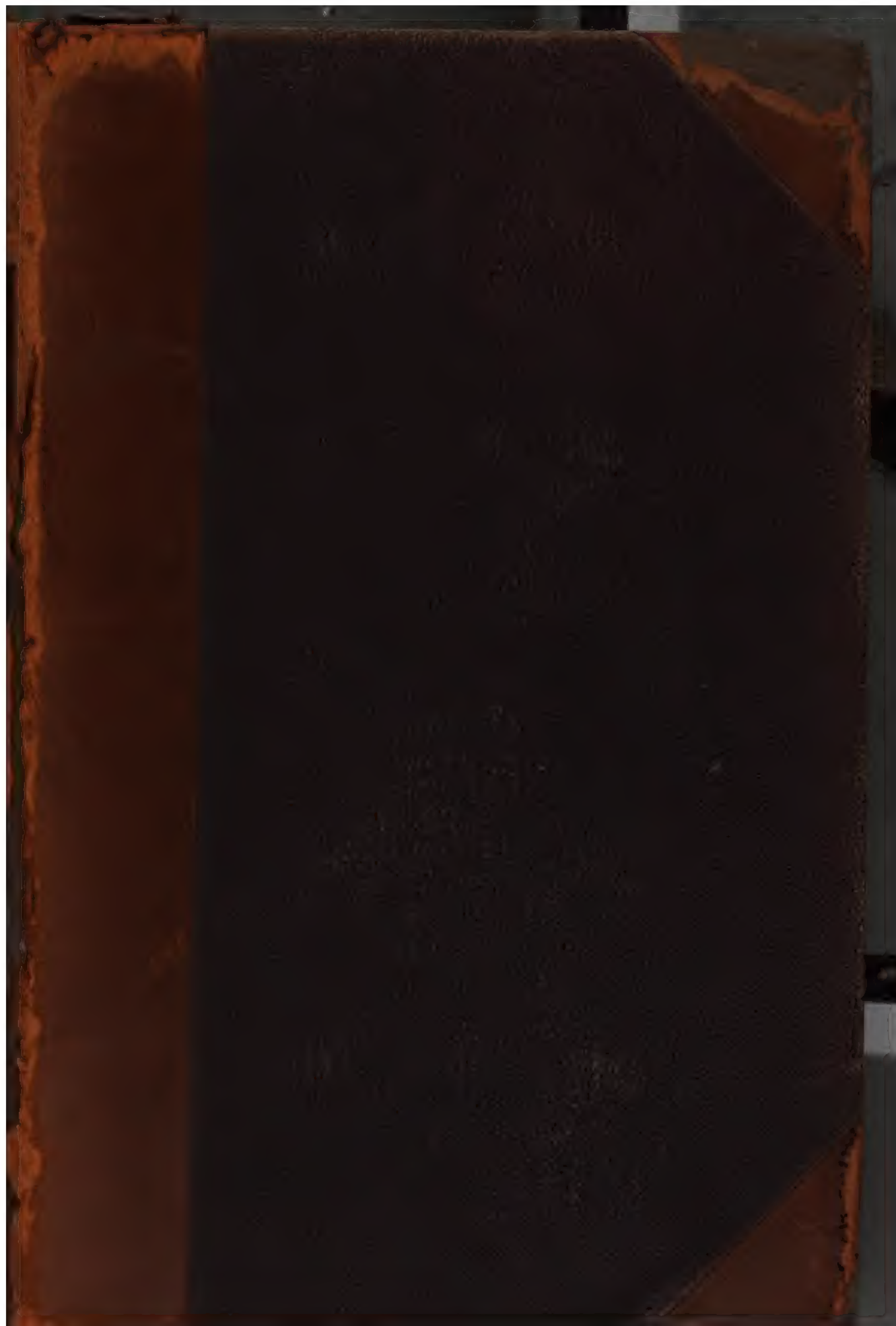
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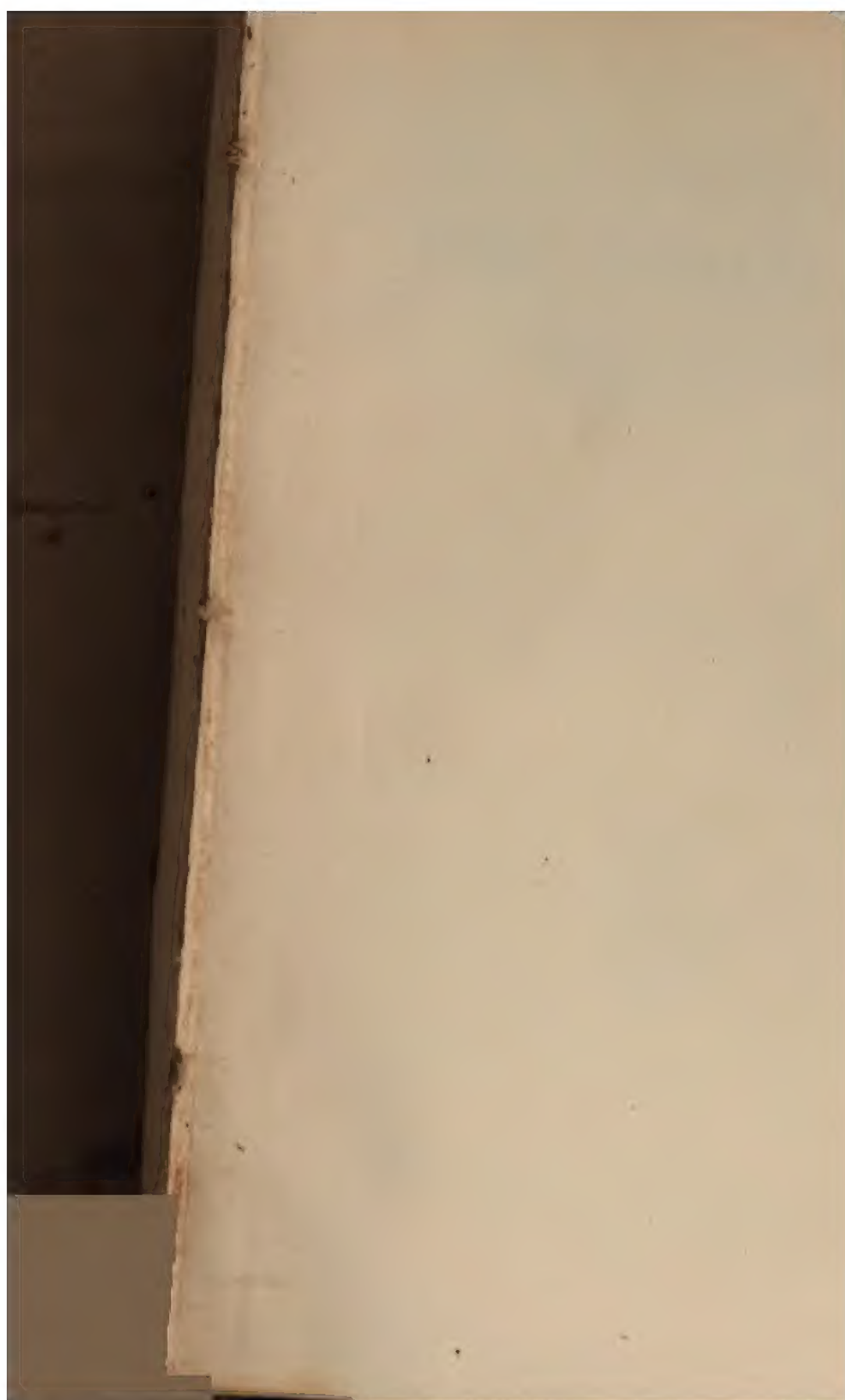
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PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

JOTTINGS IN FRANCE IN SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

PARIS looked grey and dull this year in the last days of August and the first week of September. Indeed, we have seen an amount of bad weather there at different times, wet, cold, windy, snowy, such as would have ruined the reputation of any English town. But it is always useful as well as agreeable to praise oneself, and Paris has done this to such good effect, that the world at large believes that her climate is as pleasant as some other of her characteristics.

The town looks less picturesque at every fresh visit, for the piercing of new streets increases yearly, and they are all built in the true boulevard style, with high *mansarde* roofs and gables in them, all of the same height and pattern, the long lines of windows and mouldings running straight through from end to end, without a break, with monotonous regularity, evidently constructed by the acre. Old Paris was a triumph of individualism even five-and-twenty years ago; every house had been built at some time by somebody according to his own taste and fancy—to live in, not to sell. It had an idiosyncrasy of its own, resulting from the individual thought and requirements of the owner, differing in each. A few old streets remain of the old picturesque fashion, and we passed through one or two on our road to the Lyons Station. Here is a house, two stories high, red brick, with a great deal of colour in the lower half, grey stone ornaments over each window, and an arched doorway with some rich old ironwork in it. Alongside stands a lofty neighbour of five storeys, with balconies at the top, full of trailing nasturtiums and scarlet geraniums, a bower of green wreaths showing against a dark brown roof, and *pignons sur la rue* with round-headed windows set in blunt triangular gables. Next comes some good plaster work in panels between the pilasters of the architraves, while opposite rises the pediment of the old Hôtel de Sully,

with boldly carved entablatures and emblazonments in stone, the great *porte-cochère* opening into an inner court, where, on the flights of steps and balustrades and "rustic" masonry, stand pots of large oleanders and pomegranates. Every house has its own physiognomy instead of being turned out by the gross; but, then, there is the consolation (or the reverse) that each street can now be swept by cannon in case of a great row or a revolution, and that a gun planted at the Hôtel de Ville can command the whole line of the Rue de Rivoli down to the Place de la Concorde!

Two hundred miles of dead flat (with the exception of the pretty hills round Fontainebleau) carried us through the centre of France from Paris to Dijon, that "ugly picture in a beautiful frame," which must always be traversed, in whatever direction the country is crossed.

We passed much undrained ground, with bulrushes and coarse grass, much ragwort and weeds of all sorts, tracts of frowzy land, low lying and marshy, or high lying and bare, evidently not worth cultivation by the small proprietors when it lay far away from their dwellings. The melancholy-looking villages stand a good way apart on both sides the line, quite unaffected by the railroad; their one-storied houses, with deep brown, almost black, tiled roofs, looked like barns, with hardly any chimneys, dilapidated, wretched, with no new constructions of any kind to be seen, except at the railway stations. There are no "better-most" houses among them, but all of one low-level character, with a miserable little church in the midst, generally hardly bigger or better than the buildings round it. Not an atom of ornament or even a gable was to be seen, and the houses grow, as it were, out of the bare ground, without a scrap of flower-garden or so much as a path up to the doors. There were hardly any by-roads, only the one *chaussée*, so that everybody must cross everybody else's land to cultivate their own plots. In the excessive subdivision these plots lie very separate, and one owner will often possess ten or twelve pieces of half or even a quarter of an acre, each of which has to be ploughed and harrowed, planted and manured separately. The enormous amount of labour expended, and the small return of grain is very striking, less than half the crops which are gathered in England, according to Mr. Caird. And this though the climate is so much better than our own, as might be seen by the maize and the vines, while the average of the soil is certainly as good. The women were carrying great weights, working bare-headed in the fields, washing bare-legged in the streams, driving the rude ploughs, &c., which always shows a low ebb of civilization. Not a machine was to be seen the whole way, except one for making hay, half way to Dijon; indeed, such small owners cannot afford them.

The supply of firewood was very scanty, and came from afar—faggots and trunks of trees, of which the largest measured about eight or ten inches in diameter. The peasants cannot afford to keep forest land, which entails long waiting for the profit of the produce, and the

woods belong to the few large proprietors at great distances apart. Indeed, these are few and far between, for after passing Fontainebleau we only saw two *châteaux* from the railway. They both stood high, with some terraces and ornamental trees about them and their *dépendances*. Else the excessive monotony of the open flat country, unbroken by a single division or hedge, and without a tree, except the rows of miserable polled black poplars, was extremely depressing. When once we came upon a group of three large horse-chestnuts and elms, the first and last we saw in 150 miles, their beautiful rich round outlines were a joy to the eye, wearied with the sight of green brooms in long lines. Thousands of French peasants can never have seen a real tree in their whole lives.

The look of the houses, with the *persiennes* of the one best room always closed, is very dismal, and the holes left for scaffold-poles in the walls when building, not filled up, gives them an unfinished gaunt appearance. Altogether the country looked grave, grey, dull, decaying, and the population is everywhere stationary, in some places diminishing. A dreary life "*Jacques Bonhomme*" seems to lead in central France. I asked about the dancing in one place. "*O! on a aboli tout ça!*" was the answer; there is a ball sometimes at Christmas in the towns, but none of the old dancing on Sundays, only hard work. Yet, I remember, as a child, hearing a peasant ditty—

"C'est demain dimanche,	que les filles dansent
Les garçons vont les prier,	Mademoiselle, voulez-vous danser?
Une contredanse,	le pied sur la planche
En avant, chasser croiser,	un tour de main et balancer"—

which showed a different state of things.

We have not seen a gate for nearly 300 miles, and although hedges in the north of France and walls in the south are left to mark out the divisions (often into the smallest of fields), great gaps are left to pass from one to the other, so that the cows require a guardian to keep them to their duties. A cow, indeed, is a fine lady, who never goes out without her man or maid, by whom she is taken for a browsing of a couple of hours or so, in the morning and afternoon, and no one seemed to mind any beasts but his own. A flock of sheep, with a shepherd and two wolf-like dogs watching them, was a new sight. The last time we had noticed it was near Amiens.

The scene changed when we came near Dijon. "France" is a big word, and to talk as if any generalization held good from the Manche to the Mediterranean is, of course, even more absurd than to speak of Kent and Caithness as alike, because they are both British.

Vineyards cover the rounded hills of the Côte d'Or, the red and black loam of which produces the valuable Burgundy wines. The crop, however, is a very expensive and "chancey" one. Ten or twelve per cent. is made in a good year, but in a bad one hardly anything, while occasionally it is a positive loss; then the small owner must borrow or beg. The best growths are in the hands of large proprietors, chiefly

wine-merchants, but there is a great deal of common Burgundy grown on little patches of ten to twenty *journal*s.* The bad years of late have been many and trying, the phylloxera has invaded the country, although it is not so bad as in some parts; two and a-half per cent. was all that could be counted upon, taking everything into consideration. The men who work for hire are paid generally in kind; if in money, about four francs a day in the vineyards at this season.

Dijon, the capital of the old civilization of the south-east of France, is full of old memories and old monuments of "les Princes des bons vins," as her sovereigns were called; but everything was defaced at the Great Revolution, and grievously mutilated. The Chartreuse has been levelled to the ground, where were the magnificent monuments of the Dukes of Burgundy, altar tombs on which lie grand colossal figures of Philippe le Hardi, 1404, and his son, Jean sans Peur, with his wife, Margaret of Bavaria, 1419, called "the finest specimen of mediæval art north of the Alps." They lie with their hands raised to heaven, "in their habits as they lived," and coloured like life. The heads are very fine, individual, and full of character; they were only saved by being pulled to pieces and buried. They have now been stuck together and placed in the Museum, and the tearing them out of the associations for which they were designed, the breaking-up of the setting of which they were the centre, has so spoilt the poetry and sentiment of the tombs, that they have nearly lost their savour and sunk to the level of the "curios" which surround them—"dried head of a cannibal from the Feejee Islands," "fetish of an African king," &c.; and when we came to the "cast of the skull" of the fierce old Jean himself, taken out of his grave, the force of disenchantment could no farther go.

The ancient Palais de Justice has nearly been improved away. The rage for destruction in France has been greater than in any other country: to wipe out the past, to begin again from the very bottom of the edifice, seems to be the chief object of the national existence. The old dynasties, the old institutions, the buildings, are levelled or improved out of all knowledge; the very names of the streets in Paris must be changed in each fresh revolution, to satisfy the instinct for getting rid of all that differs from the colour of the prevailing opinion of the moment. There is no reason why in a dozen more years a succeeding wave will not have washed away all the handiworks of the present generation of busy workers, like the sand forts and gardens of children on the sea-shore, or rather there is every reason to expect it. Each, however, is equally fierce in its conviction that it has hold of the whole truth and nothing but the truth, and that all who differ are either scoundrels or fools, probably both at once. The lilies of France can be traced on the scutcheons, under the red cap of "Liberté, égalité et fraternité" of 1793—the Bees of Napoleon again over the signs of the Republic—more lilies, Louis Philippe's cocks, more "fraternités," more Bees, more repub-

* A *journal* is three quarters of an acre.

lies, red and other, carved or painted over doors of national monuments, at the corners of squares, in frescoed ceilings. Everywhere may be traced crumbled idols, dead enthusiasms, extinct beliefs, emblems of rallying cries that rally no longer. "Tout passe, tout casse, tout lasse," is a truly French feeling.

When a tree or a constitution has roots in the soil and gradually grows and develops, the changes may be great, but there will be a certain harmony in its whole character, it is possible to calculate the course it will take; but if it is cut down and another planted every twenty years or so, who can say what the next tree of liberty may turn out to be? The waste of energy is enormous in this perpetual reconstruction. History has no lessons for a people which has thus deliberately broken with its past, whose sole idea of improvement is to make *terre raze* and build from the foundation. "Aucun de nous connaît son père, nous sortons tous de dessous le pavé," said Cousin one evening at Madame Mohl's, in despair at the want of continuity in French politics, ideals, and institutions.

The elections were just over, and the papers full of skits upon them. A conversation between an elector and his representative began with—

"Are you going to diminish the taxes? They are heavier now than they were under the Empire."

"No, but we hope to *supprimer le Sénat*."

"Why, what harm have they done, poor souls?"

"Oh, they would not have the *scrutin de liste* as we bade them."

"But why mayn't they have their opinion as well as the Deputies?"

"Oh, because we are right and they are wrong."

"But what we want is will you diminish the taxes?"

"No, but we hope to *supprimer le Président*" . . . and so on.

There was great discontent at the war in Tunis and the manner in which it was being conducted; all the mistakes committed in '70 were being repeated, as to the bad commissariat, the sanitary arrangements, or rather the want of them, the enormous cost and the little results obtained; a credit of five millions had been taken, and treble the amount spent already, with nothing to show for it. "The war has broken up this Ministry," said a shrewd Frenchman: "and, if it goes on as it has begun, it will do more. The Mexican war was the beginning of the end for the Emperor, and this may be so for this form of the Republic." "They dare not send Chanzy, our best soldier, to Tunis, they are so afraid of his return as a triumphant general and military dictator." "But it has been very useful to them to get rid of a great many inconvenient persons," laughed another, "and they have broken up the regiments and despatched awkward customers with great effect out of the way of mischief at home."

The tremendous speculation, the want of preparation for action, only discovered when *munitions de guerre* and soldiers were called for in earnest, were all quite as bad as under the Empire. And there was

a very unpleasant connection between the financial enterprises, the Enfida railroad, &c. &c., which had been encouraged by Government, and the sending out of troops to enforce their claims.

When Gambetta is once Minister, he will soon fall in reputation; no man can ever long survive that ordeal in France. The Republic devours her children fast; the people demand impossible success, and when a man has failed and fallen from office, it is not, as in England, to win again in more favourable circumstances, but he is swept off the stage like so much rubbish, "and falls, like Lucifer, never to rise again." How many Ministries have there been since 1870? There have been ten different French Ambassadors in London during that time.

We found many American travellers in the hotels. Vulgarity is very amusing when it is French or German, it is part of the day's experience; but when it speaks English one feels a sort of unpleasant responsibility for it. Blood is thicker than water, and the vulgarity of one's own family, even far-away members of it, is certainly depressing. One is not proud of "calling cousins" with the usual travelling specimens of the United States. We came in from looking at the fine old church of St. Benigne in the twilight, when an exceedingly well-dressed lady followed us from the same place. "What did you see?" said her friends. "There were no shops, and I felt so lonesome that I came back," she said, with a twang enough to electrify one. Her neighbour replied by a long dissertation on the relative advantages of gathers and flounces, and it seemed strange to have taken the pains to come 4,000 miles to discuss problems, important no doubt, but which might quite as well have been followed up at home. In the *lirres des voyageurs* were "observations" for the enlightenment of mankind, such as, "Mr. and Mrs. — from Massachusetts. Pears here very good, the best we have had since reaching Europe;" which combined the advantage of a hit at the poor Old World and a trumpet blast in honour of the New, even if it were only in the matter of pears. Why do such people take the trouble to come? They must be rich, or they could not afford the expense. In the old society such an amount of wealth implied a certain amount of culture, and to travel so far a certain sprinkling of knowledge and interest in Art; but these have neither, and it was evidently very dull work to them* and to many others we met. Indeed, the head of this very party, an old man, after his womankind left him and he was free to behave as he liked, nearly put out his jaw with his fearful yavrus, accompanied by an inarticulate howl of ennui, louder and more hideous than I ever heard.

We went to look at the old inn of La Cloche, under whose narrow archway II — once safely steered the diligence more than fifty years ago. The postilion had fallen off his horse, dead drunk, several miles

* In the novels of Mr. James, no harsh judge of his country women, several of his heroines go through all the galleries and palaces in Europe, and return home having seen nothing and without troubling themselves to be ashamed of the fact.

from the town, II—— jumped into the jack boots which were as usual strapped to the stirrup leathers, and succeeded in bringing the five horses into the courtyard of the hotel without damage to his very unwieldy equipage (though the glory ought no doubt to be shared by the horses).

The vineyards do not extend far beyond Dijon. The grape cultivation is everywhere extremely local, and ends suddenly where the limestone hills and sunny aspect come to an end. In spite of the associations connected with the word, it is a frightful crop; the dwarf plants, pruned to an unsightly stock and trained to short stakes which bristle over the hills, can never be otherwise than ugly, while the subdivisions are even greater than with other kinds of produce, and give an uncomfortable jerky look. Then the long flat plain began again for another fifty or sixty miles, when at last a more southern look came over the land, which could hardly be put into words, the roofs became warmer in tint and flatter in pitch, there were walnut groves in the fields, a general new atmosphere of beauty, as the rising hills in the horizon grew nearer every step, and there seemed a feeling of mountains in the air. "Mais les blés ont très mal réussi, nous avons été grillés pendant deux mois, et à présent nous sommes noyés; il y a beaucoup de misère," we heard. "It is only because the French have such small families, and the population is absolutely stationary, that the peasant proprietors can live," said a very intelligent Swiss who knew the country round Lyons well. At Ambérieu the railway enters a narrow valley with lofty walls of rock closing in with Tors like those at Matlock, a rapid stream at the bottom and picturesque villages hanging over it with projecting wooden balconies. Vineyards were creeping up the stony slopes. The vines will grow where nothing else can cling; pinned to the rock with scarcely any soil, they seem to bask in the sun's rays, scorching through them till the grapes are baked into ripeness, where other things would be shrivelled by the heat. "They will flourish where even weeds die," is a sort of proverb, and the hard gravel of some of the best Médoc *crus* is notorious.

Then vegetation died away, and the grey steep cliffs were as naked as their rugged Scotch and Welsh compeers. As night came on we could see the warm light dying away on the upper summits of the crags above, the valley of the Jura grew wilder and wilder, and the moon began to shine on a misty world. Then came a flood of moonlight on the little lake of Bourget among its narrowing mountains, and we reached Aix-les-Bains.

We had pouring rain for nearly a week. The town is huddled up on a precipitous slope round the hot sulphur waters which are its *raison d'être*. The small close streets climb the steep hill, with tall houses shutting out light and air. There is never any wind, and an abundance of smells. But some of the prettiest scenery in Europe is to be found within a walk. The vines were no longer pruned close and mangled, but trailing from tree to tree, their lovely festoons hung now with purple

grapes, above plots of bright green large-leaved maize, loads of which were dragged about by picturesque mouse-coloured oxen, while this poetic foreground was backed by steep mountain sides—the Dent du Chat, 5,000 feet high, just opposite—and the beautiful little lake beyond.

Still the rain poured on, the town was full to the roof-trees, and the only rooms we could get were in what was called a *chalet*, in the garden of one of the great hotels. Night and day the rain pattered round us, on mimosas, bigonias, oleanders, altheas of many colours, and all sorts of lovely plants, without stirring a leaf; it was like living in a steaming greenhouse. Each day, after having been parboiled at the baths, we crept up through the dripping trees to the various *tables d'hôte* under umbrellas, and came back under the same. And on these rainy evenings the 150 guests of our hotel, who would otherwise have gone to the concerts and *cercles*, crowded solemnly (as far as consisted with the law that two bodies cannot occupy the same space) into a couple of small *salons*. Some sat on the ground, some balanced themselves on the edge of the furniture, while the men stood smoking in the passages and halls; the infinite boredom of the whole was indescribable. The only amusement was to watch the specimens of real watering-place growth, women who devised a fresh toilette each day, picking the astonishing flowers out of one astonishing hat and sticking them into another, varying the decorations with superhuman ingenuity. One day, however, there came some real bouquets, eclipsed and dulled by their magenta rivals. "I would not wear natural flowers with the others, they look so dowdy!" said my companion, in irreverent laughter at effects planned with such pains and success. The occupants of the hats flirted and gambolled (and gambled also); they laughed, they ogled, they talked, in perfect harmony with their attire, and were quite worth seeing as curious natural phenomena.*

We changed our quarters five times in vain attempts to better ourselves in a sanitary point of view, and could now graduate in a profound knowledge of smells. There is the open-air, honest farmyard smell; the stable smell, more suspicious and closed up; the faint and sickly smell, suggestive of low fever; the insidious underhand smell, which only comes out when windows and doors are closed against rain or cold; the boisterous, tyrannical smell, which keeps no terms, and is always present and asserting itself; the gas smell; the burnt-fat smell, where the ghosts of five daily *tables d'hôte* rise in evidence against the eaters; and there is, finally, the combined result of all these together, in which Aix may be said to revel.

The arrangements for the baths are very good, where *douches*, from

* One of the bye laws of the Casino gives a pleasant little peep into French family life. It is so much the fashion for daughters-in-law to accompany their sick mothers-in-law, that a special privilege is allotted to them. They (as well as the *filles* are allowed, in reward of their virtue, to go to all balls and concerts at half-price! I was fortunate enough to be in the fashion.

the hot river which wells out of the earth, and cold ones, alternately, are fired at the unhappy patient, and the shampooing and rubbing and steaming is carried on by *baigneuses* in exceedingly scanty clothing, by reason of the excessive heat. One could not help remembering Lady M. Wortley Montagu's evidence in the Turkish baths, borne out by all the dwellers among African and Indian unclothed races, that, when the whole body is seen, the enormous preponderating interest of the face diminishes. The general effect of good proportion in the whole form counterbalances the want of beauty in the head, which becomes merely an item of many parts, and this, even when fair, does not compensate for an ill-constructed body accompanying it. My two *baigneuses*, stalwart, strong "daughters of the plough," easy in their violent action, had limbs which were well worth drawing,—one oldish woman with grandchildren, one young with babies. They are up and hard at work by three in the morning, during the season, when they begin with the hospital patients, and go on until twelve, and again in the afternoon for two hours, always wet from head to foot, and in incessant motion; but they do not suffer, and are only sorry when the dead time comes round. "I am never ill but in winter, when there is nothing doing!" said one of them, laughing; but, then, they are well-paid and have plenty to eat. / In general, the sickly worn look of the women, and even of the men in the fields, was very striking; they are underfed and overworked, said our doctor friend. They are frugal almost to a fault, eat little but rye bread, which often brings on illnesses peculiar to itself,—"*des étourdissements, des fièvres,*" when touched by ergot. They do not drink their own wine, and only the buttermilk from their own cows. He said that the *morcellement* of land is so great, and the mortgages on it so heavy, that the peasants cannot live on the produce of the plots; in a bad year they were reduced to starvation, there is much begging and a great deal of private charity. "My mother generally has to keep alive four or five families in the winter, and often asks me for a sack of corn." "They lead hard lives in the villages," said every one.

The weakly look of the children is sad to see; the doctor said the mothers were forced to go out to work and could not take proper care of them; and that all sorts of want of health proceeded from the want of care; the number of accidents, burns, &c., was dismal.

The weather cleared, and we took one beautiful drive after another, one day we went over a hogs'-back, with the vines trailing from tree to tree (generally the supports were of live maples), no fences anywhere, up a steep ascent with views of the valley below, and great walnut groves among the houses on the hill. On the summit level, where the ground plunged suddenly down to the lake on the other side, and was clothed with very fine old chestnuts, stood a farmhouse, a solid stone building, rather large, a little distance from the road. We turned up the muddy path to it, past a stable which formed the first half, where an old woman, filthy, ragged, and bare-legged, was washing amongst the dirt heaps. We picked our

way through puddles of manure to an open door where the mistress was churning. She was very gracious in reply to all our questions. The room was large and very high, quite up into the rafters of the roof; the floor was of earth, like the ground outside, without any attempt at levelling it; washing was quite out of the question, and even to sweep it was almost impossible, as there was a step down into the house. The beds were in a sort of inner recess, hardly to be called a room; a few large broken chests, a wretched table, and some broken-down chairs, comprised the whole of the furniture, while the chickens were running in and out chirping. The woman, barefoot, in a dirty torn cotton petticoat and jacket, a tumbled head of hair that was evidently never touched by comb or brush, had five children as squalid as herself and a sixth just arriving. It was a scene of misery and discomfort, such as one never could find in England except in absolute destitution. Yet she and her husband hired the large vineyard in front of the house, a field for hay, another for maize, &c., ten *journaux* (about eight acres) from the *grosse maitresse* who lived next door, in a house as wretched as their own. (She was out that afternoon, so we could not see her.) They had three cows and two oxen "to work the earth." The rent consisted in half the produce; and she thought it the best plan for them in such chancey years as these last had been. The ground was very good; they had tried their luck elsewhere, and had just returned to their old home. Did they drink the milk? "Oh, no, except the children sometimes," she said, as if it were a crime; she made butter and sent it to Aix, three miles off. They drank a little buttermilk? "Oh, no, we have no meat, certainly not!" Or wine? "No, they sold it. The children ate the grapes sometimes, but they were not yet ripe." The dreadful old woman was her mother, who had come up to help her to wash. "They were hard times," she said; and sickly, worn, haggard, ugly, and unkempt as she was, with her house as wretched as herself, she would have been supposed to be in the lowest dregs of poverty in England.

We drove on through the chestnut trees to where the valley opened at the head of the lake. The view was exquisite; a great mass of lilac mountains with jagged edges and points rose against the sky, marked out by delicate shadows and pale golden lights, a pass on one side leading to the Grande Chartreuse, and an opening on the other to Chambery, over which the snow tops of the Alpes Maritimes could just be seen, and the usual foreground of vines and maize. The reflections of the mountains in the lake were almost too perfect, as we passed close to its shore along what had once been the railway. An improved line was made by the French after the annexation, and was presented as a *bonne bouche* to Aix to reconcile their subjects to the new yoke. Pools with white water-lilies lay on one side, and ragged children, after wading up to their middles to gather them, were running after us to offer them for a *sou*.

The extreme variety of the drives was remarkable. We drove north

another day, by a glorious bit of country ; where the highway of the olden time wound up and down through little villages surrounded by vineyards—with tall walnuts overshadowing, branching old chestnuts stood in the fields, the patches of haricots, of maize, hemp, bright green grass to be cut for the stall-fed cows, were in little plots, looking like allotments in size, and some mulberries, but the disease in the silkworm has ruined the "industry" of silk. The great bunches of purple grapes, the figs, the standard peach-trees (which, by-the-by, are very ragged ugly bushes), altogether made a most idyllic picture, and nothing could be more exquisite than the background on both sides, with vineyards terraced wherever there was holding room, and peeps at the little still lake, with a lilac haze over it, and the grim point of the Dent du Chat over all. So much for the outward, not so for the human part ; the smells, as we drove between the picturesque houses, with their overhanging roofs and balconies and outward stairs, the stone archways into filthy courts, were almost overpowering ; the children, barefoot, pale, and sickly, were wallowing in the dirt ; the women, stunted and ugly, were dragging little carts, cutting grass, labouring in the fields. Some were stripping the leaves from ash boughs for the cattle to eat ; one, with a great load of grass on her head, was toiling up a steep path, her husband following after, carrying nothing ; they had been cutting weeds in an ill-kept vineyard, and he had loaded this his beast of burden with the results, which would be used to feed the cows. A little further on, and the perpendicular cliffs, dipping into the lake, seemed to bar all further progress. The deep green water, in which the reflections of the upper world were shining and which were almost more beautiful than the originals, here, however, drew back a little, and we crept round the headland, on which grew great bunches of *Rhus Cotinus*, which I had never before seen wild. We reached a village beyond, where the wine was said to be the best in the country, and the fruit the finest ; the peaches and figs, indeed, furnish Aix, where they will hardly ripen ; while all was divided into small plots. Here, evidently, we had reached Arcadia—the fruitful soil, the delicious climate, the good market for the produce close at hand, the excessive beauty, peace, and apparent plenty, and peasant proprietorship in perfection. We walked about while the horse was baiting, the stone houses of the little hamlet were set at every imaginable angle, creeping up the steep side of the mountain from the lake ; picturesque was no adequate word for the large grey buildings with their many outward stairs, the trailing vines covered with grapes hanging over their doors, the great eaves, and the bright lights and flickering shadows cast by the broad leaves of the tall walnuts, while a pair of mouse-coloured oxen were dragging the broad green maize leaves from a plot above. The inhabitants were generally in the fields ; but at last we found some open doors. The first house we entered turned away from the sun and the view into the narrowest of lanes, opposite a barn ; the room would have been quite dark, for the tiny window was so

blocked and dirty that it gave no light, but that two sticks were flaming in the large open fireplace, the uneven mud floor was the same as we saw everywhere, a broken press, some dirty sacks, two chairs, nothing else was in the place. The owner was a widow with two grandsons, she had a cow and a heifer on the mountain, a piece of vineyard and of maize, and a bit of land, "*où il y a un peu de tout*," hemp, beans, hay for forage, &c. Hideous, dirtier even than her floor, with the usual blue cotton torn jacket and petticoat and bare feet and legs, she was a most repulsive-looking creature, and begged for a *sou*.

We wanted to see a winepress, and were directed to the next house, where steep stone steps led up to three living rooms, all upstairs above the stable and outhouse. The "house-place" looked like the extremely untidy loft of an ill-kept barn, with bits of rotten wood, odds and ends of rope, and heaps of straw lying about. A few maize cobs hung round the great open fireplace, with no signs of fire in it past or present. Another room within was as utterly unlike an inhabited dwelling—a confusion of dirt and disorder, with a few things for tillage lying about, and some great round flat rye-loaves, black, sour, sodden, about two feet in diameter, resting against the wall among the dirty rubbish. The barefoot mistress baked every fortnight, and put a little wheat into the loaf, "*pas beaucoup*." She offered us some of a basket of beautiful figs which she had just picked to send in to Aix. The rooms were nearly dark, but she opened the door into an inner bedroom, with a window to the lake, where the glorious nature shone in like an extraordinary surprise on the squalor. Chickens just hatched ran in between the beds, a sort of cage hung from the ceiling, where she put the cheeses, "*else the rats would eat them all*." The clothes of the family, man, woman, and children, were all hanging on a rope; there was no kind of cupboard, press, or drawers in the house. She took us to see her winepress in a dark, dirty, hole below, with a great cask, where the grapes were trodden by men's feet before being put under the screw of the machine, which was of the rudest and most wasteful kind; it was very unpleasant to think of drinking the results of such a filthy process! The mistress was still young, but withered and haggard with overwork, low-spirited, sad, and hopeless. She complained that the great heat of August had dried up their grain. "*Ah, c'est un vilain pays ici, laid—tout montagne*." "*We think it all very beautiful*," said I. "*Ah, pour vous*," she sighed. All their wine and butter and fruit was sold to get enough bread to live on. They grew "*un peu de tout*," as indeed everybody did in those parts. Everything was done at home. She dressed the hemp and spun it, after which it was sent to the village *tisserand* to be woven into coarse cloth; there is no division of labour known here.

Their two cows spent the summer on the mountain, on the communal ground, and it took an hour for her eldest daughter to go up and milk them; she made butter but once a week.

Her youngest child, a pretty little bright-eyed thing of eight, barefooted like her mother, came in from the nuns' school, where the girls are taught gratis. The boys pay eight francs a year, and a "lay" school was being established. I was afraid we might have asked too many questions, for at first she was not communicative, but we parted great friends, and she said that she wished her child were a little older, when she would have asked me to take her as a servant. "*Remercie la dame, Marie; fais la révérence,*" and the little one bowed her head and opened her great soft eyes. "*Elle n'a pas fait sa première communion,*" and if she dies now (there was no appearance of any danger) "they would not bury her in the little chapel up there," said the mother dreamily; "*petite comme elle est,* she must be carried out there to the next village," which seemed to pain her. The priest only came to the chapel occasionally, and they walked over to the next church every Sunday. The possession of a *pressoir* implies a certain amount of dignity and profit, the neighbours who have not got one send in their grapes to be trodden, and in payment leave behind the mass of hard squeezed skins and stalks, called *marc*, from which, after it is steeped in boiling water, an *eau-de-vie* is distilled.

Another day we went up a mountain lane, which zigzagged high up among the rocks, and was broken with torrents across it which had carried away the road; there were absolutely no trees that did not bear fruit, except on the steep slopes where the scrub grew short and scanty, being well kept down by cutting for firewood, which costs a good deal even for the scanty cooking. We looked into a cottage, where two men, with their jackets hanging over one shoulder, were sitting like a Dutch picture, each with a glass of the thin red wine at a round table before the great wide empty chimney. A woman stood by them making a white curd cheese, several of which were hanging out of window in an osier cage. They gave some of the whey to their one cow, "to help her to do the field work;" there are more cows than oxen used in the country. We asked about the size of the properties. "There are some very large about here," said one of the men, "as much as 150 or 200 journaux, from that down to two." The hiring price of land was from 45 to 50 francs a journal for the best, the proprietor sharing equally with the hirer the produce of the vines which grew between the plots *en treille*. For a vineyard the owner finds manure and vine props, the tenant the labour, which is required almost all the year. "It is a beautiful country." "Vous trouvez?" said they, with a shrug; "it would be much better if we had land behind us, instead of being shut in with that wall of rock." Mountains were unfruitful, barren, and evidently unpleasant accidents of Nature.

— The amount of work done by the women is enormous, without which it would be utterly impossible to cultivate these small plots, as the owners cannot pay for labour. Here was an old woman, dirty and worn, working with a great hoe, her gold cross hanging from a gilt heart, dang-

ling above the dirt, as she bent her stiff old body over the work; another was guiding the plough, which two oxen were dragging, and which only scratched the earth; another was harrowing with the little three-cornered harrow used here, a baby laid by her on a heap of sticks in the open field. Some were breaking the hard lumps of soil with a sort of hook. In a ploughed field, far from any cottage or village, was a mother sitting in the middle of her work, suckling her baby, with three small children hanging round her; the fatigue and anxiety to a woman of dragging such tiny feet to such a distance, where they had to be kept the whole day, perhaps only a woman can rightly understand. At Chambéry we met four men riding in a bullock car, their three women walking by the side. Even on Sunday, poor souls, they work on after Mass, with an attempt at better clothes it is true; but they are too down-trodden to have courage enough, or time enough, to attend to their looks or the looks of their houses. Indeed, the use of beauty is certainly altogether ignored in French country life here. A woman is treated as a beast of burden, and the general civilization suffers.

In the villages on the hills the houses were stuck at every imaginable angle, and if the problem had been set, how to waste the most room and give the least accommodation, it was solved at Mouxy. If there were three houses together, instead of opening on the road, they stood one behind the other, or back to back anyhow, down the steep muddy declivity, with no sort of path, though they had only to fetch stone from across the way to make one. The ground between was cut up with the passing of the oxen, with rubbish heaps, while pellmell, fronts and backs, the dwelling-house stood in one place, the winepress in another, the cow-house in a third. All but a very few lived in their own houses, which were extremely old. Nothing like a new one was anywhere to be seen, and all were on the same level of filthy discomfort. We went into one after another, and found scarcely the smallest difference between them, the wretched little rooms always opening into each other, so that it was impossible to reach the innermost without passing through all; back doors are nearly unknown; clay floors, no furniture, no presses for clothes, the children sitting on the ground for lack even of stools. We did not see a single book or newspaper, or ornament of any kind, in the thirty-five or forty houses we visited. The struggle for life is so severe, the wolf of starvation is so close to the door, that the effort to get bread enough to eat seems to exhaust all their energies. They simply preserve life at the expense of all that makes life worth having.

We took pains to go into what looked like the good as well as the bad houses. I generally begged to see the winepress, saying that, "as we had no vines in England, it was very interesting to us." A *pressoir* is a sign of wealth; the request was, therefore, a compliment, and they were almost always pleased to be asked, while the lofty compassion excited by hearing of so dismal a land was also pleasing to express. "What! no vines? no figs? Drink beer? How sad! Beer is but

poor stuff," said the proud possessor of a plot of mountain vineyard, where he made half a cask of thin sour vinegar. Once I was moved to say that we kept our cows for milking, and used our horses for draught. "Well," he said, "the cows give less milk certainly, but they *must* work here, because we can't generally afford oxen, and, as for machines, what use would there be for them on our little plots?"

One exceptionally beautiful dwelling lay high up on the mountain, with a grand view to the south towards Chambéry, and to the north towards the end of the lake. It stood in a natural park, with great chestnuts and walnuts growing out of the green sward on a steep declivity plunging down the hill, and a vineyard behind. There were no fences, and all the ground round might have belonged to it. The house was a large stone one, with very picturesque balconies and overhanging eaves; the mistress was washing her gown at a trough (on Sunday), and the master, with four little boys, was sharpening a scythe. We were taken inside, where the rooms were as dark and filthy and comfortless as always, and we were coming away when the man said, "Si vous trouvez ça si beau—will you buy it?" We asked if he were really serious in wanting to sell. "Yes; very truly I am. And the ground lies all together! all in one piece!" and he reiterated this surprising fact again and again; part of it was his mother's. "How much land is there?" I inquired. "That you would see when it was measured for buying," he replied, sententiously. We heard from the wife afterwards it was about eighteen acres. "Oh, is England too far off for you to come here? is it such a long way?"

When H—— arrived, I took him to see my proposed estate; the vineyard occupied nine acres, and the wife declared that they made twelve barrels of wine last year, and sometimes as many as twenty-two, but I doubt this was a fiction of the seller to a hoped-for purchaser. If one could have lived on milk and grapes, and walnuts and chestnuts, it would have been very tempting; the walls were so solid that it might have been made into a comfortable home, the floors were boarded; it was by far the best of all the homesteads we saw; but though the owners had cows and oxen, pigs and winepress, they were just as squalid as their neighbours, and cared little for their place. Indeed, it was remarkable how the richer houses were not a whit more comfortable or civilized than the poorer ones. The ideal had sunk to the level of the most miserable everywhere.

In a flour-mill on rather a large scale, where we went the next day to look at a press for making colza oil to burn and walnut oil for salad, the old miller, who looked like a day labourer, took us into his house. In England he would have had a smart parlour, with prints on the wall and books on the table, an attempt, at least, at art and literature. Here the one room was so small that it was hardly possible to sit down; a flour-binn on one side, the staircase on the other, and the cooking-stove set in the large unused chimney-

corner on the third, and everything dirty and bare. These stoves are now taking the place of the great wood fires, and are very convenient. A flat-iron box, four inches deep, set on four legs, with three or four round openings in the top—a handful of fuel is put inside, and as soon as it is alight the pots are set in the holes to simmer, an iron tube carrying off the very small amount of smoke. His two daughters were making some soup—haricots, leeks, sometimes a little maize or potatoes, no milk, a bit of butter, seldom any meat they said—this was the usual *potage* of the district, and indeed generally in France.

The miller employed no workmen; they did all in the family, and "had a good piece of land of their own." In England the sons would have resisted being made into day labourers, and would have gone off into other trades, but here the only object seems to be to avoid hiring, and to keep the piece of ground together. The idea of "bettering" themselves, of rising in the world—which is the great object of the Anglo-Saxon race for themselves, or at least for their children—is entirely absent here. There is no ambition but that of putting money by in the funds, or hiding it in an old stocking, after the barest necessities of life have been provided; and no capital is invested in cultivating the land. We found another "rich" mountain home on the other side the valley. We had followed an old man, who was carrying on his head a heavy load of green maize for his cows, to a large farmstead, up among the big walnuts, which he owned, and where he lived quite alone, in the usual filth and destitution; but he had a tall clock, which he showed us with pride. It did not go, but it was a wonder of luxury worthy of admiration; we saw no other, indeed, in the district. "Now, let me show you *la maison la plus élégante du voisinage*," said he. "Jacques is a great proprietor; he has 10,000 francs in land only—about twenty *journaux* (18 acres), and they are worth 2,000 francs each about here, and he has four oxen and two cows!" Neither the great man nor his wife were at home, but our friend went up the outside stair and pushed open the door. There was a kitchen and sitting-room, both large, the last absolutely bare, except for three chairs and a wretched table. The three bedrooms could only be reached through the other rooms, and were certainly not bare, for all the wardrobes of all the family—men, women, and children—clean and unclean, linen and woollen, were all hanging on long ropes. There was not a single press in the house; some coats were lying on one of the floors, and some gourds under the beds. Long plaited hanks of hemp hung on the walls. Except that there was more space in which to be dirty and uncomfortable, there was no difference between the most "elegant" house in the neighbourhood and the rest.

A little farther on, a man and his wife were digging potatoes in a field very small and bad; he had a bit of vineyard "up there," he said, "in all about three acres; many had only two, or even less," equal to a good English allotment; "and there are more who have the little than the large ones, *allez!*" "But a family cannot live on that?"

"Oh, no, they go out for hire, down into Aix in the season. It is a hard life!" "And what do they do in the winter?" "*They suffer*," said he, emphatically. "*C'est un pays de dur travail, allez! Dans la plaine on va droit devant soi; mais ici!*" Again, the rocks were only impediments and mistakes. There is little work for hire to be had in the country, because each man works his own little plot.

I sat by an intelligent middle-class Frenchman at the table d'hôte who knew the country well. He gave very much such an account of their agricultural difficulties as we should do in England. The wheat, cheese, and pork are undersold by American produce, the "*déplacements d'industrie et de commerce*," occasioned by arrivals from the New World, unhinge everything. I told how we had heard from a German grand seigneur that his fine Saxony wools were ruined by the produce of Australian sheep, which was not nearly so good, but was preferred by the manufacturers of cheap wares, and of the distress thus caused in Germany. My neighbour said that the dislocation of trade was, he believed, now universal; probably as population increased in America, and the cost of production with it, an equilibrium would be found, but there will be much distress in Europe first. There are other very serious dangers in France. The phylloxera is very bad and wide-spread, and no cure has yet been found against this almost microscopic insect, but to plant the American vine, whose bark is tougher and cannot be gnawn away; but two or three years must go by before the plants will bear, and how can the small cultivator wait so long? Then, the silk industry has quite died out with the disease in the worms, and Lyons is using Chinese and Japanese silk as cheaper. Also, in the south, whole districts had depended on the cultivation of the Garance, used among other things as a dye for the red trousers of the French soldier. Now gas tar dyes had taken its place, and the farmers growing madder were ruined. France is so large, and her productions so various, that no one hears much, *à l'étranger*, of all this, but the distress was very real. The education given in the schools was very bad: reading and writing alone is not education, and the books the people read (when they read at all, which is not the case with the peasants) are bad, and the papers worse; the *feuilletons* of the cheap press are simply disgraceful. We heard this from many others, and the names of the books we saw at the stations bore it out:—"Fils Adultérin," "Gasconnades de l'Amour," "Séduction," "Soudardes et Lovelaces," "Le Bâtard," "La haute Canaille," "Amours Fragiles," "Les Maris de Madame," "Le Mari au Deux Femmes," "Mémoires d'un Baiser," "L'Assommoir," "Le Mariage du Suicide," are not likely to be "improvin' readin'" for any one. And the list was nearly the same at the Amiens bookstall in the north as it had been at Aix in the far south. Advertisements of "*La Chôte d'un Prêtre*," roman *feuilleton*, covered the walls of Paris.

In the curious old Town Hall there is a very good collection of remains of the prehistoric lake villages, built on piles in the Lac de

Bourget; and dredged up when the water is low. The food, the weapons, the ornaments of the ancient race, and their manner of life, can be, to a great extent, traced out. Different kinds of grain, very small and poor, wild fruits, crabs and plums; the bones of wolves, hares, dogs, wild boars, stags, and even of small horses; stone whorls used for spinning, like those so abundantly found by Schliemann at Troy (?); flint weapons and stone celts with their wooden handles, bracelets and necklaces of beads and stones once strung on a thread, long pins with ornamental heads, from the hair of some half-naked lake belle, and much like the filagree halos worn by Italian peasants, have been discovered. Even bits of coarsely woven linen and of grass matting, somewhat like the African, have been preserved in the useful mud. Most of the things seem to have dropped tranquilly to the bottom of the lake, but occasionally there must have been a catastrophe, and the little city of refuge was perhaps taken, at all events it was burnt, for all the objects found are charred, and even the piles on which the wigwams were built—which were probably round, like the Malay huts—show signs of fire.

I asked Sir A. Cavanagh, who had been Governor of the Straits Settlements at Singapore, about the Malay villages, which are built in the same way far out into the water, for safety from enemies. He said that as these are on creeks of the sea, where the tide rises ten or twelve feet, they are even more difficult to construct than on the peaceful French or Swiss lakes. The floors are of split bamboo, with interstices about an inch wide, so that the inmates can sweep out all dirt into the water without trouble. And if this were the case with the prehistoric lake men, as is probable, it would account for the great number of (to them) valuable articles which had been lost, and are found so opportunely by us as to enable us to reconstruct once more that far-off old barbaric life. In fear of wild beasts, in fear of "enemies," in fear of starvation, it must have been a somewhat dismal existence.

We drove round the head of the lake near the place where one of the villages once stood. The road ran through a marsh which, after the rain, was almost like the lake itself. A fisherman stood up to his knees in the water the hot sun shining on his head, and a man with a gun was plunging heavily through the mud. The reeds were mown for litter, for which it is better than hay, they said. On the drier parts, the cows were standing for their afternoon outing with their feet in the water, eating rather dolefully, while their barefoot child-keepers sat on the edge of the road and squalled for *sons*, holding up bunches of ragwort as an excuse.

Bourget itself, the smallest and most remote of towns, possessed a fine old Benedictine monastery, and there is a beautiful carved procession, of the thirteenth century, round the apse of the old church. The relief is exceedingly high, the heads quite detached from the back; our Saviour on an ass followed by the Apostles. Each face and attitude was a study of character, so individual, so living—speaking,

moving, almost thinking; but no one cared for it, and a great piece has been wantonly cut away, "to make room," it was said, but for what no one could tell.

In the inner court of the monastery we found an arcade of the fourteenth century, with a still older one below, both extremely quaint and pretty, but defaced and torn down at the Revolution. The place had been bought by an old man, who took us into a nest he had fitted up for himself in the old prior's rooms, where he showed us with pride the *boiseries*, done by a local carpenter, of inlaid walnut, cherry, and ash; it was the only bit of new work we saw anywhere. The views out of the windows, looking to the Alps across a little garden full of fig-trees covered with fruit, were lovely. Below was a great refectory with an open fireplace, twenty-seven feet wide, crowned with a scutcheon, the simple stone mouldings so fine that they were a pleasure to trace: then to a tithe building where the dues, all paid in kind, were stored by the monks—into a sort of opera-box, high up in the church, where the prior "assisted" at the service without troubling himself to go there, and everywhere up and down steep twisted stone staircases, so dangerous that the monks can never have contemplated growing old. At the other end, the proprietor has fitted up a lodging for visitors out of the cells, seven *pièces* looking on a terrace into the street, where the mountains peered down above the houses with their overhanging eaves, from which hung osier baskets full of cheese and strings of yellow Indian corn cobs. All the women and children in the place seemed to be sitting in the dirty road, two old hags were busy turning spinning wheels with one hand, holding a long distaff in the other; an old man was making a net. The outside staircases, the wooden balconies—all was most picturesque, but so utterly squalid and full of smells that one wondered what the "visitors" could be like who went to stay in the place.

As we returned by the beautiful shores of the lake, the extraordinary precision with which the mountains towards Chambéry, on one side, and the steep promontories and precipices receding towards the open water, on the other, were mirrored, had a purity and delicate clear transparency that was quite impossible to paint, the lake in some places of an emerald green.

It is difficult to make out what is the feeling towards the religious orders at this time in France. The measures for closing their schools have been merely nominal, they have all been reopened under other lay names, and are in all other points the same as before. The great Protestant *pasteur* of Paris, M. Bersier, has expressed a general feeling, in saying, "Let us establish better schools; but it is tyranny not to allow those who please to have and to use the denominational schools existing."

The influence of the Church has apparently diminished a good deal. At Amiens we were looking at a statue of Peter the Hermit, the pedestal

of which was covered with brickbats and broken bottles, evidently flung at it in scorn, and the name erased. We asked an *ouvrier* who it was. He was a stranger and did not know, but believed it was the builder of the church. "It is a monk at all events," I said. "Then he ought to be pulled down and broken up," answered he, with a scowl, clenching his fist. At Aix a workman was complaining of the sums paid to the Church: "*Cinquante-deux millions sur le budget*, and we don't want the priests." "The *cures* are very ill-paid and very good and useful men," I answered. "What!" he cried, "do you think it right for a woman to go to confession to a man and tell him all her husband says and does? It is abominable! The priest ferrets out all the gossip in the village and puts his nose into all our affairs, but the husbands won't allow their wives now to confess, except *quelques vieilles dévotes*, and the fathers won't even let their daughters go, after they have made their *première communion*. For three francs, we can get a *billet* pretending to show we have been there without ever going near the altar, what do you think of that? I don't want the *cure*, or his teaching or his preaching." It was sad to see the true substance and the false form so inextricably mixed up in the people's minds. Religion is dying away, because, as my informant said, "*on veut nous faire croire un tas de bêtises qui sont incroyables, et nous n'en voulons pas, je vous le dis tout court!*" We heard that confession was nearly extinct in the north of France also.

The *cure* is extremely ill-paid, only 900 francs by the State, besides his fees, which are not high; he is hardly ever a gentleman or man of education; he generally rises from the poorest families, and only associates with the gentlefolks professionally; thus a link between the upper and the lower classes is wanting in France, such as is found in the English clergyman. There has been, except in particular instances, a great gulf fixed between the seigneurs and the peasants.* Eugénie de Guérin mentions that one day she asked an old woman to fetch soup from the *château*, she did not come, and when questioned, she replied that her grandchild had said, "*N'y va pas, grand' mère, on t'y mangera.*" Happily for both, there are no such grim traditions of hostility in England between the manor-house and the cottage.

A French lady from the North of France told us of the strange jealousy of the peasants of any one higher or better off than themselves. There is little such feeling in English country life, and the "big house" and park are often regarded as the museum, entertainment ground, and convalescent home of the neighbourhood (as they indeed ought to be). At a christening feast this summer at C——, nearly a thousand village folk had tea on the lawn, with football, dancing, and

* In the "*Récit d'une Soeur*," as a proof of her extraordinary sanctity, the angelic Alexandrine is described as visiting the sick and teaching the children of the poor near her father-in-law's home, in the way that is done by wives and daughters of the clergyman and the squire in almost every village in England, as a matter of course, without any notice whatever being taken of it.

games of all sorts, going wherever they pleased, in and out of the hot-houses, remaining until ten at night for fireworks and illuminations; yet on the next day it was found that not a border had been trampled or a flower plucked. The self-restraint and good feeling evinced by such care of what was trusted to them, was felt to be very gracious and most honourable to their "civilization." She replied, that a similar *fête* had been given on the occasion of a marriage at a *château* near her, where the gardens had been opened, everything had been "pillé, ravagé, et saouagé: c'était comme si l'ennemi avait passé par la campagne."

Strange stories of the old nobles turn up. We saw near Chambéry the towers of a castle in the valleys leading towards the Alps, where, at the end of the sixteenth century, the seigneur of Montmayeur had a lawsuit with his neighbour of Asprémont, and the President of the Court gave him hopes of success (judges were apt to give opinions off the bench in those days); but when the trial took place an important *pièce* was wanting, and Montmayeur was cast. A little time after he gave a great feast (probably prepared for his expected triumph) to the President and all the neighbouring great folk. When all were assembled, suddenly the host requested the judge's presence in an inner chamber. It was hung with black, and an executioner stood in the middle, with his axe, at a block. The President was seized and his head cut off then and there. A few hours after, Montmayeur dashed into the room where the other judges belonging to the court which had offended him were sitting, threw the President's head, in a bag, upon the table, called out, "*Voilà la pièce qui vous manque!*" and, in the confusion, escaped scotfree on a horse which was waiting for him below.

Such ungovernable ruffians would go far to discredit their order, even in those rough days, and the extravagance and license of later years did not redeem their character. There has been little of what we call real country life among the French upper classes. They have generally retired there to recoup themselves for life at Paris, and it has been considered as an exile not a home.

The political talk we heard was that, in spite of his apparent popularity, Gambetta has been going down ever since his more than royal progress after the elections. The belief in personal government is so inveterate in France that they must always incarnate a chief to credit with good and evil fortune; none of the Ministers have been sufficiently considerable for this, and the President, Grévy, is "*absolument nul*," therefore the issues of the Tunis war will fall on Gambetta alone. Since the failure of the *scrutin de liste*, he has shown that he can no longer "walk at will the fierce democracy" of Paris. Said our Parisian friend, "No one knows what will come of the new Ministry; the excessive change, the uncertainty, is trying and dangerous for us in trade, and in all ways; there is no stability in anything, and no one can foresee how matters will stand next year. Your institutions are better in England, *perhaps?*" Then, with some satisfac-

tion, he went on, "But you have plenty of troubles there, too, with your great industrial populations and your Ireland! You are not on roses either!"

Next we heard that Gambetta will give anything which he believes to be asked for by the people, and that Louis Blanc is quite right in declaring that France is playing Bismarck's game, by thus risking the friendship of England and Italy and alarming Spain for such an object as Tunis.

At last our bathing purgatory came to an end, and we moved gladly on to Annecy, an old-world town, with a great castle on a rock in the very midst of the town, and curious arcades in the streets, on the borders of a lovely little lake, prettier even than that of Bourget. Here St. François de Sales, its Bishop, lived and worked—one of the most "pious" and attaching of saintly men. The traces of him, however, are few; his house and the church where he was buried were destroyed in the Revolution, and his body is now set up in a glass case over the high altar, in an ugly, tawdry new church; it seemed strange that he did not rise from the dead to prevent an exhibition so contrary to his gentle modest nature. Then we ferreted out a little old convent where he used to visit his friend and coadjutor, the Baronne de Chantal. The tiny chapel and a vine *pergola* date from their time, 1610, and its leaves are plucked by pious pilgrims in remembrance of both. To her many of the beautiful "*Lettres Spirituelles*" are addressed, which contain some of the most practically devout Christian maxims of any age. It is dismal to hear, however, that he afterwards joined in the religious persecution of the Protestants. But, after all, a good logical Catholic must be a persecutor—it is his duty to torment unbelievers well in this world, however unwillingly; it would be a cruel kindness to spare a little pain here, according to his creed of salvation, if by any means he may save their souls in eternity.

We steamed round the lake, touching at all the little villages, with a constant coming and going of market folks. An old priest on board was very willing to talk. "The subdivision of land is excessive, and the poverty very great." "How do they live in winter?" "*C'est le secret du bon Dieu, madame.* There is much private charity and some allowance from old foundations belonging to the town." A young priest did not approve of his elder being so friendly with heretics, and came constantly to persuade him to change his seat, which he objected was too "hot" or "too windy;" but in vain, the old man would not leave us.

The head of the lake, where the great mountains overlapped, with deep blue chasms on their sides, and shaggy pine-woods, and long slopes clothed with brown and golden velvet fern, and brushwood in front, was very fine. The next day we drove over a Col into the beautiful valleys leading to the Arve and Chamounix. The extreme fertility of the alluvial soil at the bottom produces a rich vegetation, contrasted with the rugged mountain summits, that is most striking. The road runs

through one long orchard on both sides—with great walnuts, like forest trees; pear-trees, of the height of elms, and weighed down by showers of fruit; apple-trees, so laden with red apples that they looked as if they came out of a fairy tale; little *châlets* perched high up on the hillsides in the midst of patches of cultivation—most picturesque. But the population was as poor and as dirty as in the districts we had left.

The new road made by the French at enormous expense, leading only to Chamounix, was another bribe to the inhabitants; and, certainly, when one sees the extent of fair country which France gave to herself in reward for her Italian exertions, it is hardly to be wondered at that Italy refuses to be very grateful. "Was she not amply paid?"

The valley narrowed, the mountains grew steeper, as we started in the early morning after a poisonous night of smells at Sallanches. "There is Mont Blanc," cried H——; "Yes, I see some confused marks," said I. "Oh, not there! look higher," answered he. "Yes, I see a faint outline." "Higher! higher still! much higher," cried he; and there, far up in the heavens, unbelievably high, above the broad band of cloud, were the great white points and *aiguilles* shining in the sun, and then the interpretation of the whole of the faint, confused, cloudy indications below breaks upon one. It was so like life.

However often one may have seen it, the sight is always like a new revelation; the excessive purity and brilliancy of the slopes of dazzling snow, with the delicate inflections of their shadows against the pale blue sky; so lonely, so still, so sharp, yet so tender, softened by the wonderful amount of atmosphere between our lower standpoint and their glorious height; so distinct and decided, yet so unreal, like the glimpse into another world high up in the heavens. Like all the greatest effects in nature and art it is perfectly incommunicable by words, or colours, or photographs, and is fresh in its novelty of beauty every time it is seen. This day, through the deep dark gorge, with mighty silver firs clinging to the almost perpendicular rocks; the Arve dashing unseen, but not unheard, below, and the lofty cloudland, with the sun on it above, the effect was *saissisant*, and H., who knows the Andes well, acknowledged that even they could hardly have looked finer. "Only an inch or two higher up on the canvas." A mere question of degree.

That curious settlement of inns and *pensions*, Chamounix, was just about to be forsaken for the winter. Our hotel, a very large and good one, would have the key turned in the door, and no more care taken of it than could be given by a woman going in once a week to open windows. "There are no thieves here, for where could they carry the plunder?" The medley population was mostly going away. The nationality of trades is a curious one; the English will be found everywhere, as engineers and grooms, the French as cooks and milliners, the Italians as confectioners and workers in plaster, and the German is "easily prince" of waiters. Indeed, to see him carrying seven plates

of fish on one hand and arm, and keeping the other free for their distribution, is a splendid instance of the "prehensile powers" of the human animal! He is an original. I had "assisted" at H.——'s departure for the Glacier des Bossons, and returned to the empty table for luncheon, when the waiter, who brought some salad, evidently considered it his duty to devote himself to my instruction and entertainment. He leant his arm on the chimney-piece, and began: "I am going away in a week—this place is finished, and I think of visiting the chief cities of Europe. J'ai vingt-six ans, et c'est le moment de se perfectionner. Do not you think so, madame? I thought of going first to London, but they say the fogs are bad there, and the climate detestable; therefore, I think I shall go to Paris." "There is much to be said against the climate there, too," observed I, solemnly. "So I have heard, and also that the Germans are not so well regarded as they ought to be. I sha'n't stay there long, I dare say! Then I shall go to Berlin and Vienna and then——" But here cruel fate interfered; there was a cry from the "office" for mustard, or napkins, or some mean thing, and the Alnaschar visions of glory died away.

We climbed up the hill to look after *châlets*, and found an intelligent man who had been a soldier. He had been taken prisoner in 1870, and kept for ten months in Silesia. "We were very badly fed; on ne nourrit pas les cochons si mal ici." It was the old story, how "nous étions trahis, General—— had a franc a head from the Prussians for our division of 25,000 men; that was why we were beaten." His father had left him half the house and a little bit of land, his sister and mother lived in the other half, and wanted him to buy their share, but he would not. "A bit of land is good; but one must have a bit of money with it," he said, emphatically. The money spent by visitors helped in summer, and much butter, &c., was sold to them, but there was great poverty and suffering in the outlying villages. He had two cows, in a dirty stable almost opening into his dirty room. One he was going to kill, and had bought a sheep also to kill. "Nous mangeons beaucoup de viande à Chamounix," he said, with pride. I was properly impressed; but afterwards found that they salted down the meat when snow covered the pastures, and ate it during seven or eight months, when it became as hard and tasteless as a board. It was the same custom that prevailed among our forefathers in England, even in the greatest households, before the "invention" of roots and vegetables, when skin diseases were frightfully prevalent, owing to the absence of fresh meat and green food. It was a little instance of the manner in which one should make sure that words bear the same meaning for speaker and hearer. He took for granted that meat meant salt meat, and if we had not found out the habit of the country elsewhere we should have been all astray. There was a grand view from the *châlet* across the valley to the great congealed torrents, like water frozen in the rush, of the glaciers of the Bossons and Taconnay, descending from Mont Blanc, while round the house lay great

rocks, covered with green and black or orange stains of lichen, which had perhaps taken one thousand years, more or less, to grow. A curious link in the upward chain of life, not inanimate as the stone they clung to, and the difference between it and the growth of a millionth part of an inch in a score of years, though scarcely perceptible, yet so infinite.

Then H—— went into a little smithy to see the bells for the mountain cows forged. The tall, strong young blacksmith told him with great pride that his handiwork was heard in all the district from Martigny to Sallanches; there were no bells there which were not made by him. Here they are flattened, with mouths contracted instead of wide, but the sound is deep and sonorous, and heard from afar. The chief cow, who "bears the (best) bell" and goes first, is proud of her honours, and will not endure to be degraded from her post.

The *rentrée des vaches* was at hand. No beasts are left out for the winter, they would starve in the snow and cold; but on the morning we came away the small herdsman, sounding a great horn, was still passing up the little street collecting the goats from each house, and taking them up to the mountain pastures, and would go on till the "Saint Denis."

The hotel was full of Americans; we sat by two quick-witted, sharp men, who were swallowing their mountains, lakes, and passes hurriedly, as a duty. The clouds hitherto had prevented their seeing anything; but public opinion required that they should have gone to the different places, in name at least, before sailing for home. "Mount Blank," as they called him, was luckily visible, and they inquired after "the glazier" as if they wanted to get their windows mended. The women seem to go about in flocks and herds, sometimes six and seven together, with many *enfants terribles*. At one long *table d'hôte* dinner with 150 people, we sat opposite a pretty little U.S. girl, about six years old, who ate straight through the eight courses, beginning with the hot soup and ending with the cold ice, cheese, and fruit. She added pickles when she could get them, and poured a flood of sauce over her plate, often taking two slices when others took one, and a double help of cream, her mother sitting placidly by and never interfering. I watched her with a sort of fascinated wonder, expecting a catastrophe of some kind, but the interests of truth compel me to state that she was still alive when we left the hotel, although we left her eating. At the same place three little U.S. boys came up suddenly to H—— after dinner and asked him how old he was; and I sat by another boy, about fourteen, at the next town, who cross-examined me for three successive dinners without intermission. "Where did we come from?" "Where were we going to?" "How long should we stay?" "Where did we live in England?" "Had we been here before?" At last he asked three questions in one, and I burst out laughing. He had not the slightest notion why, but thought he had said something very clever; he smiled in a pleased and

superior manner, and went on with his catechism. The young of no other species are so unpleasant; but as there are a great number of agreeable and excellent Americans in the world, they must somehow shed this their first exceedingly obnoxious husk.

We drove rapidly down, following the Arve to the French frontier, and here saw another agricultural machine on the Swiss side, only the second since leaving England. That machines, which are the very life of agriculture in America and with us, are also occasionally to be found in France there is no doubt, but they must indeed be few, when during three weeks of very careful investigation and inquiry, after having seen the corn reaped in the north, the hay cut and carrying everywhere, and ploughing going on along the whole line of our journey, we had thus only once come across a single one. Indeed, those who have marked the size of the peasant plots must see how utterly impossible any help from machines would be. The difficulty attending the turning of even a common plough within their minute limits is so great, and so much damage is necessarily done to *le voisin*, that we were told it was only because *le voisin* does as much harm in return, that questions of compensation do not become serious. A steam plough would be like a bull in a china closet.

F. P. VERNEY.

(To be continued.)

THE VALUE OF EGYPT TO GREAT BRITAIN.

THE great danger to the nation of foreign complications arises from the fact that the nation will pay no heed to a foreign difficulty until we are actually involved in it. Then, the Ministry of the day having committed itself to some definite action, the question is fought out on strictly party lines, while reason and common sense are resolutely denied a hearing. The "spirited foreign policy" of Lord Beaconsfield's Administration is a remarkable instance in point. When first the signs of impending trouble became apparent in the Ottoman Empire, there was no Turko-philist party in this country. The experience of the quarter of a century which had elapsed since the Crimean War had convinced Conservatives and Liberals equally that the foreign policy of that day had been based upon a belief in the possibility of progress and improvement in a Mohammedan State, which after-events had demonstrated to be false. Lord Derby's often-quoted speech on the wisdom and the justice of finding in the growing Christian nationalities that barrier against the extension of the Russian Empire which hitherto we had sought and failed to find in Turkish ascendancy, expressed the convictions of all sane and reasonable people, no matter what their domestic politics might be. The great meetings which were held all over the country to express indignation at the Bulgarian massacres, demonstrated and confirmed this general concurrence of sentiment. These meetings were attended indifferently by members of both parties. Nevertheless, when the Government of the day plainly avowed itself pro-Turk, the Conservatives throughout the country ranged themselves without hesitation upon that side, and, not content with applauding, as a great and original feat of Statesmanship, a servile imitation of the policy which involved us in the profitless carnage and richly-deserved humiliation of the Crimean War, shouted with undiminished en-

thusiasm at an exact repetition of the false pretences and ignorant hallucinations which preceded the invasion of Afghanistan in 1838. Lord Beaconsfield's foreign policy, from first to last, would have been a thing impossible, if the people of this country had been in the habit of sifting and discussing questions of foreign policy with a tithe part of the care and thoroughness which they devote to domestic matters. It was a policy which depended for support and approval upon the enormous ignorance of those to whom it made appeal, but its ultimate failure was certain to any one even moderately acquainted with the circumstances of the Ottoman Empire, of India, and of Afghanistan.

There is now another question looming in the near future, in a wise settlement of which we are far more nearly interested than in the fate of the Turks and Constantinople, but regarding which the nation at large can be said to have no definite policy at all. I allude to our future relations with Egypt. This is a question on which it is hardly possible for the Government of the day, without a very clear and definite declaration on the part of the country, to make a new departure. The utmost which can be expected from them is a careful preservation of the *status quo*, with, probably, many secret prayers that the deluge may not come in their time. That this is all which the present Government propose to do is seen in Lord Granville's despatch on Egyptian affairs, which appeared in the papers about the middle of November. But that despatch shows, also, how very precarious and unstable is the *status quo* in Egypt, and how at any moment we may be required to adopt measures in that country which must powerfully affect the British Empire for good or ill. Lord Granville writes:—

"It is our conviction that the tie uniting Egypt to the Porte is the best safeguard against foreign intervention. If it were broken, Egypt might at no distant date find herself exposed to danger from foreign intervention. Our care has been to maintain this as it actually exists. The only circumstance which could force us to depart from the conduct above mentioned, would be the outbreak of anarchy in Egypt, and we look to the Khedive, to Cherif Pasha, and the good sense of the Egyptian people to prevent such a catastrophe. They may be perfectly assured, that so long as Egypt continues in the path of tranquil and legitimate progress, it will be the earnest desire of Her Majesty's Government to contribute towards so satisfactory a result."

To the unofficial mind it seems perfectly clear that "the tie which unites Egypt to the Porte," and which Lord Granville considers as "the best safeguard against foreign intervention," has brought that intervention upon the luckless inhabitants of Egypt in its severest form. They are the victims of a three-fold intervention, carried out conjointly by Turks, Frenchmen, and Englishmen. The peculiarity of the government which exists in Egypt at this moment is, that it is carried on almost exclusively by foreigners, who are but slightly interested in the happiness of the people or the lasting prosperity of the country. There is the Turkish element—whose solitary idea of government in Egypt, as in every other country where it has established itself, is to

screw as much money as possible out of the wretched people ; and there are the members of the European Control, whose primary duty it is to see that the dividends of the European bondholders are fully and regularly paid. Lord Granville appeals to "the common-sense of the Egyptian people" to continue "in the path of tranquil and legitimate progress"—or, in other words, to remain in a condition of passive acquiescence while they are stripped to the skin by this duplicate agency, so admirably adapted for that benevolent purpose. If the "common-sense of the Egyptian people" will not allow them to submit unresistingly to this process of flaying annually repeated, in that case Lord Granville warns them that "Egypt may be in danger, at no distant date, from rival ambitions." What, in the language of officialism, is called "anarchy"—what, in reality, will be the just protest of a people cruelly enslaved and pitilessly despoiled—will then ensue, and Egypt will have to be occupied by a contingent of British troops.

Now what the British people ought clearly to understand is, that if the present arrangements are allowed to continue in Egypt, "anarchy" at no distant date is inevitable. There are those who indulge in the fond belief that the European Control is a sort of beneficent Providence which is causing all things to flourish in Egypt, and all hearts to rejoice. This belief is a pure hallucination. What the European Control represents is a number of European gentlemen, on very high salaries, occupying positions of responsibility, from which the people of the country—the natural and rightful incumbents—are excluded. Such a spectacle, especially in a Moslem country, can be productive of nothing but hatred and discontent, the more bitter because they have to be suppressed. Indubitably there would be a counter-check to these feelings, if it were in the power of the European Control largely to ameliorate the hard lot of the mass of the people ; but this it is altogether powerless to effect. The members of the Control do not themselves come in contact with the population. They have to act through native subordinates. All that the European Control can accomplish is to cause a larger proportion of the public revenue to flow into the central Treasury, but it does not itself make the collections. So far as the Egyptian fellah is concerned, the sole difference which the existence of the European Control makes to him is, that the exactions formerly levied upon him in the name of the local Pasha, are now extorted from him in the name and on the authority of the European Control. What the European Control does accomplish most effectually is to deprive the Turkish officials in Egypt of all sense of responsibility or self-respect. If a wise and energetic ruler were to arise in that country his first endeavour would be to free himself from existing trammels. If no such ruler appears (and it is in the last degree improbable that one should), then the present oppression of the people will continue until human nature can no longer endure it. In either event, a long continuance in

"the path of tranquil and legitimate progress," as Lord Granville, with characteristic irony, designates the forlorn and wretched condition of the inhabitants of Egypt, is not to be looked for. "Anarchy" is certain at no distant date; and in that case are the people of Great Britain prepared to accept the policy of occupation? At present it would seem that they are; but I am convinced that this is so because they are unaware of all that is involved in that simple phrase, "the occupation of Egypt," or the incalculable consequences of attempting such a policy.

The safety of India is, of course, the paramount ground on which this policy of occupation would be thought to be justified. The attitude of the British nation towards the Indian Empire is very peculiar. No power upon earth can induce either Englishman, Scotchman, or Irishman to acquire any knowledge of India; he surrenders himself absolutely to the judgment of "experts;" he does not even care to ascertain the grounds on which these "experts" base their conclusions; he simply accepts them as authorities, whose word is not to be questioned; and when they say, "Do this" or "Do that," he does it. These "experts" have caused him to suffer many things in times past, and after-events have, almost invariably, proved them to be quite wrong in their reasonings and forecasts, but their authority is in no way diminished. And having, quite recently, expended at the bidding of these gentlemen, twenty millions of money in a futile attempt to secure the safety of India by the invasion of Afghanistan, the Englishman is ready still to accept their advice, and secure the safety of India by an occupation of Egypt.

I propose, in the following pages, to state briefly certain arguments which seem to me conclusive against this policy of occupation.

The first question I desire to put to those who would occupy Egypt is—Are they prepared to carry out this policy *at all costs*? The long and bitter enmity which subsisted between this country and France and which inflicted such immeasurable sorrow and ill upon both countries and upon all Europe, has happily been replaced by healthier and more natural relations. The most antiquated Tory in the United Kingdom has long ago ceased to look upon a Frenchman as his "natural enemy." There is, indeed, no nation in Europe towards which the British people, as a whole, are drawn by so warm and genuine a feeling of cordiality as towards the citizens of the French Republic. Supposing, then, that a British Protectorate over Egypt were obtainable only at the cost of a rupture with France—at the price, that is, of rekindling those ancient animosities which had their last banquet of flesh and blood on the field of Waterloo—is there any Englishman willing to accept such a consequence, in order possibly to avert a conjectural danger from our Indian Empire? Does either our duty toward the people of India or our own interest require that we should undo the healing and reconciling work of the past half-century and bequeath to the generations which are to follow a repetition of the sanguinary

war of the Napoleonic period? For we must remember that our occupation of Egypt would not be undertaken in order to avert from our Indian Empire an actual and immediate danger, but only a distant one lying just within the range of possible occurrences. Simply to state the proposition thus, is, it seems to me, equivalent to ensuring a reply in the negative. If a British occupation of Egypt is possible only at the cost of a European war of quite indefinite magnitude and duration—and such a war would certainly follow upon a rupture between this country and France—the most fiery Jingo in the land would, I imagine, acknowledge that the game was not worth the candle. India, doubtless, is much, but we should be guilty of a crime which nothing could justify if we deliberately sacrificed the peace of Europe—not to preserve India from aggression—but merely as a measure of precaution to provide for a possible future danger. And the folly of such a proceeding would be on a par with its criminality. The issues of a great European war could not be predicted—we might emerge from the contest worsted, weakened, and disgraced—and then how should we stand in relation to India? Every danger that war was intended to conjure away would confront us enlarged and intensified.

A war with France may, however, be dismissed by some as too extreme and unlikely a consequence of an exclusive British Protectorate of Egypt. But no one, I presume, will deny that a British occupation of Egypt is impossible without the complete destruction of the present friendly and cordial feelings which unite the two countries. If France, in consequence of her circumstances at the moment, was unable actively to oppose the landing of a British Army in Egypt, she would resent its appearance there all the more bitterly. A smouldering antipathy, which might, at any moment, burst into flame, would be kindled among her people, occasioning throughout Europe expectations of war, which are only less hurtful than war itself, to industry and commerce. And what would be the gain to India or to ourselves of such an occupation? In considering the reply to this question, we must not forget that whatever places we occupy, in order to defend a certain position, become an essential part of that position. If we occupy Egypt, in order to protect our Indian Empire, Egypt becomes, in fact, an outlying province of that empire. Our rule in India will be affected by all that happens to our rule in Egypt. If trouble and disaster beset us in Egypt, the hopes of all who wish ill to our rule in India will be awakened into life. The first effect, then, of the occupation of Egypt would not be to strengthen our grasp upon India, but merely to enlarge enormously our dangers and responsibilities. At present, the hand of Nature has drawn around our Indian Empire a circle of defences which render it all but impregnable to attack from without. On the landward side, the enormous mountain ranges of the Himalaya, and the Hindoo Khosh, with the deserts, and the sparsely-peopled countries which extend beyond them, render the invasion of British India an enterprise which no sane

politician would commit his country to ; while, on the seaward side, thousands of leagues of ocean, and our unapproachable superiority at sea, protect it from danger. By the occupation of Egypt, we should destroy at a single step all these extraordinary advantages. We should transfer the battlefield for the possession of India from ground all but inaccessible to the Great Powers of Europe, to ground on which almost any of them could penetrate at will. We should exchange the present isolated position of our Indian Empire for a position in the very midst of Moslem fanaticisms and European intrigues. But, in order to make all this clear, it is necessary to draw out somewhat in detail what is meant by a military occupation of, or British protectionate over, Egypt. I use the two phrases as synonymous, because the one would inevitably lead to the other. When people talk of the military occupation of Egypt, what they have in their minds is a garrison of British troops in Alexandria, and another in Cairo. What, however, is involved in such an occupation is, that we become directly responsible for order and good government in the Soudan and in the vast extent of territory stretching away to the sources of the Nile, that we must make up our minds immediately either to hold Tripoli ourselves against all comers, or to allow the armies of the French Republic to overrun it, that all the Moslem pride and fanaticism which is to be found in Syria, in the Soudan, and in Arabia, will be kindled to flame by this fresh incursion of the infidel on the dominions of Islam. The stir and excitement which such an occupation would cause throughout the yet unconquered lands of the Prophet would occasion a corresponding stir and excitement throughout the forty million Moslems in India. Without therefore being able to withdraw a single English soldier from our Indian garrison, we should require at the least an army of 50,000 men to retain our grasp upon Egypt. I think I may take for granted that those who favour the policy of an occupation of Egypt, are also those who regard with the deepest distrust and anxiety the advance of Russia in the direction of Herat. It is, therefore, well to remember that, while the occupation of Egypt would absorb a large portion of our military resources, it would leave us as much exposed as ever to whatever dangers are created by the progress of Russia in Central Asia. Nay, assuming that the Russian Government does meditate the invasion of British India, the occupation of Egypt would furnish her with unexpected assistance towards such an undertaking. Its immediate effect would be to produce an alliance between the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia against the common enemy of both.

The occupation of Egypt, in a word, must result in one of two alternatives. Either we should find ourselves unable to retain our hold upon the country in the face of the European jealousies and Moslem antipathies which such a proceeding would engender : in which case, our *prestige* (to use a hateful word) would be destroyed, and the stability of our rule in India would be seriously imperilled. Or we

should retain it: in which case we should be driven on, by the force of events, to the building up of a second Oriental Empire similar to the one we have founded in India. I am aware that such a prospect will be an alluring one to many Englishmen who know nothing of the carnage, the fraud, the violence and rapacity on which our Indian Empire was founded—and are, therefore, unable to see that a rule founded in wrong can never be productive of good either to rulers or ruled. But to those who know British rule in India, not as it is depicted in official reports and the writings of official apologists, but as it actually is, and as it always has been, a more saddening prospect could hardly be imagined than that of another large portion of the earth's surface groaning under a repetition of the same blind and unteachable tyranny. It may appear to many that the unscrupulous acts of a Clive or a Warren Hastings could hardly be repeated in Egypt under the light of the nineteenth century. But nothing done by either Clive or Hastings was more defiantly disregarding of the plainest dictates of equity and good faith than the Zulu War or the recent invasion of Afghanistan; and neither Omichand nor Nandcoomar had greater reason to complain of British ethics than has Sir Salar Jung, the Regent of Hyderabad. The fact is, that in dealing with what he terms an "inferior race," the Englishman, as the teacher and representative of a higher morality, assumes that whatever he desires to do, is ethically the right thing to do. And this simple principle of conduct enables him, whenever he pleases, to break treaties, to despoil his neighbours of their patrimony, and to break the greater part of the Ten Commandments habitually, not merely with an unruffled conscience, but with a glowing sense of inward self-approval.

Having said this much against the policy of occupation, I will take the other alternative, and attempt to discover what is involved in it. I will suppose that we withdraw from Egypt, and leave the French in solitary possession of the field. In what way would the security of India be endangered thereby? I assume that the Palmerstonian conception of the French character is, at the present day, cradicated from the mind of every Englishman. Nobody now believes, as he did, that the French are a nation of pirates who may reasonably be expected to cross the Channel upon any fine night, and make a filibustering raid upon Portsmouth. So long, therefore, as the present feeling of amity continues to exist between ourselves and the French nation, India is secure from attack, whether the Republic be supreme in Egypt or not. The danger will arise if at any future time there be a rupture between the two countries. But what danger? The passage of troops to India round the Cape, would take little more than a fortnight longer than their passage by way of the Suez Canal; and assuming that the French have resolved to attempt our expulsion from India, it is absurd to suppose that this delay of a fortnight or three weeks in landing reinforcements in India involves all the difference between success and failure. For mer-

cautile purposes, a free passage through the Suez canal is, of course, of the greatest importance, but as a military highway its value is small. It saves a fortnight of time; it does nothing more. But the terrible consequences which are to follow upon a French occupation of Egypt have been depicted by the *Spectator* in its most sensational manner, and they are as follows :—

"A Power like France in possession of Egypt would be master of too much of England's destiny. The danger is not limited to India, though it is most immediate there. France, holding Egypt, owning North Africa, and permanently able to occupy Mecca—which would lie at her immediate mercy—could always threaten descents on India with a composite force of Frenchmen and Arabs which it might not suit the Indian Mohammedans to oppose. . . . We could never again pass a law they disapproved, never again compel them as we do now to keep the truce with the Hindoo population. They would be perpetually looking for aid to the Arab army. We should be compelled, as a measure of precaution, not only to increase the garrison, for France now fights with large numbers, and sends whole *corps d'armée* across the Mediterranean, but to keep a powerful fleet in the Indian Ocean, and to make for it docks, coal yards, and building yards on the coast either of Zanzibar or Arabia, which would be as difficult to protect and garrison as India itself. This fleet would cost three millions a year, and do nothing outside its own sea. . . . There would not be a port in Australia, Japan, China, India, or East Africa which would be truly safe, and the first pre-occupation of trade would be the good humour of Paris. . . . England would feel stifled as if her wealth were at the mercy of any Parisian *emule*. The people would not bear it, would fight to end it," &c. &c.

If this, or anything resembling this, be a correct prevision, the policy of the English nation is obvious. It is to transfer their capital and seat of Empire from London to Cairo, as the Roman Emperors transferred theirs from Rome to Constantinople. But the *Spectator's* method of reasoning in this case is characteristically English. It is our custom, in questions of foreign policy, to draw out a catalogue of all the perils which are not absolutely impossible under a given condition of things, and then demand that the Government shall immediately carry out a policy, as if all these imaginary dangers were actual present facts. These "composite armies of Frenchmen and Arabs" which are to "threaten descents on India, which it might not suit the Indian Mohammedans to oppose," could not, I suppose, cross the Indian Ocean, except in ships. France, therefore, must create an immense fleet of steam ships before she could even begin to "threaten descents" upon India. Now, the *Spectator* does not believe that France would thus "threaten descents," except in "the fits of Chauvinism and petulance which occasionally overcome her," and it is not to be supposed that she will, while in her sound mind, create a fleet for the express purpose of descending upon India, when "overcome by a periodic fit of Chauvinism." We may dismiss therefore the "composite army of Frenchmen and Arabs, making descents upon India," as an incident lying outside of the range of possible (not merely practical) politics. The fact is that France, "holding Egypt, owning North Africa, and permanently occupying Mecca," would have a great deal too much upon her hands

to think about making "descents" upon India. Far easier, and more practicable, would it be for us, with "a composite army of Englishmen and Indian Mahommedans," to "make descents upon Egypt," and it is quite certain that it would not suit the Arabs of Mecca to oppose any such descents. In drawing out this catalogue of possible consequences, the *Spectator* has forgotten to take note of a fact which negatives them one and all, and that is, that a conquered country can never be made, with safety, the base of military operations. It is in the knowledge of this fact that Russophobia has its source. If we could rely upon India itself as, under all contingencies, a secure base of operations, there is not an Englishman but would regard the approach of Russia to our Northern Frontier with indifference. And, similarly, the weakness of the position behind them would act as an effectual deterrent upon the French Government in Egypt, if they meditated an attack upon India. Should France succeed in building up an African Empire in imitation of our Asiatic one, her policy will not be to keep alive the military ardour of her subjects by leading them to new wars of conquest, but, as ours is in India, to disarm and pacify them. It has cost us in India a century of war and ruthless confiscation to crush the martial ardour and the national instincts of the races of India, and we have there, in full operation, at this moment, an Arms Act which prohibits any native from carrying or having fire-arms in his possession without a license. We cling to this Act because of the security (as we imagine) that it confers upon our rule, although we acknowledge that the wretched people have, in consequence of it, fallen victims to savage animals in greater numbers than heretofore. The French will certainly require no less a period, and measures not dissimilar, before they are securely established in Egypt, Northern Africa, and Mecca, and it is hardly worth while to take immediate possession of Egypt in order to avert the possibility of "descents upon India" by "composite armies of Frenchmen and Arabs" a century hence. All must devoutly hope that a century hence the people of India will be managing their concerns without our assistance. Meanwhile, until the French were firmly established in their African Empire—until they could securely count upon the fidelity of their reluctant subjects—they would not dare to provoke a war with Great Britain by obstructing the passage of our commerce through the Canal.

There is, however, an Egyptian policy which this country might adopt with, as it seems to me, equal advantage and honour to itself, and that is a policy for the restoration of Egypt to the people of Egypt. "The tie which unites Egypt to the Porte," and which Lord Granville considers as the sole guarantee for peace, is, in point of fact, the cause of the whole Egyptian difficulty. It is the badness of the Turkish Government which has been used as the justification for introducing European Control into Egypt, while the presence of the Control constantly deteriorates what it was intended to improve. What Egypt

has a right to demand from Europe—but especially from France and ourselves—is a government, the interests of which shall be identical with that of the people. This might be effected by erecting Egypt into an independent principality under a European ruler, and placing her independence under the collective guardianship of the Great Powers. As the servants of a Sovereign selected by the Great Powers to govern Egypt, the members of the Control would fall into their proper places as part of the ordinary machinery of the administration; the Turkish element should be expunged from the government as speedily as possible; and their places supplied from members of the different races which form the population of Egypt. Egypt, no longer attached to the decaying carcase of the Ottoman Empire, her neutrality assured by a European guarantee, with a European prince ruling through national agencies, in a spirit of Western enlightenment, would be in no danger of falling a prey to rival ambitions. There is no reason that I can see why the future of such an Egypt should differ from the history of Servia, Roumania, Greece, dismembered portions of the Ottoman Empire, to which a precisely similar treatment has been applied.

ROBERT D. OSBOEN.

MARRIED WOMEN IN FACTORIES.

WHILE engaged in preparing a small treatise, "The State in its Relation to Labour," my attention has been strongly called anew to the importance of the question of the employment of married women in factories and workshops. The bearing of the question is, of course, instantly seen when it is considered that every mother so employed abandons her infants and young children for ten hours in the day to the care of other, usually careless hands. The subject has long been one of chronic controversy in the manufacturing districts, especially in Manchester, where it is every now and then debated in the newspapers and public societies. In the "Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society," especially, will be found a series of papers on the several phases of the matter, by the late Dr. George Greaves, Mrs. M. A. Baines, Dr. Noble, Dr. Syson, Mr. T. R. Wilkinson, and others.

The Manchester Sanitary Association is ever registering and considering the infant mortality of the district. Almost every volume of the "Transactions of the Social Science Association" contains papers more or less directly bearing on the subject. The Reports of the Factory Inspectors, especially those of Mr. Baker, have recorded from time to time the most valuable facts, as well as the inferences and reflections of the Inspectors; and there are various other official publications to be presently mentioned, in which the question has been almost exhaustively treated. Yet nothing has been done, although it is impossible to stir the mass of records without discovering that the evils recorded are appalling in their nature. Can such things be in a Christian country? is the exclamation which rises to the lips in contemplating the mass of misery, and, especially, the infinite, irreparable wrong to helpless children, which is involved in the mother's employment at the mills.

It is a strange topic for reflection how the public, morbidly fixing

their attention on some wretched murderer, or a score of dogs or rabbits sacrificed for the enduring interests of humanity, can calmly ignore the existence of evils which are so extensive that the imagination fails to grasp them clearly. It is a curious, and yet unquestionable fact, that a comparatively small and unimportant work is often undertaken with ardour, whereas a vastly greater and more urgent work of the same kind produces only languor. Thus Mr. George Smith succeeded in arousing intense sympathy for the small number of children brought up (often not brought up) in canal boats. The peculiar circumstances of the canal boats, and the definite manageable extent of the ideas involved, conduced to the success of the very proper movement which Mr. Smith carried out to the point of legislation. But infant mortality in general is, I fear, far too wide and vague an idea to rivet the attention of the public.* It is a question involving the whole of the lower-class population of the manufacturing districts. The actual excess of deaths is to be counted in tens of thousands. Briefly stated, the question concerns the mode of death of certainly 30,000 infants, and perhaps as many as 40,000 or even 50,000 which perish annually in this country through preventible causes. In no small number of cases the deaths are actually intentional infanticides, committed in a manner which defies the scrutiny of a coroner and jury. Thus the Registrar-General, in his *Thirty-seventh Annual Report* (p. xxiii.), refers ominously to the large number of infants suffocated in one town, and demands special inquiry, which, of course, has never been made.† In by far the largest number of cases, however, we may be glad to conclude that it is not real murder which we deal with, but a mixture of thoughtlessness and carelessness, varying in criminality from manslaughter up to mere misadventure and ignorance of an entirely innocent character. But in any case the facts are of the most serious nature, and must form suitable matter for reflection in the approaching Christmas season, round warm firesides and well-covered tables.

To form some preliminary idea of the amount of infant mortality with which we have to deal, we may turn to any of the recent annual reports of the Registrar-General, and we find a table giving the deaths of children under five years of age in the principal great towns. Thus, in the *Forty-first Report*, p. xxxvi., we find that the estimated numbers of children under five years of age in nineteen large towns add up to a little more than a million (1,023,896), while the number of deaths of such children was 85,250. The rate of mortality, however, varies extremely, being as comparatively low as 59.4 in 1,000 in Portsmouth, rising to 65.8 in Brighton, 66.2 in Bristol, 73.2 in Newcastle, 74.8 in Wolverhampton, 78.6 in London, 82.9 in Leicester and Nottingham, and so on, until we reach gradually the higher amounts of 93.8 in

* I prefer to adopt this explanation of the public apathy about this subject, but a correspondent maintains that "it is simply one of the phases of middle class selfishness."

† On this subject see the paper on "The Destruction of Infants," by Mr. F. W. Lowndes, M.R.C.S.: Social Science Association, 1876, Report, p. 586.

Salford, 95·2 in Birmingham, 95·9 in Sheffield. The place of dishonour is occupied by Liverpool, with an infant mortality rising to a climax of 103·6 per 1,000. In that great seaport the infants (under five years of age) are decimated annually! Now, if we assume that, with proper sanitary regulations, the infant mortality in towns ought not to exceed that of Norwich, which is on the average about 70 per 1,000, we readily calculate that the excess of infant deaths in the other great towns in question amounts to 13,500 annually. But the question clearly depends upon the average of sanitation which we conceive possible. Portsmouth, which we should not at first expect to find very favourable to infant life, maintains an average as low as about 60 per 1,000. The Registrar-General remarks that this low rate is probably owing in some measure to the presence of a large number of military and naval men, and dockyard artificers, representing several thousands of selected healthy lives. The dockyard affords employment to a large number of artisans, and there is not that inducement in Portsmouth for mothers to neglect their offspring which there is in the factory towns. I entertain, however, some doubt whether there is any reason for regarding Portsmouth as really exceptional; and if we take its rate as a standard, we find that the excess of the other great towns amounts to about 24,000, which, of course, does not include the excessive mortality of a multitude of smaller towns. Let it be observed that we have nothing to do here with the contrast between town and country. In a highly rural county, such as Dorsetshire or Wiltshire, the infant mortality does not usually exceed about 40 per 1,000, and even sinks as low as 35.

I do not intend, in the present article, to enlarge upon the remarkable differences in regard to mortality which the great towns exhibit. Liverpool is especially anomalous, because, though standing at the head of the list, it has no great textile factories which would take women away from home. Renewed and very careful inquiry has, indeed, quite satisfied me as to the correctness of the explanation which I gave in 1870^{*} of the excessive mortality of such towns as Liverpool and Salford. Until statisticians will constantly bear in mind the fact that the different towns and counties of England are to a great extent peopled by races of different characters, it will remain impossible to understand the profound sanitary discrepancies which they exhibit. It is not, however, to my purpose to dwell upon the influence of a mixture of population; it is only necessary to refer to the point as explaining anomalies which would otherwise seem to tend against the inferences to be drawn concerning other matters. In this article I prefer to direct the reader's attention to one of the existing social evils, which is unquestionably the cause of much of the infant mortality

^{*} *Journal of the Statistical Society*, September, 1870, vol. xxxiii, pp. 323-326. See, however, the opposite opinion of Mr. T. R. Wilkinson, as expressed in his paper, "Observations on Infant Mortality and the Death-rate in Large Towns," *Manchester Statistical Society*, 1870-1, pp. 49-55.

alluded to; I mean the employment of child-bearing women away from home. This is, beyond doubt, the most important question touching the relation of the State to labour which remains unsolved.

It has long, indeed, been one of the most frequent and urgent proposals of trade unionists that married women should be "taken out of the mills." The so-called labour advocates are often a great deal nearer the truth than the general public believe. But then, unfortunately, they give reasons for their opinions, and these reasons will not always bear examination. Thus, in favour of the summary exclusion of married women, it is argued that the market is overstocked, and that if married women were taken out, the operation would realize a great social and domestic benefit, whilst "much of the overplus labour would be reduced." This, however, is obviously bad political economy. We cannot possibly increase the welfare of the people by lessening labour, the source of wealth. No workers, too, are more to be admired than some married women, who, by indomitable industry and good management, maintain a family of children and a husband too. Where the husband is disabled by accident, illness, imprisonment, or otherwise, or has deserted his family, the wife cannot but be praised if she attempts to take his place and save the children from the Union. There will exist, again, many cases of married women without children, or whose children are past infancy, where the prohibition of employment would rest on no special grounds, and would be little short of tyrannous.

There is a reverse side of the question, which it is impossible to overlook. As pointed out by one of the factory inspectors,* no small number of women managing households and bringing up young children are, unfortunately, unmarried. Now, a law excluding married women from factories would obviously have the most disastrous effects upon these unhappy women, by banishing, in most cases, all hope of marriage. In too many cases it is the woman's power of earning wages which constitutes her hold upon the paramour. Beyond doubt, then, the exclusion of the class "married women," simply by that definition, cannot for a moment be contemplated. It is the class "child-bearing women" that legislation must deal with, if at all. Opinions will differ greatly, however, as to the extent, means, and purpose of the legislation required. The slightest form of interference would consist in excluding women from factories for a certain number of weeks before and after confinement. Mr. Mundella explained to the Factory Acts Commission of 1875 that in Glarus, and some other Swiss Cantons, a woman was obliged to remain at home for six weeks in all, fixing the time at her own discretion. There can be so little doubt as to the hygienic advantages of such a law, that the only question seems to be the possibility of enforcing the law. What is practicable in a small mountain district like Glarus, where everybody knows everybody else, might totally fail in an ocean of population like that of Lancashire or

* Mr. Baker, Report, October, 1873, pp. 122-s

London. It will be generally agreed that the employer can hardly be made responsible for delicate inquiries into the condition of his female mill-hands. The Factory Act Commissioners bring forward, moreover, other serious difficulties; for instance, the danger of adding a new and very powerful motive for concealment of birth.

It appears pretty plain that if there is to be legislation concerning child-bearing women something more thorough is required. The women may be quite fit for work in one month; but what about the infant? The latter is pretty sure to be relegated to that scourge of infant life, the dirty fungus-bearing bottle. I do not think that it will be possible for the Legislature much longer to leave untouched the sad abuses which undoubtedly occur in the treatment of infants, especially in the manufacturing districts. The existence of such abuses is sufficiently indicated by the high rate of infant mortality already alluded to. More than ten years ago (May to July, 1870), a long controversy took place in the *Manchester Guardian* as to the existence and causes of this excessive mortality. It was evoked by a paper read by Mr. Baxendell to the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester throwing doubt upon the facts; but it appeared to be conclusively shown by Dr. Arthur Ransome that there was an enormous death-rate of very young children in Manchester and certain other towns. About the same time Sir W. T. Charley, Mr. Ernest Hart, Mr. George Hastings, and other gentlemen, formed an Infant-Life Protection Society; and the subject was also brought before the House of Commons by the first-named gentleman. The Report of the Select Committee on the Protection of Infant Life* contains startling revelations, which have never received the attention they imperatively demand. The following passage from the Report of the Committee (p. iv.) contains a concise statement of what they considered to be proved concerning infant mortality:—

"The ordinary mortality among infant children under one year of age is estimated at 15 or 16 per cent.; but the mere fact of their being hand-nursed, instead of being breast-nursed, will, unless great care is taken, raise the death-rate, even in well-conducted 'homes,' to 40 per cent. and upwards. In the inferior class of houses, where the children put out to nurse are, for the most part, illegitimate, the death-rate may be 40 to 60 per cent. in the rural districts, and in the large towns, where the sanitary conditions are more unfavourable, it amounts up to 70, 80, or even 90 per cent. All the witnesses concur in this; and there are three or four circumstances which strongly confirm their general opinion."

It is frequently implied, or stated, throughout the "Report, Evidence, and Appendices," that the present treatment of infants often amounts practically to infanticide. According to the late Dr. Jankester, then Coroner for Middlesex, illegitimate children are "killed off" before they are one year old; and the Committee calmly assume that not more than one in ten of such children ever lives to grow up. In a petition presented to the Home Secretary by the British Medical Association

* Parliamentary Paper, No 372, 20th July, 1871. Collected Series, vol. vii. p. 607.

(Report, p. 237), it is asserted that no action of the police can discover the great amount of secret infanticide which is daily perpetrated in this Metropolis and elsewhere. The same body asserts that "in manufacturing towns, where children are placed out by the day, a very large infant mortality exists, chiefly owing to the administration of insufficient or improper food and opiates, by the women in whose charge the children are placed."

And again, we have this important statement: "Those children who live, and reach adult life under such adverse circumstances, are physically and morally weak, and in most instances lapse into pauperism and crime."

After reading some of the facts contained in this grim report, it is impossible not to concur in this remark of the Infant-Life Protection Society, though it occurs to one to ask what has become of the Society?—"It is astounding to all those who know the facts connected with baby farming that . . . the State has left this great mass of helpless infant life to suffer and die in the hands of persons, too many of whom make of death a trade."

The question, however, referred to the Committee was merely that of the best means of preventing the destruction of the lives of *infants put out to nurse for hire by their parents*. By "put out to nurse," was taken to mean put out for more than twenty-four hours at a time. Thus the treatment of children generally was not expressly considered, and the recommendations of the Committee, resulted in nothing more than a Bill for the registration of persons who take for hire two or more infants under one year of age to nurse for a longer period than a day. In the next session the Bill became law, under the title of "The Infant-Life Protection Act, 1872" (35 and 36 Vict. c. 38). In addition to registration, the law requires every registered baby-farmer to send notice to the coroner of all deaths in the registered houses, so that inquests may be held in the absence of medical certificates satisfactory to the coroner.

We will presently consider the working of this Act.

Although the Report of this Committee contains the largest collected body of facts, a good deal of information, very much indeed to the point, may be found in the Reports of the Medical Officer to the Privy Council. It is needless for me to say how replete all these reports are with sanitary researches of the highest importance; but the document most to our purpose is a Report, kindly pointed out to me by Dr. Mouat, made by the late Dr. Henry J. Hunter on the excessive mortality of infants in some rural districts of England.* As, indeed, this Report treats of agricultural districts, it might seem to have little bearing on our subject. But the parts of the country examined by Dr. Hunter afforded an experiment of a most significant and conclusive

* Sixth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, 1863, pp. 451-62 (Parl. Paper, 1864, No. 3,116, vol. xxviii.).

character. A serious increase of infant mortality had been observed in certain marshy agricultural districts, and the only apparent antecedent was the bringing of the land under cultivation. As this change, however, might be expected to banish the malaria of the fens, it seemed, at first sight, unaccountable that the infants died off the more rapidly as the climate became more healthy. A little inquiry, however, showed that an influence far more fatal than malaria had come into operation. The mothers had gained employment in the field-gangs, and had left their infants to the care of the old women. That this was really the cause was established by the concurrent evidence of all witnesses examined by the reporter. The peculiar importance of this result is, that we here have the influence of married women's employment freed from the circumstances of town life.

The excessive mortality of Salford or Nottingham, we see, is not due alone to the bad sanitary condition of the courts and streets, for like infant mortality makes its appearance in the most rural parts. We have, in fact, a *true and complete induction, pointing to the employment of women away from their homes as the efficient cause of their children's decadence.*

Dr. Hunter's Report is crammed with other information, more instructive than pleasant. It is unfortunate that such valuable inquiries should be buried in scarce Blue-books, which are hardly accessible except in the British Museum, or a few other public libraries. After describing in a few touching sentences the history of many a young woman who finds herself a mother while she is yet really a child herself, he proceeds (p. 458):—

"A worse degree of criminality is found in older mothers. After losing a child or two, they begin to view the subject as one for ingenuity and speculation. It is related that on the birth of a second or third bastard the neighbours will say, 'So and so has another baby—you'll see it won't live;' and thus becomes a sort of joke, in which the mother will join, public opinion expressing no condemnation of her cruelty. A medical man is called to the wasting infant, because there is so much bother with registering. The mother says the child is dying, and won't touch food. When he offers food the child is ravenous, and fit to tear the spoon to pieces. On some of the few occasions on which the surgeon, in his disgust, has insisted on opening the body, the stomach and bowels have been found quite empty."

Dr. Hunter enters pretty fully into the natural history of "Godfrey," the compound of opium, treacle, and infusion of sassafras, to which many thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of infants have succumbed. This is so commonly demanded in many districts that it becomes the "leading article" at the shops. The shopkeepers, in the zeal of competition, sell "Godfrey" at cost price, as the best means of weighing improvident mothers. One inconvenience of this excessive competition is, that different specimens of "Godfrey" vary much in strength, and a nurse who incautiously administers a new brand of the cordial is sometimes alarmed at the result. Thus, says Dr. Hunter

(p. 439), "It has not unfrequently happened that a nurse has substituted her own 'Godfrey' for her client's [query? her client's "Godfrey" for her own] and, frightened at its effects, has summoned the surgeon, who finds half-a-dozen babies, some snoring, some squinting, all pallid and eye-sunken, lying about the room, all poisoned."

There are peculiar technical means, it seems, which surgeons use in such emergencies, to bring the babies round, but I need not describe them. Suffice it for our purpose that Hunter asserts it to be the general opinion of medical practitioners that "abstention and narcotism" would be the true description of the cause of more than half the infantile deaths recorded, whatever may be the "advanced symptoms" returned to the registrar.

Hardly less instructive is the previous report of Dr. Greenhow, on the infant mortality of certain manufacturing districts.* It was elicited from a man working in a factory at Birmingham, where many married women were employed, that ten out of every twelve children born to them died within a few months after birth. The man had been accustomed to collect the money for the funeral expenses, and he ought to know. In the course of Dr. Greenhow's further inquiries, it was frequently found that two-thirds or three-fourths of the children born to the women had died in infancy; and, "on the other hand, it was remarkable how, in other instances, the majority of the children were reared when the mothers did not work in factories, or discontinued doing so whilst nursing" (p. 196).

The following passage (p. 192) is also very much to the point, explaining how the system works:—

"Women being obliged to attend at the factory at an early hour, are always hurried in the morning, and may be seen on their way to the mills, hastening along the street, with their children only half-dressed, carrying the remainder of their clothes and their food for the day, to be left with the person who has charge of the child during the mother's absence; and this oftentimes on a cold winter's morning, in the midst of sleet or snow. . . . Parents who thus entrust the management of their infants so largely to strangers become more or less careless and indifferent about them; and, as many of the children die, the mothers become familiarized with the fact, and speak of the deaths of their children with a degree of nonchalance rarely met with amongst women who devote themselves mainly to the care of their offspring."

The complete concurrence of opinion as to the influence of the mother's absence on the health of the infant is thus explicitly summed up (p. 192):—

"All the medical men who gave evidence on the subject of the present inquiry, besides several clergymen, ladies who are accustomed to visit the poorer classes at their dwellings, Scripture-readers, relieving-officers, and other persons who have paid attention to the subject, unhesitatingly expressed an opinion that the system under which the mothers of young children are employed at factories and workshops, away from home, is a fruitful cause of infantile sickness and mortality."

* Fourth Report of the Medical Officer of the Privy Council, 1861, pp. 187-190. Parl. Papers, 1862, No. 179, vol. xxii.

Such, then, is the progress of civilization produced by the advancing powers of science and machinery; two-thirds to three-fourths, or even as much as five-sixths, of the infants dying of neglect. On this point all the official reports concur so unanimously that they may well be described as "damnable iteration." *

It seems necessary, indeed, to mention that, according to the last issued Annual Report of the Registrar General for England (Forty-second Report, containing the abstracts for 1879), there has been a decrease of infant mortality in recent years, especially during the years 1876-9, when the rate per 1,000 males, which had been 73 or 74, fell to an average of 67.0. This low rate, however, may be partly due to the unusual healthiness of the year 1879, when the rate was no more than 64. It is worthy of notice, too, that mortality was nearly as low in the years 1841-5, namely, 68.8, and then it rose rapidly to 77.4. There is some ground for suspecting that want of active employment in the mills may actually lead to saving of life in the aggregate. In any case, while the mortality of infants under one year of age continues to be as much as 50 or 60 per cent. higher in some towns than in others, we cannot possibly deny that there exists an immense amount of preventable evil.

Let us consider now the results which have flowed from the legislation promoted by the Committee on the Protection of Infant Life. With the kind assistance of Mr. Edward Herford,† who has so long and so ably filled the office of Her Majesty's Coroner for Manchester, I have been able to acquire sufficient information.‡

Mr. Herford himself believes that the Act is a dead letter. This opinion is entirely borne out by the statement of Mr. Malcolm Wood, the Chief Constable of Manchester, to the effect that there are actually no houses at all in that city registered under the Act. Mr. Michael Browne, the Coroner of Nottingham, has never heard of any application for a license under the Act in Nottingham or its neighbourhood. The Coroner of Birmingham believes that the same is the case in that great and model town, and he is of opinion that infantile mortality is enormously increased by bad nursing, feeding, and want of care on the part of the mother. The Chief Constable of one very large town, being asked for information touching "Charley's Act," rather naïvely replied that he could not recollect having ever received any application for information about it before. On the other hand, from the Medical Officer of Health of Liverpool I learn that there actually have been ten applications for registration, but only one of these was found to come under the clauses of the Act; and at present there are no houses at all on the register. At Bolton, also, the Act is a dead letter, though the Coroner,

* Mr. Newmarch said at the British Association in 1861 (Report, p. 202) "The rate of infant mortality was almost the best test of civilization."

† Important evidence on the subject of Infant Mortality was given by Mr. Herford before the Committee—See the Questions, 1907 to 2155. See also the Report, p. iii.

‡ It must be understood that no systematic or extensive inquiry has been made. I have no information for London or any other towns not mentioned above; but the answers obtained sufficiently inform us as to the state of the case.

Mr. Rowland Taylor, says that he has never had a case before him of malpractices by nurses.

Some statements which Mr. Browne, of Nottingham, has added to his letter, are, however, so startling that I must quote them *in extenso*.* He says:—

"You know we stand notoriously high as to infant mortality, and I attribute that in a great measure to the young women being employed in warehouses, factories, &c., and knowing little or nothing of the duties of wives and mothers, so that infants suffer sadly from neglect of every kind, and great numbers die from improper feeding. It is a very common practice for young mothers (married as well as single) to place their infants in the care of other women for the day, and I am constantly lecturing them on gross improprieties I find prevailing in such cases. . . . Some years ago I held an inquest on a very young child, whose parents were earning from 50s. to 60s. a week, but who put out their infant to nurse, because, as the mother told me, she could not attend to it herself, having to be at work at the warehouse. The nurse very coolly admitted that she had (had) the care of eighteen children (five of them her own) and only one was living!"

I have not the least doubt that facts of this kind might be multiplied to almost any extent by adequate inquiry. In fact inquiry is hardly needed; the state of the case is patent and admitted in the districts in question. The evidence taken before the Infant Life Protection Committee in all probability applies as strongly now, or nearly so, as it did ten years ago. In any case, it is a fact that the infants are "killed off" almost as fast now as they were ten or twelve years ago. As the last bit of iteration, I will give the following extract, culled from a Manchester newspaper,† purporting to come from a recent report of Mr. Leigh, the Medical Officer of Health for Manchester. After informing us that in 1878-9 the deaths of children under five years of age in Manchester formed about 44 per cent. of the whole, while in other places the rate does not exceed 33 per cent., he goes on to say:—

"The chief cause of a heavy infant mortality is the neglect which young children meet with in the lower stratum of society. In some cases the mother is employed in out-door labour, and the child receives no proper sustenance. It is left to the care of a girl too young even to take care of herself, and is exposed, with very scanty clothing, to the inclemency of the weather; or it is left in the care of some old woman, who quietens its cries for warmth and nourishment with repeated doses of laudanum, in the form of 'Godfrey's Cordial,' or some similar farrago; and at an early age dies from convulsions in one case, and from bronchitis or other lung affection in the other."

As a remedy for this sad state of affairs, Dr. Ransome, Mr. T. C. Horsfall, and various members of the Manchester and Salford Sanitary Association, advocate the establishment of day nurseries, where the mothers, while going to the mills, may deposit their young children under

* That Mr. Browne's opinions are far from being hastily formed is apparent from the fact that like opinions are expressed in his letter and tabular statement of the results of inquests on children found dead, as printed in the Fourth Report of the Privy Council, p. 192. Parl. Paper p. 174, 1862 vol. xxi.

† They appear to print so few copies of reports in Manchester, that I have been unable to procure a copy of the report in question.

good supervision. If nothing else be done to mitigate the fate of infants, such nurseries are simply indispensable; but surely they form a mere palliative, and if they came into general use would tend to increase the evil they are intended to mitigate. While such institutions remained few in number, and were personally inspected by members of the Sanitary Association, all would no doubt be done which care and medical science could suggest. Even under the most painstaking inspection, much is to be feared from the assembling of many infants daily in the same room, owing to the extraordinary facility with which infectious diseases are spread among the very young. The evidence given before the Committee above referred to seems to be conclusive on this point, and the following are the remarks of the Committee in their Report (p. vi.) :—

"As regards children in charitable institutions, it is clearly ascertained that the aggregation of them in crowded rooms is so fatal to infant life that it has become necessary to remove them into various Homes. It was so with the Foundling Hospital nearly a century ago. The same has been observed in the Home in Great Coram Street; so that now they are put out by twos and threes in other places. A similar system exists in France: for while the children were aggregated in foundling hospitals, it was found that from 70 to 80 per cent. died; and now that they are placed out singly with nurses, and properly inspected, the mortality has been reduced from 20 to 30 per cent."

It would appear, then, that frequently the only chance of saving infant life is the reverse of that intended by the Sanitary Association—namely, to isolate the children. But if such nurseries are to be of much good they must be hundreds in number, and they would then inevitably become the scenes of fearful abuses. The law provides no inspection or regulation for them of any kind, and institutions established for the protection and care of infants are, curiously enough, expressly exempted from the provisions of the Protection of Infant-Life Act. Inspection by volunteer members of committees may of course maintain good management in a few nurseries; but we learn, from plenty of cases, how little such management is to be depended upon where the patients are incapable of complaining.

Although the Infant-Life Protection Act is clearly a dead letter, there is no evidence to show exactly how it has failed. It may, of course, be possible that the care-takers of infants, knowing that it is a penal offence to take charge of more than one infant, or in the case of twins two infants, at the same time, have discontinued the practice. In that case the Act has succeeded better than any other law I can think of, in entirely suppressing the evil against which it was directed. But it is much more likely that the women in question do not so much as know of the existence of the law in question. Whether we look to the number of married women employed in factories, or the excessive infant mortality as already estimated, there can be no doubt that the Act in question has not in the least touched the real evils under which infants fade away. Let it be clearly understood, too, that the Act referred to does not really apply to the question before us, because its

clauses do not extend to persons who take infants under their care *for a part of the twenty-four hours only*. An old woman might have a score or two of infants, and dose them at her discretion; but providing that they were carried to their homes at night, there would be no infringement of the law. Both the Act and the inquiries of the Committee were directed against the evils of "baby-farming;" but whether baby-farming be suppressed or not, there remains the vastly more extensive evils connected with baby-nursing while the mother is gone to the mills. The Act, in short, though founded on the best possible intentions, has served as a mere cover for the apathy of the governing classes.

But we are on the horns of a dilemma; the infants die as it is, and they will probably die if nurseries are established. We want some more radical remedy, and the best remedy would perhaps be found in some law which would practically oblige the mother to remain at home as long as she has children below the school age. It is very desirable that women who have no such domestic duties should have the freest possible access to employment; but where infants and very young children are in the case, the *salus populi* leads to a totally different view. There are no duties which are more important in every respect than those which a mother is bound by with regard to her young children. The very beasts of the field tend and guard their whelps with instinctive affection. It is only human mothers which shut their infants up alone, or systematically neglect to give them nourishment.

It must be evident, too, that the facility with which a young married woman can now set her children aside, and go to earn good wages, in the mills, forms the strongest possible incentive to improvident and wrongful marriages. There are many statements in the reports of the factory inspectors to the effect that dissolute men allure capable young women into marriage with the idea that the wives can earn wages, and enable their husbands to idle away their time. Taking into account the practical infanticide which follows, it would be impossible to imagine a more unsound, or, it may be said, a more atrocious, state of affairs.

It seems impossible, then, not to concede that the employment of child-bearing women leads to great abuses; and when these abuses reach a certain point, they may become all that is needed to warrant legislation. As to the exact form which such legislation should take, inquiry, if not experiment, must guide us. The law of Switzerland and some foreign countries, even if it could be carried out in our populous towns, seems to be inadequate. Probably it would be well to impose restrictions and penalties upon the negligent treatment of infants, without waiting until the case ripens for the coroner's court. It ought to be a punishable offence to shut very young children up in a house alone, or otherwise to abandon them for any considerable length of time, except, of course, under the pressure of emergency. But I go so far as to advocate the *ultimate complete exclusion of mothers of children under the age of three years from factories and workshops*.

The objection which will naturally be made to this proposal is, that there are no means of carrying the law into effect. It is granted that any law which, like the Infant-Life Protection Act, becomes entirely ineffective, is a reproach to legislation, and by first quieting agitation, and then discouraging further efforts, does far more harm than good. Some effective machinery, or attempt to devise such machinery must be provided in any law on the subject. As in the case of all the other factory legislation, trial and experience must show how that machinery can be improved and rendered adequate to its purpose. The history of such legislation, in fact, already affords important hints. The failure of the Workshops Acts of 1867, shows that nothing can be trusted to local or municipal action in these matters. The powers of the law must be exercised, as in the case of the present Factories and Workshops Act, from Whitehall. Again, it is generally conceded by all who have paid the least attention to this matter, that the employers cannot be burdened with the duty of inquiring into the nature of a woman's home duties. The penalties must fall therefore directly upon the persons most immediately implicated.

Fully conscious how impossible it is to foresee difficulties or even absurdities in making suggestions of the sort, I nevertheless venture to suggest that a moderate pecuniary penalty should be imposed upon every able-bodied husband, or reputed husband, whose wife having the charge of any child under three years of age, shall be found to be employed regularly in any factory or workshop under the Act.

Moreover, any person who systematically takes charge of the infants of any man, thus liable to penalty, should be liable to a like penalty, without respect to the question whether it appears to be done for profit or not. Of course, no penalty would be inflicted where the care-taking was only occasional, as when a wife is going to bring or take back work to be done at home. Only where factory books prove that a woman was regularly employed under the Factory Act, would it be desirable to prosecute. The employers, however, might be obliged to furnish evidence of the woman's attendance at the factory. Moreover, lists of the women fined, or otherwise known to have broken the law, might be sent to the employers of each town or district, by the factory inspectors, the employer being then fineable if he engages a woman whose name appears in the list. A woman giving a false name or address should be more severely punished.

The conduct of the requisite inspection and prosecution cannot possibly be left to the ordinary police. All experience seems to show that, in our modern complicated society, there must be differentiation of functions—that is to say, a special duty must be performed by a special officer. As, however, the present factory inspectors and sub-inspectors are heavily weighted as it is, they cannot possibly undertake the proposed new duties, nor would the appointment of a large number of assistant inspectors of any kind or rank be readily acquiesced in. The

disconnection which now exists between the Central Government in Whitehall and the several police authorities, renders any direct prosecution difficult or impossible. But I venture to suggest that it would not be unreasonable to require by law that every borough or district having its own police should be required to assign one, two, or even three police officers, as might be required, to carry out the provisions of the proposed law, acting under the directions of the factory inspectors. Already the police perform a good many special services, as in the inspection of weights and measures, sanitary inspection, supervision of ticket-of-leave men, and so forth. Now, I fancy that an active police officer would soon discover infractions in the law; for the carrying of infants along the public street to a nursing house is a thing evident to anybody, and the officer would only need to follow the woman to the factory, and he would have at once all the evidence needed. Probably there would be little difficulty in obtaining evidence; for the operative classes would receive the law with gratitude rather than aversion, partly perhaps misled by fallacies already referred to, and partly convinced by the evil results which are now before their eyes. If so, their concurrence and assistance in carrying out the law might be looked for. As regards the interests of employers it must be obvious that whatever they might suffer from the lessened supply of labour during the first ten years, would be amply repaid by the abundant supply of vigorous young mill-hands which would then begin to be available.

Although the complete exclusion of child-bearing women from factory employments is the object to be aimed at, the violence of the change might be mitigated for a time. Licences might be given to particular large factories to employ such women on the condition that they establish on or close to their premises *crèches* under constant medical supervision, where the mothers might visit their infants at intervals during the day. This plan has been adopted by some of the wealthy and benevolent manufacturing firms in France, and is said to have produced most beneficial results.* But no such *crèche* should be allowed to exist except under direct Government inspection, and, in any case, its existence should be regarded as a transitional measure.

Widows and deserted wives would need to be gently dealt with; if having a numerous family, they ought to have poor-law relief, to be added to the small earnings which they can make by home employment. In the long-run it would pay for the State to employ them as the nurses of their own children. Where there are only one or two infants, the mother might be allowed to deposit them for the day at a *crèche*, established for and restricted solely to such cases, or at employers' *crèches*, just mentioned.

It is impossible not to see that there are difficulties in the matter which can be resolved only by trial. How, for instance, would such prohibitive legislation act in the case of reputed married couples? But

* Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society, 1868-9, p. 10.

it cannot, of course, be expected that the necessary details of legislation can be foreseen by any single writer. Before anything is done in so formidable a matter, there must be a minute inquiry into the treatment of young children by a Royal Commission. It is strange that such a formal inquiry has never yet been made, except with regard to the very restricted scope of Charley's Act. Older children have over and over again been taken under the view and care of the State. As a consequence, we have the Elementary Education Act and the Factory and Workshop Act, by which ample care is taken of young persons from the age of five years upwards. Those who survive infancy are now pretty safe; they will have healthy schoolrooms and healthy workshops. But below the age of five years they are still, with slight exception, abandoned to the tender mercy of their mothers—or, rather, the old women armed with "Godfrey." The Factory Act Commissioners of 1876 dismissed this subject briefly, and declined to advocate any restrictive measures because they might in their opinion tend to promote infanticide. But I venture to think that the fearful rate of infantile mortality now existing in parts of the manufacturing districts, sufficiently approximates to infanticide to overbalance any evils to be expected from restrictive legislation.

The objection may no doubt be made, that the exclusion of child-bearing women from works in public factories would be a new and extreme case of interference with the natural liberty of the individual. Philosophers will urge that we are invading abstract rights, and breaking through the teachings of theory. Political economists might no doubt be found to protest likewise that the principles of political economy are dead against such interference with the freedom of contract. But I venture to maintain that all these supposed natural entities, principles, rules, theories, axioms, and the like, are at the best but presumptions or probabilities of good. There is, on the whole, a certain considerable probability that individuals will find out for themselves the best paths in life, and will be eventually the best citizens when left at liberty to choose their own course. But surely probability is rebutted or destroyed by contrary certainty. If we find that freedom to work in factories means the destruction of a comfortable home, and the death of ten out of twelve of the offspring, here is palpable evil which no theory can mitigate. What can be more against all principle, all right, nature, duty, law, or whatever else is thought to be most immutable and sacred, than that a mother should learn to hear "with nonchalance" that her infant had died at the nursing-house, while she herself was at the factory? The social system, like the human frame, may become so far diseased that the intervention of the physician is imperative.

Speaking of liberty and rights, it must be apparent, too, that the parties most seriously concerned in the matter are the infants. They have no means of raising a public agitation, or, if they venture to protest in their own manner, are soon stilled with "Godfrey." But surely if

there is any right which is clearly founded in the natural fitness of things, it is the right of the infant to the mother's breast. She alone can save from virtual starvation and death. She alone can add inches to the stature, fulness to the muscles, and vigour to the mind. It is in the present state of things that rights and principles are most flagrantly cast aside. And the origin of all this evil is often some idle and dissolute young man, who marries, or seduces, a young girl, knowing that he can afterwards live upon her wages.

All sorts of objections were made, time after time, to the Factory Laws as they gradually rose, step by step, from their first small beginning in 1802. Now all classes recognize that these laws were absolutely necessary to guard the population against the dangers of a novel state of things, as to which evolution had not had time to work out its spontaneous cure. No doubt, in the course of generations, the manufacturing population would become fitted to its environment, but only through suffering and death illimitable. We can help evolution by the aid of its own highest and latest product—science. When all the teachings of medical and social science lead us to look upon the absence of the mother from home as the cause of the gravest possible evils, can we be warranted in standing passively by, allowing this evil to work itself out to the bitter end, by the process of natural selection? Something might perhaps be said in favour of the present apathetic mode of viewing this question if natural selection were really securing the survival of the fittest, so that only the weakly babes were killed off, and the strong ones well brought up. But it is much to be feared that no infants ever really recover from the test of virtual starvation to which they are so ruthlessly exposed. The vital powers are irreparably crippled, and the infant grows up a stunted, miserable specimen of humanity, the prey to every physical and moral evil.

When looked at from the right point of view, factory legislation confers or maintains, rather than destroys, rights and liberties. The Factory and Workshop Act of 1878 seems to be a mass of vexatious restrictions: in reality it is the Great Charter of the working classes. It is one of the noblest products of legislative skill and patience. It sums up the experience and the positive experiments of eighty years in the alleviation of factory life; but there is no reason to look upon it as the ultimatum of such alleviative legislation. It affords no doubt a resting-place; but it affords also the best encouragement to proceed with several other measures of like nature. Of all these, I venture to hold that the question of married women's employment, in spite of its extent and its difficulties, should take precedence. The growing wealth of the kingdom, and the ever-advancing powers of machinery allow that to be done now which might not have been done before. Nor could any years be more propitious for the purpose than the next five or six, which will in all probability comprise the prosperous part of the commercial cycle. The achievement of a well-designed Act upon the subject,

though causing, no doubt, some trouble and distress for a few years, would be followed, a few years later, by almost incredible blessings to the people, and blessings to the realm. Many a home would be a home, which cannot now be called by that sweet name. The wife, no longer a mere slattern factory-hand, would become a true mother and a housekeeper. And round many a Christmas table troops of happy, chubby children would replace the "wizened little monkeys" of girls, and the "little old men" boys, which now form the miserable remnants of families.

W. STANLEY JEVONS.

ZULULAND AFTER THE WAR.

ALL parties will agree that England contracted very plain and weighty obligations towards the Zulu people by the invasion of their country and the uprooting of their polity. I propose to bring under review very briefly, in the following pages, the steps that we have taken to fulfil those obligations, the disastrous results that have ensued, and the fresh measures for the government of Zululand which are advocated, on the one hand by those who have the welfare of a noble race at heart, and on the other by those who look at the question from the selfish point of view of the colonial politician.

As a preliminary it will be proper to glance at the state of things which existed in the Zulu country immediately before we commenced hostilities. When we consider the small extent (not much over half the area of Natal) of the territory lately under the rule of Cetshwayo, and the easy access which was to be had, in the earliest as well as in recent times, to all parts of his dominions, it seems strange that so much controversy should have been possible as to the actual condition of his subjects when we came, as was supposed, to their rescue.

A principal reason for this is to be found, I am convinced, in the fact that the native chiefs and people have never had sufficient means of making their sentiments known in favourable quarters. Knowledge of the Zulu language is the exception, and not the rule, in Natal. It is not even made a necessary qualification in the case of magisterial appointments in the colony, and the interpreter who is attached to the court of every resident magistrate and administrator of native law commands, in consequence, far too important an influence.

But from whatever causes the ignorance may have proceeded, it is indisputably the fact that the deposed King had been at the mercy of slanderers, the truth of whose accusations, though they were made in

the most general terms, was accepted without examination by politicians who found in them convenient support.

Premising that one of the two primary objects professed as our aim in waging war against the Zulus was the establishment of a system of government under which their lives and property would be safe, I select the following passage from Sir Garnet Wolseley's address to the Zulu chiefs upon his arrival on the scene of action, as affording a summary of the conclusions on the basis of which we have hitherto been dealing with the Zulu nation :

"Our war, I stated, had not been with the Zulu nation but with Cetshwayo, who, while he ruled over Zululand, had suffered neither life nor property to be safe, and had fettered the legitimate marriage of the youth by the unbearable evil of a pitiless military despotism. Under this barbarous misgovernment men and women had been killed, and kraals sacked and burnt, without respect to justice. But we had now conquered Cetshwayo, the author of all this suffering, in open battle; we had burnt his house and his military kraals, and had driven him to be a fugitive in the bush; and the Queen of England had determined that he should never again rule over the Zulu nation."

If the vices of Cetshwayo's administration were so great as is here represented, there would seem to be no room for the admission that his rule had anything to be said in its favour. There are the patent facts, however, before us, that the Zulus had for many years found Cetshwayo's yoke tolerable; that, with him at their head, "they were excellent neighbours, having never, for thirty years, been accused of stealing a sheep, or an ox, or a horse, from the Natal side."* That life in the Zulu country was not insupportable is further evidenced by the fact that, during Cetshwayo's reign at least, immigration from Natal into the Zulu country took place, as well as a corresponding but not very remarkable emigration.† The truth is that, as the Bishop of Natal has written, "the two populations in Natal and Zululand lived in close friendship and intimacy before this disastrous war began." And so Bishop Schreuder, the oldest, most able, and most experienced missionary in Zululand, writes:‡

"The native tribes here on the border have these many years fraternized and had constant intercourse, and partly intermarried, with their Zulu neighbours on the Zulu side, and naturally their sympathies are divided between Natal and Zululand. And I have no doubt that many of the Natal border natives would think themselves safer over in Zululand than in Natal."

It will be instructive, moreover, to compare with the denunciation of Cetshwayo, launched at the Zulu people by Sir Garnet Wolseley, the touching speech made in the presence of the Bishop of Natal and a large number of influential Zulus on the 24th of May, 1880.§ The spokesman was Ndabuko, one of Cetshwayo's brothers. The subject of conversation had been the employment of untrustworthy messengers to the Zulu King by the Natal Government. The chiefs had expressed their conviction that certain petulant language attributed to Cetshwayo had not originated with him.

* The Dean of Maritzburg.

† Vule Local Returns respecting Native population of Natal. ‡ Parl. Papers, C. 2308.

§ See Hist. of the Zulu War, by Miss Colenso and Lieut.-Col. Ed. Durnford.

"It was impossible," they said. "No! If you ask us about that message we say that to us it appears a pure invention, and that the people who carried it were, as it were, ploughing in winter—preparing the ground for the crop to be sown in the spring—preparing for this!"

Ndabuko then, in a voice which shook with emotion, addressed the company present:—

"No! we do not understand it. For there never has been known one like him among us Zulus before, so good, so merciful. Our Fathers who were old when we were born, all say so; and we, who have grown up with him till we are as old as you now see us—we have seen no one like him. For those three kings who were brothers, our fathers, killed people great and small, and for a little thing, a mere nothing—it was their custom. But he is of an entirely different nature; he shrank from shedding blood. And if a wrong or an insult were done to himself, he would never kill for it; say, if a man carried off one of the royal women, he would not kill him, but say, 'Let her marry him properly then.' Our fathers killed their relations too, they made nothing of them. But he—he collected us all who were the children of his father—and gave us all our head-rings, and told us to marry, even us lads, and he made marriages also for the girls, our sisters; whereas Mpande had forbidden them to marry, saying, 'If they marry we shall have everybody belonging to the family of Sazangakona.' But he, our brother, took us all under his arm, saying, 'Let the children of my father be happy.' He never killed except for grave offences; the whole country swarms with people who owe their lives to him, and who fled to him as the merciful prince who did not kill. He never attacked any one, he stayed quietly at home as he was advised. He never wronged any one. There is none like him—none."

Here he stopped, almost breaking down, and the others assented with a heavy sigh.

I had the opportunity in January, 1878, at a time when none but the initiated conceived the possibility of what was to follow, of visiting Cetshwayo at his royal kraals, and observing a few facts which it will not be out of place for me to briefly narrate. I found the King, upon the first occasion of my seeing him, engaged upon the duty of hearing lawsuits and complaints of various sorts. I had learnt from a trader that Cetshwayo was an exceedingly fair man, and would not pay much attention to *ex parte* statements, but required the presence of both sides; and as I came on the scene, he was giving orders to commissioners to attend at a missionary's station, and there receive his complaints in the presence of a young Zulu whom he had charged with an assault. I saw the King for the first time. He was seated on a great black chair, carved out of solid wood, placed just outside one of the royal kraals, Kwa Nodwengu. I caught sight of his profile as he looked with a stern frown over the distant hills. My companion, a trader, remarked that he always looked disturbed and angry when he heard of any difficulties arising with the missionaries. He then turned to me with a pleasant look, and, after hearing what I had to say on the subject of the Boundary Commission, of which I had then recently heard, as proposed by Sir Henry Bulwer (I need not say that I expressed my sense of the advantages which would accrue to him and the Zulus by trusting himself entirely in the hands of the Lieutenant-

Governor of Natal), he addressed his chiefs, who sat in a curve on his right hand. His language was emphatic and eloquent, and the chiefs greeted every comma with a loud invocation. The subject upon which he spoke was "Sobantu" (the Bishop of Natal). "Whatever they tell me," said he, "whatever they say, Zululand will hold Sobantu (Father of the People) its friend. He loves the Zulus, and we will listen to him always." Like words he repeated again and again amidst great acclamations. John Dunn was on my right, and said to me, "You see. He only speaks of the Bishop as a friend, not an authority." I was afterwards admitted to a private audience with Cetshwayo. He was at Ulundi. The kraal, which was in a very true circle, seemed about one third of a mile in diameter. The inner circle enclosed a grassy space, where cattle were herded. Between that circle and the outer one a belt of huts ran round the kraal, apparently four or five deep. A number of large well-built ones at the upper side comprised the King's quarters, called the *isigodhla*, surrounded by well-wrought divisions of thatch work. The King sat on a huge roll of matting, and had provided one for me. The sentiments that he expressed to me then, and his whole character, seem to me, as I recall them, to be identical with those with which his friends have since credited him, but the topics upon which I have since been informed were not at that time present to my mind. Indeed, most of the conversation proceeded from me, as I felt extremely anxious to let Cetshwayo understand how auspicious to us, his friends in Natal, appeared Sir Henry Bulwer's intervention.

These views of Cetshwayo's government are in strong contrast, and it will be strange if the real truth of the matter be not, sooner or later, arrived at and accepted. But it is sufficient for my present purpose to point out that, before we overthrew it, the Zulu Government was undoubtedly a concrete one, the efficiency of which had been tested by many years of peace and of good behaviour towards neighbouring countries, while civil war had been unknown since the year 1856.

And what was the effect of our invasion of Zululand so far as the people themselves were concerned?

That we destroyed crops and immense quantities of provisions, and carried off herds of cattle innumerable; while we did nothing, by presents of seed-corn, to help to restore the balance of supply and demand in respect of a lost harvest, is not denied; and, in consequence, a dreadful famine prevailed last year in parts of Zululand (and is likely to recur this year), the wretched people being described by eye-witnesses as creeping on all fours on the ground. But have we fulfilled our duties in the matter of giving the Zulus at least as good security for life and property as they had under Cetshwayo? No one can now pretend that we have.

We find the first announcement of the plan upon which he intended to partition Zululand, in Sir Garnet Wolseley's despatch of the

19th of July, 1879, in which he describes his meeting with the principal chiefs of the coast districts. A portion of his address to them has been quoted above. Except for the proposition that Cetshwayo's rule had been everything that was flagitious, and for the news that the Swazies would be turned upon the country, Sir Garnet Wolseley's words must have been very reassuring to his hearers. After denouncing Cetshwayo he proceeded:—

"We might, following the usage of Zulu warfare, now seize upon the land we have gained by fighting; but it is not our intention to do any such thing. Zululand is for the Zulu people, and the Queen of England will not take any portion of it for Englishmen."

Sir Garnet Wolseley then indicated the principles upon which the new chiefs would be expected to govern their territories, and wound up by saying that—

"Hamu was collecting a force in his own country, and would then proceed against Cetshwayo, who would be attacked also by the Swazies from the North."

It will be seen from this despatch that Sir Garnet Wolseley at this time contemplated the dividing of the country into "four or five independent sovereignties," instead of thirteen, the number afterwards determined upon. The plan of setting up a number of chiefs was probably suggested by the condition of things in Natal, where the natives are divided into tribes. Sir Garnet Wolseley had, no doubt, been informed during his administration of the Government of that colony, that a most important safeguard against a general rising of the natives was to be found in the fact that the intertribal jealousies which existed among them raised a difficulty in the way of any combination against the white man. And accordingly he determined that in Zululand the bundle of faggots should be loosened. It seems never to have occurred to him that something worse than a mere clan feeling might exhibit itself. And perhaps the possibility of internecine quarrels breaking out appeared a further recommendation of the scheme in the eyes of some local politicians. We have lately had an opportunity of learning of what account the lives of these unfortunate people are in the eyes of another of England's generals.* The final arrangements made by the General were reported to the Colonial Office in his despatch of the 3rd September, 1879. He begins by announcing the capture of Cetshwayo, and the steps which had been taken for the detention of the ex-King as a State prisoner at Cape Town, and goes on to give the reasons which, in his opinion, made it unsafe to leave him in freedom, either upon any part of the theatre of his former power, or upon neighbouring territory. His influence, irresistible and mischievous, would elude every sort of safeguard and supervision.† The

* See leading article in the *Morning Post* of the 7th November last, dealing with a letter contributed to that journal by Lord Chelmsford.

† It was a favourite cry in South Africa that Cetshwayo's influence was at the bottom of all disturbances. There has never been produced an atom of direct evidence, or indeed

young warriors of the country, with Cetshwayo within reach, and robbed of their repute by the enforcement of a peaceful life, and the surrender of their firearms, would hanker after the forbidden pleasures of warlike enterprise.

Sir Garnet Wolseley then describes his scheme for the partition of the country among thirteen chiefs. In the selection of these chiefs he had been influenced, he said, by information which it had not been difficult to obtain as to the character and antecedents of each. It had been, moreover, his object to give a place to the representatives of three tribes originally in occupation of the country, who, though to a large extent amalgamated, after such a lapse of time, with the Zulus, were, he was assured, mindful of their ancient and independent origin, and proud of their distinct traditions. "Such a breaking up of the cohesion of the country would," he firmly believed, "preclude for the future all, or almost all, possibility of any reunion of its inhabitants under one rule." The rest of the despatch treats of the appointment of the Resident (who was simply to be the eyes and ears of the British Government) and the delineation of the boundaries of Zululand and its principalities. In dealing with the western boundary of Zululand he informed the Colonial Office that he had decided to make over to the Transvaal a portion of the once disputed territory which our Commissioners had unanimously declared to be "of strict right belonging to the Zulus," adding, "This boundary will not, of course, satisfy all claims of the Transvaal Boers to land, some of which probably rest on good grounds;"—writing thus of the decision of the Commissioners, Colonel A. W. Durnford, R.E., the Attorney-General of Natal, and the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs of that colony, Mr. J. Shepstone, before whom the Boers had placed the whole of their evidence.

With this despatch was communicated the substance of the Declaration of Trust to be exacted from each of the thirteen chiefs, and the instructions given to the British Resident. The conditions which the chiefs were to pledge themselves to observe were eleven in number. They promised—(1) To respect boundaries; (2) not to maintain the military system. Under Condition (3) they were forbidden to import arms and ammunition or goods by the sea. Condition (4) provided that there should be a fair trial before capital punishment; (5) related to extradition of criminals; (6) forbade the waging of war upon any chief or chiefs without the sanction of the British Government; (7) provided for succession; (8) forbade alienation of land; (9) provided for quiet enjoyment of the country by persons recognizing the chiefs; (10) provided that the British Resident should decide all questions affecting Europeans; and (11) provided that the ancient laws and usages of the people should obtain, so far as they were not repugnant to the above conditions. Of the instructions to the Resident, one in particular evidence beyond the hearsay of his enemies, in support of this allegation. On the other hand John Dunn has distinctly denied what has been charged against Cetshwayo on this point.

ticular must be noticed as showing the spirit in which Sir Garnet Wolseley dealt with all who might be supposed to sympathize with the unhappy King. All the King's brothers—Hamu (Oham) alone being excepted—choosing to remain in Zululand, were to be collected in the neighbourhood of a kraal where they would be kept under the eye of John Dunn. It is unnecessary to review these instructions, as, with one exception, they have no bearing upon the disastrous state of affairs that has ensued. That exception is the direction concerning the "King's Cattle," which was as follows:—"In dealing with the chiefs you will impress upon them that all the king's cattle now belong to the British Government, and must be handed over to you."

The late King's Treasury virtually consisted of the various herds of cattle distributed over Zululand under the charge of chiefs. Beautiful animals though these Zulu cattle were, such as I saw them in 1878, without a flaw in their glossy and bright coloured coats, they would be worth in Natal from £2 to £5 only. But even had they been of greater value it is difficult to believe, when the circumstances of the case are considered, that after a bloody war in which, though it was undertaken professedly on account of the Zulu people, we had already swept away countless herds, we proceeded to make further demands for cattle. It was surely immaterial whether they were originally the King's property. He held them in trust for the nation, and it would have been but consistent with our professions of concern for its welfare had we made a distribution of them amongst necessitous Zulus. Who can tell how far the miseries of the recent famine might not have been mitigated by such an act of mercy? But no, the cattle were to be rigorously exacted, and it can be shown that the instructions given on this point have been a fruitful source of violence and wrong. Sir Garnet Wolseley's despatches throw but little light on the personal characteristics of the thirteen chiefs. Although he begins his instructions to Colonel Villiers, whom he deputed on a commission to fix boundaries, by saying, "It may perhaps be advisable to say something here as to the relative merits of the men selected to be independent chiefs," we learn nothing beyond this, that Seketwayo was a "stupid and infirm old man," and that Gaozi was also an "infirm" old man. We are not told, however, that Hlubi is not a Zulu at all, but one of the Basuto tribe, a race much disliked by the Zulus. Hlubi had, with a corps of his people, given us much assistance in the war. A third chief, Umlandela, was selected as being the representative of one of the three original tribes of the country, the Umtetwa, which the General had determined should regain their importance, and of which he wrote, "it is most desirable to re-establish the independence of the Umtetwas as much as possible." Sir Garnet's information in this matter has been proved to be inaccurate, for most of the Umtetwas have, to their cost, as will presently be shown, adhered to Sitimela, who claimed to represent them.

The three chiefs whose doings have most attracted public notice are John Dunn, Hamu, and Zibebu.

Of the last named Sir Garnet wrote, "Zibebu is, I am told, of a time-serving disposition, and I hope that by the promise of an independent sovereignty he may be detached from his allegiance to the King." The character of Hamu (anglicized into Oham) has been briefly summed up by one of Cetshwayo's foes in the following words: "Hamu possesses all the vices of Cetshwayo, minus some of the more essential virtues of the latter." And Sir Garnet himself wrote that he made the appointment in this case, not from his own choice, but because Lord Chelmsford had pledged his word to the chief on the defection of the latter from the Zulu cause early in the war.

Of John Dunn no very complimentary language has been used from time to time in the English and Colonial press, and we are likely to hear a good deal more of him before long. Sir Bartle Frere forwarded a newspaper extract to the Colonial Office, in which the following passage occurs:—

"But whatever John Dunn's merits may be, his appointment as Chief Resident in Zululand is a shock to civilization. His ways are Zulu ways; his associations are Zulu associations; his very habits of thought imbued with the Zulu character. A white man, who for twenty years or more has lived the Zulu life, wedded Zulu wives, and chosen their society in preference to that of such women as a white man should love and honour, is not the man to represent the Queen of England in a nation of savages."

To this it may be added that an insight can be obtained into Dunn's character by considering his conduct on the occasion of the invasion of Zululand. My account was taken from John Dunn's own lips, by a special correspondent of a newspaper. When the British troops were advancing, John Dunn was summoned to Cetshwayo's presence, and was asked, "What did he, Dunn, propose to do?" To which he replied that "he could not fight against his own race." On this Cetshwayo exclaimed, "I am glad to hear you say so. That shows that you are not a rascal;" and forthwith told him that he might leave the country with all his belongings.

He did leave, not by a hurried flight, but deliberately, and was not molested, Cetshwayo having given orders, as I heard from native sources, that his person and property were to be respected. A man of any nobility of character would, I imagine, after such treatment, have retired into the Colony, and kept himself neutral. But this was not the course followed by John Dunn. He at once placed himself, his followers, and his intimate knowledge of the country of his adoption, at the disposal of Lord Chelmsford; and "John Dunn's scouts" were of material use during the war.

Before dealing with the events which have disturbed Zululand since Sir Garnet Wolseley "settled" the country, it will be convenient to consider the evidence that is available of the disposition of the people

themselves towards their present rulers, and their real wishes with regard to their government.

The conclusion which will be drawn will, I believe, be this, that it is high time that steps were taken to pierce the cloud of misrepresentation and suppression which overhangs the history of the past in Zululand, and the facts of the present, and by the unfettered voice of the Zulu nation itself learn what it is that the people do in truth think and wish. England's agents in this matter should not be local officials whose characters are at stake, who have been discredited over and over again in the Blue Books, and who are primarily responsible for the views which have misled the Government, but Englishmen of strict integrity should be employed. It will be quite possible to find an efficient and trustworthy interpreter; such, for instance, as the two who have interpreted for Cetshwayo, Messrs. Longeast and Samuelson, or the interpreters of the native High Court in Natal. But this being an all-important point it will be necessary that there should be present some one who will watch the proceedings on behalf of the Zulus, and it will be admitted that the presence of the Bishop of Natal would not only meet this difficulty, but would have the further good effect of reassuring the natives and encouraging them to speak with freedom.

The majority of the various newspaper reports from Natal, professing to represent the feelings of the Zulus on the subject of annexation and the restoration of Cetshwayo, are probably given the small credit that they deserve. When they tell us that the Zulus ardently desire annexation or its equivalent, and taxation, and do not wish for their king's rule, they are in direct contradiction to the information obtained by such travellers as Lady Florence Dixie and Captain MacCullum, from the mouths of the people themselves, and some of the appointed chiefs. It will be felt, moreover, that the language of men of high rank in Zululand, taken down with great accuracy from their lips, upon various occasions, by the Bishop of Natal, tells a very plain story of its own. The history of the Zulu deputations that have come down into Natal is only equalled in painfulness by that of the attempts made by Cetshwayo during the war to communicate his overtures of peace. Whatever may have been said in the Legislative Council of Natal, or in newspapers, as to the object of their journeys, it is a fact that representative embassies have trudged down repeatedly a weary journey of a fortnight there and a fortnight back, and have delivered messages, in which the desire of the people and eight of the thirteen chiefs for the return of their king has been eloquently told. It is also a fact that they have recounted these messages to the Bishop as those which they were bidden to deliver, and had delivered, to the Natal Government.

The following passage is extracted from the account given by the Bishop of Natal of the first of these deputations:—

"On Monday, the 9th of February, 1880, Mgwazeni, cousin of Cetshwayo, a Zulu who had been for years past employed as a messenger between the king and the

Natal Government, with two head-ringed men as followers arrived at Bishopstowe. They stated that they had been sent by Maduna, full brother of Cetshwayo, Mavumana the late Prime Minister, Ziweleni, Ntsoku, and Tshingani, Cetshwayo's brothers, Ntshingwayo, Soketwayo, Qetuka, Sati-lalaza, Mahubulwana, and Gaozi's brother (Gaozi had died), and others of the Zulu chiefs, to bring to Sobantu (Bishop of Natal), Cetshwayo's book, which was sent to him by the Queen, being a handsomely bound copy of Sir T. Shepstone's Report of the Proceedings at Cetshwayo's Installation, and to ask Sobantu to inquire for them, and to point out in that book the word against which Cetshwayo had offended, as they knew of none; they did not know what fault he had committed. 'The king,' they said, 'had sent the book before to Sobantu during the war with a similar request. But when the messengers reached Ntanjambili, (Krantzkop), Bishop Schreuder and Mr. Fannin (Border Agent), told them that it was of no use to take it to Sobantu, as he could not help them now, and sent them back with it to the king.' The fact of the book having been brought to Bishop Schreuder is mentioned in the Blue Books, but nothing is said about its having been sent by the king to Sobantu. In the flight from Ulundi it had been dropped and lost in the grass, and there it had lain until the Great Chiefs, wishing to bring it to Sobantu, had sent a large party of men who had searched for it carefully until they found it. One corner of the leathern case, and of the gorgeous scarlet and gold inscribed volume inside, had been injured by exposure to the weather. Otherwise it is in excellent preservation, having been kept carefully till the last. Inside the book was a cutting from the *Natal Witness* newspaper, containing a copy of the award and ultimatum, which Bishop Schreuder says that he put inside it when he sent it back to the King. The latter (ultimatum) is elaborately underlined in blue and red ink; and the whole was of course about as intelligible to the king and his councillors as the same amount of Chinese or Egyptian hieroglyphics would have been."

The rest of this account would be intensely interesting to one well acquainted with the ins and outs of the Zulu question, but can only be briefly referred to in connection with the condition of the country under the new chiefs. The "Great Chiefs" complained by these emissaries that all Cetshwayo's family were living at present very uncomfortably, being annoyed and ill-treated by Zibebu. Of the ill-treatment they gave details, and they desired to pray the English authorities to give them land as their own to live upon. Did "Sobantu think that they would be allowed to make this request and come themselves to speak with the governor?"

John Dunn's people, they remarked in a parenthesis, had still plenty of guns: and he had just sent out an Impi to Sambane's on the Pongolo river, and that Impi had eaten up all the cattle of Maduna, Cetshwayo's brother, which Sambane was taking care of for him.

The reply of the Government was:—

"The white authorities did not wish any one to be ill-used or to have his cattle eaten up. It was possible that at some future time the sons of Mpande might become petty chiefs; but it was not intended to distinguish Maduna in any way, as Cetshwayo's house was destroyed. Any complaints should be taken to Mr. Osborne, the new Resident."

On May 24, 1880, a large company of Zulus, including two of Cetshwayo's brothers, numbering, with attendants, over two hundred, arrived at Bishopstowe, on their way to the Government at Maritzburg.

No such deputation had ever come down before, nor had any of Cetshwayo's brothers ever visited Maritzburg. It appears that in obedience to the direction of the Government in February, a number of Zulu chiefs and headmen went to the Resident, and began to state their complaints to him. He stopped them, saying that he was not put there to hear such complaints, which they must settle among themselves. They asked leave to go down to the Natal Government, which he granted them, in the form of a "pass" to proceed to Maritzburg, "in order to pay their respects to His Excellency." On May 25 they walked in (five miles) to Maritzburg, but could see no one. On May 26 they went in again and saw Mr. J. Shepstone, who, since Sir Th. Shepstone assumed duties in the Transvaal, had been, and still is, Acting Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal. On the 27th of May they went in a third time, and saw His Excellency the Administrator of the Government.

They stated to him the business on which they had come—viz., to make certain complaints as to the treatment they received in Zululand, but more especially to ask for "their Bone," according to native custom—in other words, to ask for Cetshwayo's restoration to Zululand under any conditions the British Government might think fit to impose. They were referred back to Mr. Osborne, who, they were told, would be instructed to hear all such complaints, and report in writing to the Natal Authorities. Although Sir Bartle Frere refers to the fact of this deputation having been sent (C. 695, p. 76), no report appears in the Blue Book. On this deputation, *three* of Sir Garnet Wolseley's thirteen Chiefs were represented—namely, Fa-ku-ka Ziningo, Seketwayo, and Gaozi's successor. The representative of Seketwayo brought with him, as credentials, the document by which he was appointed Chief. Four others of the appointed Chiefs sent messages to say that they were heartily in sympathy with the deputation. The Bishop of Natal obtained striking evidence confirmatory of his views respecting Cetshwayo's government from the members of this deputation. Detailed accounts were also given of the doings of Zibebu, who, on the pretence of collecting King's cattle, had been pillaging the whole of the U'sutu Tribe (Cetshwayo's own tribe). The persecution, moreover, at the hands of Zibebu, under whom he is placed, of Maduna, Cetshwayo's own brother, on account of his efforts to make supplication, through the obdurate Resident, for "the Bone," formed a subject of their communications, and the state of affairs was summed up by one of them in the following words:—

"But the whole Zulu people is only hampered and held back by these four Chiefs, Zibebu, Mlanawendhla, Hamu, and John Dann, from coming to pray for their 'Bone.' The whole people entreat for their King to be sent back to Zululand. If it were only a fine or ransom that was wanted, there is not a man but would find a beast towards that."

A third deputation crossed the Tugela into Natal at the Lower Drift, and came to Umxakaza, Mr. Fynney, the Border Agent. He told them

to wait until he should have reported them by wire to Maritzburg. The reply from the Government was that they must get a pass from the Resident. So they turned back, and Maduna sent down Mtokwane and Mgin, son of Kondhlo, to tell Sobantu how this third deputation was turned back and forbidden by the authorities to come on, and to say that they none the less prayed for "the Bono;" and they entreated further that Sobantu would ask leave for one of the two Zulus now sent to him, to go to Cape Town, so as to set eyes upon Cetshwayo for them. They sent down also some native medicines, such as he was in the habit of using, "if, perhaps, Sobantu could, at any rate, get these sent to him."

The fourth deputation from Zululand is one which has been discussed in the English papers. It was the subject of a question in the Natal Legislative Council, and the Colonial Secretary read the following reply:—

"Two so-called deputations, stating that they came from eight of the appointed Chiefs of Zululand, visited Pietermaritzburg in July and August of this year. The latter said that they belonged to the former party, but had been delayed. Neither of the parties were, as they should have been, accredited to this Government by the Resident in Zululand. And they were, therefore, told to return and represent to him anything that they might have to say. The message brought by the first deputation was that the Chiefs thanked the Government for the return of Mkosana (an attendant on Cetshwayo) from Capetown. The message of the second was to the same effect, but they added that they were desired by the Chiefs to ask if they might be permitted to visit Capetown, in order to ascertain if it were true that Cetshwayo was still alive. Neither deputation said one word about the ex-King's return—at least to the Government.* The second deputation was told that Sir Evelyn Wood was about to visit Zululand, and that they should attend the meeting and speak to him there. They did not do so, although they are known to have been close to the place for two days—one of which was the meeting-day—and they allege that they were prevented by bad weather, when, in fact, the day of meeting was very fine. Each of the eight appointed Chiefs named by these men denies categorically having ever sent such a deputation."

The Bishop of Natal's account is as follows:—The party of Zulus first mentioned in the reply, including two well known as King's Messengers to the Natal Government, one of whom was sent expressly on this occasion to the successor to Gaozi, one of the appointed Chiefs, and Nxaxa, who came with the deputation in May, bringing with him the Letters Patent of Seketwayo, an appointed Chief, and a fifth messenger deputed by Ntshingwayo, an appointed Chief, reached Bishopstowe on July 11, their arrival being wholly unexpected. They informed the Bishop that they had been sent on behalf of eight of the appointed Chiefs (viz., the three above named, with Mlandela, Somkele, Mgitshwa, Faka, and Mgojana) to "thank the Government for the return of

* The war's tale so appeared in the *Natal Witness* of October 12, but not in the copy of the written reply which is given, as above, in the *Natal Mercury* of October 13.

Mkosana from Cape Town, and to pray again for the restoration of Cetshwayo, using the well-known figurative expression *telani kugcwali*—i.e., 'Pour on, that it (the vessel) may be full,' thus expressing the hope that Cetshwayo's return would follow that of Mkosana. They went in from Bishopstowe to the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs three times. The second time an interpreter heard their message, and asked, "Do all these eight Chiefs then say, 'Pour on and fill up for us?'" They assented, saying "All those eight say so," and the white man wrote down their words. The third time they saw the Acting Secretary for Native Affairs, and spoke as before. He dismissed them, saying, "I shall see you again." Two days later they were told that, as they had brought no letter from the Resident in Zululand, they must go back. The second party referred to by the Colonial Secretary also went into Pietermaritzburg, and, in the name of the eight Chiefs, prayed that the Government would "Pour on, that it might be full," and were given the same reply. They had, further, asked that they might be allowed to go to Cape Town to set their eyes on Cetshwayo, and see themselves if he were really alive, and to stay with him, and help and comfort him. So far from wishing to avoid a meeting with Sir E. Wood, as is implied in Colonel Mitchell's reply, they left their baggage at Bishopstowe, while they cheerfully obeyed the order to go back to Zululand, hoping to see Sir E. Wood, and come back speedily with the desired permission to go to Cape Town. They were undoubtedly detained on the road by the extraordinarily severe weather. While in Pietermaritzburg they made their object known to several persons. To one, a son of Sir T. Shepstone, they said, "All Zululand prays for the King's return, even the old women and children." It will be a difficult task for the officials concerned—of whom Mr. Osborne, the Resident, must be prepared to give the fullest defence—to explain away the abundant facts made public by the Bishop of Natal; and these facts receive striking corroboration in the testimony of Lady Florence Dixie, who was present at the meeting between the appointed Chiefs and Sir Evelyn Wood in August last. She conversed with one of these Chiefs, Mgojana, who enumerated seven Chiefs besides himself who ardently desired Cetshwayo's return, thus making up the eight whom the deputations professed to represent.

The circumstances attending the failure of Sir Evelyn Wood's mission to Zululand, in August last, supply additional proof that the impartial inquiry advocated above should be made in Zululand itself by persons who have the interests of Zulus at heart, apart from any political scheme. The two objects of the General's visit were (1) to settle disputes, (2) to obtain the assent of the chiefs to certain proposals for the better Government of the country. These included proposals for the appointment of a sub-Resident in each of the territories of the thirteen chiefs, for the levying of a hut tax, and the establishment of a

border police. Although it has been represented that the chiefs present declared unanimously in favour of the suggestions made, it is more than probable that neither the chiefs nor Sir Evelyn Wood were able to obtain any insight into each other's views. It is certain that no discussion was allowed, that Sir Evelyn Wood was understood to check an appeal for the restoration of Cetshwayo by saying, through the interpreter, Mr. Rudolph, "Do you think we will give back to you the bone of that *ishingu* whom we have done away with?"

The evidence of the use of this term of opprobrium is taken from both parties in the colony. The words quoted were reported to the Bishop by two messengers sent to him by the Princes Maduna and Ziwedu expressly to report what had been said. One of the messengers had himself been present at the meeting, and both the princes were there. The account is corroborated by the intelligence given in the *Natal Mercury*, an organ of the party most hostile to Cetshwayo. A correspondent wrote to that paper:

"Not half the Chiefs were present, and many of those that went were very cross and threatening, after the language used towards Cetshwayo, he being called *ishingu*, the meaning of which is little less [I should say nothing less] than scamp or rascal."

The effect of Sir Evelyn Wood's visit was very transitory. He had not long left the country when Hamu fell upon the Maqulusini tribe. The two messengers who were sent down to the Bishop after the meeting by the princes, as already mentioned, gave the following account of this raid:—

"Hamu's *impi* began by eating up the cattle of the abaQulusi, who said that they belonged to the King and not to him. The abaQulusi collected to resist. Then there came policemen, saying, 'Disperse, for Malimati (Mr. Osborne) is coming to talk with Hamu about it.' So the bulk of the abaQulusi dispersed, but the Chiefs remained, and most of the headmen of the tribe, with a following in all of fifteen *amavio* (about 1,200 men), to attend the meeting of Malimati with Hamu. But, as soon as the bulk of them had dispersed, the *impi* of Hamu, to the number of forty *amavio* (about 3,200 men), led by Mtonga (son of Munde, who has returned from the Transvaal), fell upon the men of the abaQulusi and swept them clean off. Malimati arrived when it was all over, and went to Hamu at his kraal. He asked how he (Hamu) had come to do this. Said Hamu, 'It is Mtonga's doing.' But Mtonga denied, saying, 'Do you call it my doing because I led the *impi*? Who, then, called it together and had it decorated (for fighting)? Was it not you?' There were killed that day six of Xwani's family, eight of Siwangu's, four of Ntanjana's, six of Kondhlo's, three of Dugazele's, six of Sobuza's, two of Nkankane's, three of Madhlozi's, one of Ntshwala's, Mhlanjwana, and Nyumbana, and many others, more than we can count, all men of rank and Indunas, the heads of the abaQulusi. Hamu's *impi* went on and killed women also; we heard of the women of Ndabayake, an Induna, who was himself killed. The *impi* spread itself all over the country, killing and taking possession of the kraals. Truly we Zulus did not kill in the old days of Mpende and Cetshwayo; we just jostled one another, and few were hurt. It is you, Englishmen, who have taught people to kill—to sweep clean; pointing behind, and saying, 'That's right!' even when you appear to be peace-

making. And, if the red-coats are now going home, as it is said, it is because this work of theirs is completed; and we who prayed for the 'Bone' are driven out homeless, and hunted upon the hills or killed outright, so that the rest may take warning, and not dare to speak the word that is in all their hearts."

This is one only of many accounts of the bloody doings in the Zulu country, and it is to be observed that in many cases the pretext for sweeping away cattle has been that they were "King's cattle."

I give one more account, which relates to John Dunn's attack on the Umtetwa tribe.* The narrator is Manxele, of Mgitshwa's tribe in Zululand, who made a statement as follows:—

"I remember the fight which took place last month—or nearly a month ago—in Mlandela's district. On the morning of the fight I was sitting on a ridge, together with other people of my tribe, near the Isoselini river. About 10 a.m. I heard the report of fire-arms. I ought to say that the Chief of our tribe, Somhlola, was also sitting with us. While we were sitting, some fugitives came up to the Chief Somhlola and asked for his protection. One of the fugitives was named Mudwa, another was the Induna Somopo. These people informed Somhlola that Dunn had attacked the Umtetwas and killed all before him, men, women, and children. The detailed account they gave of the fight was as follows:—

"A number of the Umtetwa tribe had congregated under Sitimela, a son of Somweli, son of Dugiswayo, who was the rightful Chief of the Umtetwas, and who had gone to Mlandela to talk about tribal matters. There were great numbers of the Umtetwas with Sitimela, who had been informed that Chief John Dunn was advancing against him with a large force. Sitimela had told the people that he had come to Zululand to talk, and not to fight; and that, in the event of Dunn attacking him, they were to run away, and not attempt resistance. On the morning of the fight Sitimela, with his followers, was at a kraal named "Uyengo," near the Nongadi Hills. When Chief Dunn rode up, followed by his *impi*, as soon as he got within range, he dismounted, and fired into Sitimela's followers, and then other white men who were with him, five in number, fired also. Sitimela again ordered his people to retreat, as he did not want to fight. The people retreated accordingly, followed by Dunn's men, who drove them across the Infolosi, killing all before them. Dunn sent a message to Somhlola to send an armed party in pursuit, which he refused to do. Dunn took all the cattle to his place."

Translated to Manxele by me, and adhered to by him in my presence,
(Signed)

FRED. B. FENNY,
Sworn Government Interpreter.

Maritzburg, August 30, 1881.

Before it had become evident in England that Sir Garnet Wolseley's scheme was worthless, and before the disastrous state of things which it has brought about, had manifested itself, the present Government were naturally anxious not to disturb the settlement under which the thirteen chiefs had been set up, and which had been solemnly made in the Queen's name. And accordingly Lord Kimberley replied to a deputation of the Aborigines Protection Society on the subject of the restoration of Cetshwayo, by saying:—

* Sir Evelyn Wood, addressing the Legislative Council of Natal recently, announced that John Dunn had acted in this matter under the advice of the Resident, and the General commended the Chief's "vigour and determination."

"As regards Cetshwayo, I am free to admit that I think he has received rather hard measure. But he was Chief of the Zulu nation in the war; and those who have considered, and well considered, the question, are of opinion that it would be impossible to let him go back to Zululand, at any rate for some time to come. It would be manifestly unjust to the Chiefs whom we have placed in authority; for it would disturb all that has been done, and make the working of the present settlement an impossibility."

These words were spoken on the 27th of May, 1880. Since that date the aspect of affairs has materially altered; but the argument employed by Lord Kimberley loses its force in view alone of the fact that the majority of the appointed chiefs desire Cetshwayo's presence. Surely, too, the light that has recently been thrown upon his antecedents and personal character will remove the difficulties which were felt to render it inexpedient to give him authority in Zululand. The country requires to be united. In the attempt to prove him to be a monster, his enemies have succeeded in showing to the world only the admirable personal qualities of the ex-King. It would seem that even Sir Bartle Frere has begun to feel misgivings on this point, for in answer to a letter written by him on the subject of the restoration of Cetshwayo to Sir T. Shepstone, which has not been published, the latter says, "I cannot bring myself to feel that Cetshwayo's personal character should be allowed to have any influence in the matter." (!) What better guarantee could we have of his being amenable to our influence, if restored as a Governor, than in the real facts of his history during his reign?

I will, in conclusion, bring together six reasons against the restoration of Cetshwayo, stated by one of his most bitter and able foes, Mr. John Robinson, M.L.C., of Natal (Editor of the *Natal Mercury*), and the Bishop of Natal's brief comments on those reasons:—

- (1). The people have been suddenly bereft of the central and supreme authority they have known for three generations.
- (2). They still hope—though with fast-declining confidence—to see a British representative sitting in the place of their late King.
- (3). Their present chiefs are not of their own choosing, and there is no chief paramount behind any one of them.
- (4). Were their late ruler to appear amongst them, he would at once form a rallying-point for all the discontented Zulus in the country, and, whether he liked it or not, he would still command their homage.
- (5). His restoration would be a direct falsification of Sir Garnet Wolseley's solemn declaration that he would never be seen again amongst them, and would therefore destroy all confidence in the statements and assurances of the British Government.
- (6). From end to end of South Africa the act would be misunderstood and misconstrued by the native tribes.

These reasons are surely enough to prevent the Home Government from even so much as considering a measure so certain to prove destructive to their own policy in the settlement of Zululand. They may not care much for the maintenance of peace in South Africa, so long as colonial forces can be relied upon to vindicate authority. But they do care much for their ability to show that the policy they have approved in Zululand is a success, and not a failure.

The Bishop replies that—

(1) is a good reason why the people should be supplied with a "central authority," if only as a Court of Appeal from the thirteen chiefs; in fact, Cetshwayo himself said truly at Capetown, "They must be ruled either by the Queen or by myself," or, he might have added, "by myself under a British Resident representing the Queen."

(2) is quite untrue, as shown by the depositions, except that they would, no doubt, very much prefer a "British representative," to their present most unsatisfactory condition.

(3) is perfectly true, and some of the thirteen chiefs are not by any means liked, and need that a "paramount chief," such as Cetshwayo, should review and rectify their arbitrary acts, subject to the revision of the Resident.

(4) is also quite true, since the discontented Zulus, i.e., the population generally—as implied by eight of the thirteen chiefs (for Mgitshwa should be added), or even nine, including Hamu, who expressed himself to General Wood as desiring his brother's restoration—would welcome Cetshwayo back, and settle down thankfully under his rule, instead of abhorring and rejecting him, in accordance with Sir Bartle Frere's false picture of him, as a "cruel sovereign," an "ignorant and bloodthirsty despot," whose "history is written in characters of blood."

(5) This is no reason for not doing justice; and, as to confidence in the statements and assurances of the British Government, the less said about this, after recent doings of some of its agents in South Africa, the better. Sir Garnet Wolsley himself, however, is known to have said that he did the best he could in the sudden emergency, but by no means maintained that the settlement made by him was wholly satisfactory. As Sir Garnet Wolsley pledged the British Government not to annex any part of Zululand, the next best arrangement, and practically almost equivalent to annexation, would be the restoration of Cetshwayo under suitable conditions.

(6) is mere rubbish, after the utter destruction of the Zulu power. The fact is that the doing of such an act of righteousness would greatly help towards restoring confidence in our character for justice and good faith among all the tribes of South-eastern Africa, which has been utterly destroyed for the present through the policy of Sir Bartle Frere.

Sir Garnet Wolsley's scheme, characterized by himself as the "best he could do in the time," having been given a fair (many must think a too protracted) trial, it now remains for the Government to carry out rapid measures for averting further evils, and ensuring the peace, order, and advancement of the Zulu people. Two courses present themselves:—

(1.) Annexation in some form, open or disguised.

(2.) Government of Zululand by means of a paramount chief.

The first alternative will not be sanctioned by this country. We are left then to choose between placing John Dunn in supreme authority and restoring the exiled king. Apart from other considerations which must make the notion of selecting him abhorrent to a high-minded English statesman, John Dunn, whatever attractions residence in the Zulu country would possess under his rule for the white rascallions who abound in South Africa, would not command the respect and obedience of the Zulus as a nation. That Cetshwayo would do so there

is now the most ample testimony,* and his restoration, under the Queen as his Suzerain, would, in the opinion of those who must surely by this time be recognized as the most trustworthy counsellors, secure all the advantages for the Zulus themselves that could be expected to accrue from annexation, without involving England in the responsibilities which actual extension of her empire would create.

FRANCIS ERNEST COLENSO.

* Since these words were written, news has been received that the Transvaal Volksraad approve of the proposal to restore Cetshwayo, and that Mr. Deubert, Superintendent of Native Affairs in the Republic, has reported officially to President Kruger in favour of the step, as follows:—"It would, in my humble opinion, be highly necessary for the whole of South Africa that matters in Zululand and with the Zulu nation should be established on a satisfactory and sound basis, and that, in my opinion, is only to be effected by liberating and reinstating in his rights the Zulu King, Cetshwayo. It is only by this act of justice that England can regain confidence, and Cetshwayo, well acquainted with the habits of the Zulus, is, after the experience gained by him, well able to restore peace and quiet among his nation, and to prevent the shedding of so much blood in such a barbarous manner."

THE CITY OF LONDON: ITS POPULATION AND POSITION.

STATISTICS may be made to prove anything, when manipulated by interested or unscrupulous persons. Even where there is no desire to mislead, figures may convey an impression altogether erroneous or fallacious. In dealing with them, one essential and primary rule to be observed is that comparisons can only be drawn between similar circumstances and conditions. They also require due attention to be given to all collateral points that tend to modify or enlarge the general conclusions. Non-observance of these elementary but obvious rules, causes the labour bestowed by some statisticians in preparing complex tabular matter to be wholly wasted, and the conclusions drawn by them to be vitiated. Some unreflecting persons assume that there is no true science of statistics, and that figures are mere signs and counters, to be arbitrarily employed by skilful hands to establish foregone conclusions. But blunders, failures, or perversions do not warrant a general condemnation of statistical writers, any more than the misuse of wealth, or of food, or of individual liberty, can be used as an argument for their prohibition.

The "Preliminary Report" of the Registrar-General on the Census taken in April, 1881, has been already analysed and commented upon in the newspapers, and the public await with interest the detailed tables now being prepared. Of the general spirit and manner in which this national work is performed every ten years it is impossible to speak too highly; although, in the opinion of competent judges, there are some additional particulars that might be ascertained with advantage to the public. The Bureau of Statistics at Washington, for example, and the similar departments existing in Massachusetts, in Ohio, and in some other States, are conducted with an efficiency and a thoroughness, in the extent and variety of their investigations, far beyond the means at the

present disposal of our Census Office, or of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, or of the Commissioners of Customs, or any of our public bodies. Still, there is very much in the decennial returns furnished by the Registrar-General, and tabulated by him and his able assistants, to furnish matter for useful comparison and further inquiry. As far as concerns the objects immediately sought, and within the lines prescribed by the Legislature, the Census returns are exceedingly valuable and instructive, and much praise is due to those who are responsible for their preparation and issue.

It is felt, however, by the City of London, that the returns are inadequate in one most important respect; that, as a consequence, they are misleading; and also that an unscientific and even an unfair use is made of them for outside purposes. The allegation is constantly made, for example, that the population within the civic boundaries is diminishing at a rapid rate, and this is used by interested parties as an argument for measuring the representation for purposes of local self-government; and by others, in support of what the City regards as schemes of absorption, spoliation, or centralization.

The Imperial Census returns at the two last decades were as follows:—

1871.	population of City and liberties	. . . . .	74,897
1881	do. do.	. . . . .	50,526
Decrease			24,371

The explanation of this is, that the decrease is partly an assumption and partly actual. As it regards the assumed decrease of population, we point out subsequently that as many as 4,000 houses, many of them the largest in the City, with their business occupants, are excluded entirely from the Imperial Census in consequence of the method adopted in making the enumeration during the night, when such houses, although thronged with inhabitants in the daytime, are confided to the care of the police. The exclusion of over 4,000 houses and their occupants would depopulate entirely some of the cities and half the towns in the Empire. The figures given represent merely the persons (mostly caretakers*) actually sleeping in the City on the nights when the Census was taken; but as the City is becoming more and more a place of business, it is not surprising that the residential night population decreases. This process is accelerated by the sweeping away of great numbers of small houses for street improvements, and by the erection in their places of gigantic places of business and of railway termini. The action also of the Corporation in carrying out the Artisans' Dwellings Acts, although partly frustrated by legislative blundering, has resulted in clearing large spaces of ground, at present unoccupied.

As will presently appear, there are other tests, besides a fallacious

* Women are mostly left in charge at night of City premises; hence the Imperial Census always shows a large preponderance of females over males in a city where it is proved by actual observation that there are five males to one female. Nothing more strongly shows the fallacy of the method of enumeration adopted.

numerical one, that have to be applied in determining the relative position of the City of London to other parts of the metropolis, and to other large municipalities. The point now strongly urged is that a night Census furnishes no adequate means of ascertaining what must be regarded as the natural and proper number of persons who belong to the City. Strictly and logically, all who regularly spend there the chief part of their waking and active hours, who earn their bread there and contribute to local and imperial burdens, must be regarded as belonging to the place where their vocations are carried on.* The Preliminary Report of the Census of 1881 contains the following passage (p. 9):—

"The increase of population (metropolis) in the past, and also in the preceding decade, was entirely peripheral. In the centre of London is a compact area, consisting of ten registration districts (including the City), in which, owing to the substitution of business premises for dwelling-houses, the population has for a long period been undergoing diminution. The inhabitants of this central area decreased by 7·8 per cent. in the course of the past ten years; having also diminished by 5·8 per cent. in the preceding decade."

For the last sentence the civic authorities suggest a verbal amendment to the effect that, "the great *increase* of population in crowded business centres is made to appear as a *decrease*, owing to the practice of taking account of the population at an hour when it is mainly absent from its business vocations." This view they justify by showing that other business centres besides their own are unfairly charged with being in a decreasing, if not decaying, condition. The great and busy city of Manchester is stated to have a decreasing population, and the following Metropolitan districts, which we all know to be centres of most active business life, are pointed out in the Report of the Imperial Census as being afflicted with municipal *tubes* or wasting:—

Table showing the Assumed Diminution of Population in certain Districts of London.

Districts in Central Area.	Assumed Decrease per Cent.		
	1861-71.	1871-81.	Total 1861-81.
Strand	14·3	...	30·5
St. Giles	1·0	...	16·3
Westminster	3·0	...	11·9
Whitechapel	3·0	...	9·6
Holborn	2·5	...	9·5
St. George's Hanover Square	—	...	4·1
Marylebone	1·5	...	4·1
St. George's-in-the-East	1·7	...	5·8
Shoreditch	1·7	...	2·2

* "It may be said that the City is the scene of the daily labour of hundreds of thousands whose homes are in the metropolis, or even far beyond its broad area; and that within the City are the centres of industry and commerce of almost the whole country. For although there are other places in England which are the homes of special industries and a special commerce, there is scarcely a manufacturer of note or a merchant of celebrity, in the whole nation, who has not his office or his agent in the City and does not at times visit it personally, and it is this combination of interests that causes the vast traffic that daily fills it."—*Report of Colonel Haywood, Surveyor and Engineer to the Commission of Sewers of the City, 1866, p. 43.*

Convinced of the utterly useless and inconclusive results of the Decennial Census, as at present taken in their City, and bearing in mind the financial and fiscal aspects of the question, the Corporation have sought, but hitherto in vain, to induce the authorities to supplement their returns by undertaking a Day Census of the City of London.* Dr. Farr, Assistant-Registrar-General, when giving evidence, in 1866, before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on Metropolitan Local Government and Taxation, said (No. 2422): "It is quite fair, I think, in considering the relative importance of the City of London, to take that element" (that persons having offices in the City sleep out of the City) "into account. It is not taken into account in the Census. The City is, no doubt, of much greater importance than it appears if you consider merely the figures given in the Census."

Failing in their efforts to obtain this supplemental information through the instrumentality of the State officials, the Corporation have, for the second time in recent years, been at the trouble and expense of instituting a Day Census for themselves.† The first attempt of the kind was made in 1866, and the results are contained in a printed Report to the Court of Common Council, and issued by their authority. The following sentences, reproduced in the Second Report, are here quoted in order to afford justification for such special inquiries:—

"The Imperial Census, taken decennially under the authority of Parliament, affords no indication whatever of the actual population of the City: and every

* It is fair to those authorities to state that when applied to by the Corporation officers, they admitted in full the necessity and desirability of such a separate inquiry, but they urged that the Government were pressed by so many applications to include in the Census Bill particulars religious, social, medical, and otherwise, that the only course consistent with the passing of the Bill was to turn a deaf ear to all such applications. The Registrar-General, however, and his subordinates, and the President of the Local Government Board, suggested that the Corporation should, themselves, undertake a Day Census; they only stipulated that it should not, for obvious reasons be taken at a time to clash with the Imperial enumeration.

† Strictly speaking, the recent Day Census was the *third* taken by the City authorities. A very curious and interesting notice of a Census, as early as 1631, occurs in a scarce pamphlet, "Natural and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortality," by Captain John Graunt, F.R.S. Fifth Edition 1676. It appears that the Privy Council, being apprehensive of an approaching scarcity applied to Sir Robert Hurdie, Lord Mayor, on June 30, 1631, requiring him to state, in addition to certain other particulars, "the number of mouths esteemed to be in the City of London and liberties." In consequence of which an enumeration "of the men, women, and children in the City" was made. The Letter of the Council to the Lord Mayor is given in "Rushworth's Coll.," vol. ii. the original, with a copy of the answer, is at Guildhall. The detail of this Census is given, ward by ward, in the second volume of the "Registration Tables, 1871" (p. 45). The totals given are as follows.

London City, within the walls	71,029
Ditto, the out wards	40,579
	<hr/>
	111,608
Bridge Without, being the old Borough of Southwark	18,600
	<hr/>
Total	130,268

This is interesting as correcting a very general but erroneous impression that was very densely populated before the Fire of London. At the date of 1631, the were generally of wood, with two, or at most three, storeys. They are now from four to five six, and even seven storeys high. We can understand, therefore, population of 261,000 can now be found, where, in 1631, there were but 111,608.

recurring Census only leads further astray in this respect. That Census is gathered for the sake of convenience while the population is *sleeping*, and affords in almost every other district a fair indication of the actual number of the inhabitants; but owing to the peculiar and exceptional nature of the City population, and the circumstances of those who there carry on their business, it so happens that the Census taken by the Imperial Government omits from enumeration in the City the very class of persons whose trade, wealth, and enterprise make the City what in fact it is—the greatest, most crowded, and wealthiest commercial emporium to be found in the world.

“In taking a Census, to ignore the mill-owners and spinners of Manchester, or to omit the coal-owners, workers, and shippers of Northumberland; or to gather the Census of Belgravia and West London in the autumn, when aristocracy is out of town, would not so grossly misrepresent facts, as to eliminate the banking, mercantile, and commercial element from the enumeration of the City of London by taking its Census *in the night*.”

A more recent investigation, and one, in some respects, more complete, was made in April last, by order of the Court of Common Council, under the direction of the Local Government and Taxation Committee, whose Report, dated December 7th, 1881, has been presented to, and printed by, the said Court. The committee delegated to its chairman, William Lawley, Esq., and Benjamin Scott, Esq., the Chamberlain, the duty of taking the necessary steps, under the direction of the committee, for obtaining the Day Census. As the results are important, interesting, and, in some respects, startling, it is needful to explain the methods adopted, in order that there may be no doubt as to the thoroughness and the accuracy of the investigation. In making it, the services of the ward clerks, and other ward authorities, and the rate collectors of the City, were sought, and, in most instances, were rendered; while, in response to the appeal made to the inhabitants for co-operation, it is stated that out of more than 25,000 separate enumerations, including over 57,000 individual householders, traders, or employers, only twelve persons declined to give the desired information: “a striking illustration,” as the Report states, “of the general approval on the part of the citizens of the step taken by their representatives to correct the extremely fallacious results of the Imperial Census.” This enumeration embraced not only the mere number of persons engaged in business, as was the case in 1866, but the sex of the adults, and also the number of children of both sexes under the age of fifteen years. This additional information was cheerfully rendered, thus enabling some comparisons to be made with the Imperial Census, which were impracticable in 1866. Under the direction of the committee, and of the superintending enumerator, ward lists were prepared from the police rate-books, and printed slips were then left with every occupier of a house or tenement, accompanied by a letter, explaining the object of the Census, and appealing to the friendly co-operation of the inhabitants. The printed slips, to the number of 25,143, were collected at the appointed time (with the exception of the twelve above referred to, for which due allowance was made), and, after careful

examination and checking, the following results were obtained, which are given in the Report in separate wards, but the totals were:—

Adult males	195,577
" females	44,179
Children (both sexes) under 15 years of age	21,305
Total persons	261,061

Attempting to classify these figures more closely, the Report of the Corporation gives the following explanation:—

"It is impossible, with the materials we possess, to ascertain how many of the adult females are employers, how many employed, and how many are wives or widows unconnected with the trade of the City; but assuming that out of the total of 44,179 women 4,179 are employers—say in the drapery, mercery, out-fitting, and other trades suitable to women, and that half the remainder—20,000—are female assistants in such trades and employments, there will then remain 20,000 women to represent the wives of the humbler classes who remain in the City at night, and the women then left in charge of business premises; we should then arrive at the following conclusions, which will not, we think, be far from the actual facts:—

Employers of labour—being banking, mercantile, commercial, trading, and professional persons	* 57,503
Employed by the above—being male managers, secretaries, clerks, warehousemen, male and female assistants, porters, &c.	+ 162,253
Women—being caretakers of premises, wives, and widows of the humbler classes, and some few domestic servants	‡ 20,000
Children under 15, of both sexes—being children of the caretakers and of the humbler families, boys in the public schools, &c.	§ 21,305
Total persons	261,061

The Imperial Night Census of Sunday, April 3 4, 1881, gave only 50,526 persons of both sexes and all ages.

As compared with the Day Census of 1866, when the enumeration gave 170,133 persons employed in the day, this is an *increase* of 90,928, or at the rate of 53·4 per cent., while the Night Census assumes a *decrease* of 32·5 per cent.

Some other points of comparison demand notice. The Preliminary Report of the Imperial Census of last April, taking the City population at 50,526, places it as the twenty-sixth in order among the 39 districts and parishes which send representatives to the Metropolitan Board of Works; whereas, taking the true population at 261,061, the place of the City should be second on that list, as it is exceeded only by Islington, with 282,628. This may be emphasized by a passing reference to a collateral fact, which will have to receive specific attention,—viz., that the rateable value of the City of London and Liberties, according to the last return of the Metropolitan Board of Works, is £3,535,494, while the next highest is St. George, Hanover Square, with £2,005,358; the lowest being Woolwich, with £157,183 only. In other words, the City

* Total of analytical classification of trades, &c.

+ (261 061 - 57 503 employers - 20 000 females - 21 305 children).

‡ (44,179 women - 4,179 female employers - 20,000 female assistants & above).

§ Total children as ascertained by house-to-house enumeration.

constitutes nearly one-seventh of the entire rateable value of the metropolis, £27,540,029.*

Another point of comparison is that the actual population of the City (which is a County in itself) exceeds that of any one of the following counties:—Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, Cumberland, Dorset, Hereford, Herts, Huntingdon, Monmouth, Northampton, Oxford, Rutland, Shropshire, Westmoreland, and Wilts. The last-named is the highest, having a population of 257,177; and the lowest is Rutland, with 22,073 only. With the exception of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, the City of London stands at the head of the 198 Incorporated Parliamentary Boroughs in respect of population. There is a larger population in the City than in the following seventeen next largest incorporated cities and towns of England and Wales, having Parliamentary representation:—Bristol, the highest (206,503), Bradford, Salford, Wolverhampton, Hull, Oldham, Stoke-upon-Trent, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Brighton, Portsmouth, Sunderland, Wednesbury, Leicester, Nottingham, Bolton, Swansea, and Blackburn, the lowest (100,618). All the remaining incorporated places in England and Wales, including all the cathedral cities, have populations of less than 100,000. Without excepting the five places named above, the City has the largest rateable value of all the incorporated cities and towns of England and Wales.

Table of Rateable Annual Value of the six largest Cities.

The City of London, value	...	...	...	...	£3,535,494
Liverpool	"	...	...	...	3,211,344
Manchester	"	...	...	...	2,296,537
Birmingham	"	...	...	...	1,454,329
Leeds	"	...	...	...	1,102,691
Sheffield	"	...	...	...	914,544

The remainder of the seventeen places mentioned above range down to £59,632, the rateable value of Stoke-upon-Trent.†

The comparison may be extended to-commercial importance and fiscal

* The City Report complains justly of the fallacious use made of the figures of the Imperial Census. "A Bill was introduced in the Session of 1890 to provide for Municipal Representation of the Metropolis, which proposed to allot representation to the City in the proportion of 70,000 to 3,500,000 persons, with a rateable value of £3,535,494 to £27,540,029, that is to say, the City was to pay one-seventh and seven-tenths of the fiscal impositions of the Metropolis, and to possess representation in the proportion of *one-fifth*—an illustration of taxation going hand in hand with representation of a very striking character. Had the introduction of the Bill been postponed until last Session, when the night population of the City had been assumed to be 50,526, and the metropolitan population to be 3,832,000, the proportion of representation would have been reduced to *one-seventy-fifth* of the whole, with a contribution of over *one-eighth* of the municipal taxation. Such fallacious—not to say absurd—treatment of a very great and important subject does but postpone the attainment of the object proposed."

† The extraordinary increase of rateable value of the City, notwithstanding the incessant destruction of property for the widening of the streets, is shown by the following figures:—

The rateable value in 1801	£507,372
" " 1831	702,904
" " 1861	1,279,887
" " 1871	2,186,487
" " 1881	3,535,494

Showing a *net* increase within the century, a conclusive answer to those who contend that the City is on the wane.

capacity, by considering the net profits charged to income-tax under the commercial, mercantile, and trading Schedule D for the year 1879-1880, as furnished by the Inland Revenue authorities;—

Table of the eighteen largest incorporated Cities and Towns of England and Wales, showing the net profits charged to Income Duty in each, under the Commercial Schedule D, for the year 1879-1880.

City of London	£39,268,424
Liverpool	9,980,976
Manchester	8,832,192
Birmingham	3,421,056
Leeds	2,127,168
Bristol	1,927,056
Sheffield	1,719,792
Newcastle-on-Tyne	1,618,656
Bradford	1,618,080
Hull (Kingston-upon-)	1,016,610
Nottingham	951,312
Stoke-upon-Trent	897,648
Brighton	895,776
Wolverhampton	763,314
Salford	728,256
Sunderland	700,080
Oldham	683,040
Leicester	681,600
	<hr/>
	77,886,096
Deduct the City of London	39,268,424
	<hr/>
Total of the seventeen Cities and Towns, } exclusive of the City	£38,622,672

From the above table it will be seen that the City of London (quite irrespective of the other portions of the metropolis, which are returned in all at £41,721,944) pays upon a larger assessment under Schedule D than the aggregate of *all* the above seventeen largest cities and towns. One other point of comparison is furnished by the number of "inhabited houses" within the City, concerning which it can be shown that the most extraordinary fallacy prevails. Roughly stated, it may be said that the "inhabited houses" are given in the Imperial Census of 1881 at 6,493, whereas the Day Census records 21,898. But the Registrar-General defines an "inhabited house" to be "a house or other tenement in which one or more persons *slept* on the night of the enumeration;" whereas the City authorities define it as "a house or other tenement in which one or more persons were *actively employed* during the day of the City Census." The diminution of the nightly residents and their dwellings is thus referred to by the Royal Commissioners on Municipal Corporations (1837), in their Second Report, and the reasons assigned apply with far greater force at the present day:—

"We doubt much whether the comparative rates of increase and decrease furnish any satisfactory test of the relative importance of the districts. One objection to such a test is, that under the particular circumstances of the City, it seems not difficult to suggest reasons why a rise in its prosperity may not produce

a diminution in its population. Thus an advance in its prosperity might render land more valuable for warehouses, and therefore drive out the poorer population. It is also to be observed that much of the importance of the City arises from its being the daily resort of great numbers who, as they do not sleep in it, are not strictly a part of its population; and that the prevalence of this habit has been continually on the increase during the present century."

But the discrepancy between the two statements is, to a great extent, accounted for by the fact that the inhabitants have such confidence in their City police force that the number of houses occupied by day, but left entirely unoccupied by night, is no less than 4,235 (or more than double the number—2,057—so left in 1866), according to the following return made by the Assistant-Commissioner of the City police force:—

Return of the Number of Houses or places in the City occupied by day but left entirely unoccupied by night.

CITY: First Division	1,130
Second Division	564
Third Division	552
Fourth Division	914
Fifth Division	572
Sixth Division	473
Total	4,235

H. S. BOWMAN, Major.

For Commissioner of Police of the City.

Assuming that only three persons formerly occupied each of these 4,235 houses at night, including caretakers and their families, no fewer than 12,705 "inhabitants" will have disappeared from the City under the method of investigation pursued by the Registration authority. Very many of these 4,235 houses contain numerous tenancies, and would probably count for three times as many, were some one to sleep in each at night. The Inhabited House Duty, as levied at present, exercises also a very unfair and injurious influence upon many householders. If the upper floor of lofty premises, unsuitable for many trade purposes, though admirably adapted, by reason of light, air, and proximity to business, and to the City markets, for the residence of a clerk or warehouseman and his family, be so occupied, the entire building becomes liable to the Inhabited House Duty, at ninepence in the pound on the gross rental, which often amounts to several thousands a year. It is urged that a very large number of persons are thus driven away from the City and other business centres in London,* while a trifling alteration in the law would remove the hardship without reducing the revenue. The practice is likewise largely increasing of erecting, for business purposes in the City, spacious blocks of buildings, combining, under one roof, numerous sets of offices or chambers, such as Palmerston Buildings, in Bishopsgate Street; Gresham House, in Broad Street;

* The Chamberlain in his "Statistical Vindication of the City" (p. 36), remarks — "It remains to be stated that a tendency to decrease in the sleeping population is not by any means confined to the City of London, but that a similar migration from the centres of business, during the night is taking place elsewhere, and will continue to do so within the metropolis. This is particularly noticeable, as might be expected, in the City of Westminster."

Mansion House Chambers, in Queen Victoria Street; and others; besides which there are capacious self-contained premises, like the Bank of England, the Stock Exchange, the Custom House, the Coal Exchange, the Corn Exchange, &c. All these aggregations are treated in the Registrar-General's returns as one house each (assuming that some one sleeps there, and not otherwise), though some of them contain during the day more than the population of many a village or registration district. The Report on the Day Census, just presented to the Court of Common Council, gives an illustration, without naming the precise property, as all the information obtained during the inquiry was furnished in confidence:—

"A certain building covers over one acre, and contains 135 separate tenancies at high rentals, and is rated at £5,000 per annum. In it, during the day, there are employed 78 commercial firms, and 57 individual traders; in all, 252 employers, with 275 employees, making in all 527 persons. These are represented in the Imperial Census by *four persons* who sleep on the premises at night" (p. 34).

In another part of the same Report (p. 46) are given particulars of twenty-six "houses" of this kind, which, however, are divided into 1,320 separate tenements, occupied by 720 firms and 658 individual traders; the total number of persons therein being 6,052, according to the enumeration taken, or more than the population of the first two towns in the alphabetical list of the Imperial Census—viz., Abingdon, 5,662, and Andover, 5,654, each of which returns a member of Parliament. The Report adds (p. 47) that in one parish in the City there were found 119 houses with no fewer than 708 separate tenants, rated in the whole at £103,091 per annum, and returning 4,852 clerks and other employees; making in all a population of 5,560 persons, whereas, in the Imperial Census these figure as *four* householders and *four hundred* other persons, owing to the peculiar definition as to what constitutes an "inhabitant" and an "inhabited house." Under this rule, if only one woman remains in charge at night of a huge block of buildings, it is regarded as "inhabited," and counts as one only; while if the police have the key, as is the case with 4,235 houses, some being very large, they are treated as "uninhabited." Applying the corrected and more reasonable method, the City of London stands sixth among the thirty-nine districts of the Metropolitan Board of Works, comprising 24,898 inhabited houses, being preceded in the number of such houses only by Lambeth, with 35,082; Islington, 34,048; Wandsworth, 30,754; Hackney, 27,503; and Camberwell, 27,306. It is important, however, to bear in mind that in this recapitulation a hovel ranks with a palace as a "house," if only one person sleeps in it; and that the more squalid a district may be, the more it excels as regards the number of its so-called "houses." In France the number of rooms is ascertained in each house, affording some indications of the relative importance of districts, measured by their "houses." The true test, however, and the only available test under our system, is the rateable

value, in which, as has been shown, the City of London far out-distances all the other districts within the metropolitan area, being £3,535,494, or 76 per cent. above the next highest on the list, or nearly one-seventh of the total rateable value of the metropolis in April last.

The relative position of the City is thus clearly summarized in the Report of the Local Government and Taxation Committee, presented to the Court of Common Council:—

“It stands *second* of the 39 Parishes and Districts represented on the Metropolitan Board of Works as it regards *population*.

“It stands *sixth* as it regards the number of ‘inhabited houses.’

“It stands *first* as it regards *rateable value*.

“It stands as a County above 16 English Counties, and all the Welsh Counties, except Glamorgan, as it regards *population*.

“It stands *sixth* of 198 Incorporated Cities and Towns of England and Wales, returning Members to Parliament, in point of *population*.

“It stands *first* of them all in *rateable value*.

“Testing its *fiscal* position, the City stands *first* of all the Parliamentary Boroughs of the Metropolis, as regards the amount of its assessment under the commercial and trading Schedule D of the Income Tax.

“It stands by a very large amount *first* of the 198 Incorporated Cities and Towns as it regards the said assessment. Indeed the City, irrespective of the other portions of the Metropolis, is assessed on a larger amount than the aggregate of all the 17 largest Cities and Towns of England and Wales.”

Reverting to the number of persons actually employed within the City, 261,061 in all, as given in the Day Census, it is desirable to ascertain as nearly as possible their occupations and trades. As the Corporation does not possess compulsory powers with regard to such an inquiry as that recently undertaken, and as it was not wished to give it an inquisitorial appearance, the authorities felt that it would be indiscreet to extend the investigation beyond the limits defined in the schedule left with each occupier. Other means existed for obtaining, indirectly, but with a close approximation to accuracy, the vocations of the inhabitants, and especially the number of employers within the City, so as to be able to separate them from the members of their families and other persons employed. The Chamberlain of the City undertook the direction and oversight of this part of the inquiry, in addition to the large share of responsibility which he assumed in the general investigation. It is an open secret that the Report to the Local Government and Taxation Committee, transmitted by them to the Court of Common Council, was mainly drafted by him, so that the Corporation, and indeed the public, are indebted to him for a singularly able and comprehensive document, exhibiting in a clear and concise form the broad results of an interesting inquiry. In this way an analytical classification of Trades, Professions, and Employments was compiled, under 111 general heads, with 1,399 sub-divisions; a full list of which occupies twenty-four folio pages of the Report, showing the total number of traders, professional men, and other employers to be 57,503; the greater portion of

whom sleep outside the City boundaries, and therefore are excluded from the 50,526 persons returned as the inhabitants on the night when the Imperial Census was taken.

Moreover, that enumeration has, in former instances, given rise to ludicrous and misleading statements as to the employments of persons returned as being inhabitants of the City, because they slept within its boundaries on the night of the Census. The Imperial Census of 1861 returned among the City residents 44 farmers, 3 farm-bailiffs, 23 gardeners, 6 fishermen, and 1 shepherd—all in a square mile of houses. On the other hand, the largest mercantile and commercial city in the world was stated to have only 9 bankers, out of 268; only 33 brokers, out of a total of 3,297; and only 356 merchants, out of about 6,000; while a solitary apprentice represented the 1,764 then enrolled in the Chamber of London as actually under indenture, besides the large number unenrolled or not bound in accordance with the custom of the City; 148 apprentices being actually in the establishment in the City in which the Census Tables were printed.* The absurdity involved in all this was so palpable that a similar classification was not attempted in 1871 as it regarded the City; and as the Report on "occupations" will not be issued for eighteen months, according to the statement of the authorities, there are at present no means of pursuing the comparison for 1881. But the Census for 1871 stated that the agricultural classes (undistinguished) within the City numbered 291 persons; whereas the City Enumeration of April last showed that the only persons answering to the description were 13 nurserymen and florists who have shops or dealings in the City. In like manner the classification for 1871 gives 2,268 professional men above 20 years of age; but the Day Census just taken records 9,085, and it is certain that the numbers have not quadrupled in ten years. The following were found in 1881:—

Table of Professional Persons in the City, in April, 1881.

Solicitors, Conveyancers, Proctors, Notaries, &c.	3,195
Barristers, Queen's Counsel, &c.	2,616
Physicians, Surgeons, and Dentists	183
Architects and Surveyors	1,012
The Clergy and Ministers	133
Accountants, Actuaries, and Arbitrators.	1,029
Engineers, Civil, &c.	917
Total of Professional Classes	9,085 †

* The number of bankers, merchants, and brokers, are thus contrasted as returned in the Census of 1861 and that of 1881 respectively:

	Imperial Census, 1861.	City Census, 1881.
Bankers.	9	490
Merchants (various)	356	8,918
Brokers (exclusive of agents)	33	3,002
Totals of the three classes	398	13,011

† To these might properly be added law-clerks, and various professional assistants.

There is yet a wider branch of the inquiry, carried out in April last by the Corporation, to which it is needful to refer in order to a complete apprehension of the matter. It was decided to obtain particulars of the street traffic, or of persons resorting to the City daily. Many of these would, of course, be included in the house-to-house enumeration as inhabitants carrying on business within the walls, or employed by business men; but there is also a very large number residing outside, but going to the City for purposes of business or otherwise. With a view to determine this, enumerators were placed at sixty points of inlet to the City. A list of these is given in the Report, and the Committee explain:—

“We gave directions that considerable care should be taken in reference to this work, as especially important in relation to street improvements within and near the City; the provision of bridges or subways; also the police regulation of the vast traffic. Persons well qualified for the work, many of them retired sergeants of the City Police Force, were posted two at each of the inlets, and were relieved frequently and visited from hour to hour by four visiting Inspectors, and also at uncertain times by the superintending Enumerator. In this way two independent lists were taken, so that gross errors might be avoided.”

This was done at two periods, one from 5 A.M. to 9 P.M., for a day of sixteen hours, and another from 9 P.M. to 5 A.M. for the night of eight hours, so as to admit of useful comparisons. It was found that the passengers entering the City on foot and in vehicles during the first period was 739,640, and in the second, 57,923; making for the twenty-four hours, 797,563. As was to be expected, the largest number in any one hour was from 9 to 10 in the morning, when 101,111 persons entered the City; the next highest figures being 93,205, from 8 to 9 A.M.; representing the army of clerks, messengers, warehousemen, porters, office boys and other employes among the banking, mercantile, commercial and legal interests, more of whom, however, would probably be found among the 107,329 who entered within the next two hours. In the early hours of the morning, from 5 to 7, the 35,895 enumerated would be, to a great extent, the market frequenters—i.e., buyers, sellers, and distributors of commodities for the suburbs—with the working classes arriving on foot or by workmen's trains. Those specified hour-by-hour from noon until 9 P.M. would be for the most part customers, clients, and others having business to transact within the limits. No account was taken of those passing out by the various stations; otherwise the numbers would have been about doubled. The returns for the eight hours of the night, 57,923 in all, showed that 22,084 entered from 9 to 10 P.M.; 15,649 from 10 to 11 P.M., and 12,409 from 11 to midnight.

These figures include the passengers in vehicles, but the number of separate conveyances was also recorded, again excluding all that passed out of the City. The vehicles during sixteen hours of the day were 66,909; and in the eight hours of night, 4,984; or 71,893 in all. These were distinguished as follows:—Cabs, 15,966; omnibuses, 6,176; other four-wheeled vehicles (chiefly railway vans, drays, and coal carts), 29,396;

other two-wheeled vehicles (such as the light carts of butchers, poulterers, fishmongers, &c.), 20,355.

The traffic at the chief points of ingress during the twenty-four hours is thus indicated—

Table of Passengers and Vehicles entering the City at certain points.

	Total Passengers on Foot and in Vehicles.	Total Number of Vehicles.
London Bridge	78,943	10,733
Holborn Bars	55,222	7,325
Aldgate High Street	49,405	6,031
Temple Bar	45,918	5,309
Blackfriars Bridge	43,567	7,292
Aldersgate Street	36,821	2,431
Finchbury Pavement	28,616	3,642
Farringdon Street	26,705	2,707
St. John Street	21,665	2,917
Southwark Bridge	15,045	1,780

The following railways discharged from their stations the foot passengers undermentioned—

The Great Eastern, Liverpool Street Station	33,890
The North London, Broad Street Station	30,444
The South Eastern, &c., Cannon Street Station	21,126
The London, Chatham, and Dover, Ludgate, Holborn Viaduct, and Snow Hill Stations	24,424
The London and Blackwall, Fenchurch Street Station	15,683
The Metropolitan, Moorgate, Aldersgate, and Bishopsgate Stations	32,127
The Metropolitan District Railway, Mansion House and Blackfriars Stations	18,315

Making a total of 176,009 persons; but as all who enter the City leave it sooner or later, this shows an army of 352,018, which invades and retires from the City daily by railways alone.

There should be added to the above probably one-fourth of the 78,943 passing over London Bridge daily for the Brighton Railway, in order to form an approximate calculation of the magnitude of the railway service into the City. This whole question of street traffic is of pressing importance and growing difficulty, especially the vast increase of heavy vehicles, 28,244 of which entered the City during the sixteen hours from 5 A.M. to 9 P.M., chiefly from 9 A.M. to 1 P.M. Great credit is due to the Police authorities for the regulations now in force, and for the efficient manner in which they are carried out; but the congested condition of some of the busiest thoroughfares demands a remedy which it is most difficult to devise.*

* This difficulty was foreseen nearly 30 years since by one of the authors of this Report. In 1854 Mr. Scott delivered and published two lectures on Locomotion, in which the following passage occurs in reference to the traffic in the City—'A universal break occurs in the lines of twelve railways, so that a person cannot perform the 'through' journey in London without leaving the rail, traversing with luggage a great portion of a crowded metropolis, and again encountering all the bustle, inconvenience, and loss of time in seeking at a fresh station a recommencement of his journey. The causes which have contributed to this state of things it would be difficult to define, and equally difficult to

From the facts and figures given in the foregoing pages it will be evident that while the number of persons actually residing within the City at night appears greatly reduced during the last two decades, from assumed and known causes, such as those already advanced, the business population during the active hours of the day has enormously increased, as any observant and reflective person might have anticipated. Still more extraordinary is the expansion of the rateable value of property, and of banking and commercial transactions, evidence of which is furnished by the official returns already quoted. Other particulars might be added, as to the returns of the Bankers' Clearing House, as to Stock Exchange transactions, as to the shipping from every clime and coast, as to the great markets, and as to various matters of internal administration, respecting which the City of London contrasts favourably with any, and is superior to most, of the municipalities of the Kingdom or of the world. The facts above cited are irrefutable, and the figures cannot be explained away. The statements now given, demand and will receive the careful consideration of the public, and they will pave the way for a fair discussion of the entire subject of municipal government within the area known as the City of London, and within the metropolis. Possessing rights more ancient than those of Parliament, an illustrious history, a long roll of distinguished citizens, statesmen, and merchant princes, enormous wealth, unbounded enterprize, and unwearying philanthropy, the City of London may well desire and deserve to maintain its autonomy. One tendency of the times is towards undue centralization and bureaucracy. Any attempt to reform or to enlarge the scope of the Corporation of London on such principles would certainly meet with deserved opposition.

The Report, which is here only briefly reviewed, while giving no opinion on the question of Municipal Government for the outlying portions of the Metropolis, expressly states :—

"We have studiously avoided the expression of any opinion on the various plans which have been or are propounded either for the extension of the area of the City, or for incorporating with it, or by themselves, the outlying portions of the metropolis. We confine ourselves to pointing out that the Day-Census now completed, contradicts assertions, sometimes thoughtlessly made or fallaciously used, that the decline, partly actual and partly assumed, of the number of inhabitants who pass the night in the City, furnishes grounds for the assertion that it has lost something of its former standing and importance. Our Report demonstrates that in every respect, and however tested, the City occupies a position more important than ever."

apportion the share of blame attaching to those to whom it is attributable. A Government Commission appointed to report upon the subject, came to a conclusion unfavourable on the approximation of the various lines, while the same short sighted policy induced the Corporation of London to oppose the introduction of railway lines within their limits. B. the passage of railway traffic through London, by some well devised arterial line, is not far distant; indeed, it cannot longer be delayed, unless the traffic of the Metropolis is to be PATENTLY AFFLICTED WITH ANEURISM OF THE HEART"—*The Progress of Locomotion*, first edition p. 71. The above was written before the construction of the Metropolitan and Metropolitan District Railways, which have only very partially remedied the evil predicted.

This paper may close with a quotation from Cowper, which, no doubt, described London as it was in his day ; but how much more powerfully applicable now to the grand and ancient City, with its vast outgrowth !—

“ Oh thou, resort and mart of all the Earth,
London ! By taste and wealth proclaimed
The fairest capital of all the world.

* * * * *

Where has commerce such a mart,
So rich, so thronged, so drained, and so supplied,
As London—opulent, enlarged, and still
Increasing London ? Babylon of old
Not more the glory of the earth than she,
A more accomplished world's chief glory now.”

W. J. RICHMOND COTTON.

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM IN GERMANY.

THE idea that a radical affinity exists between Christianity and Socialism in their general aim, in their essential principles, in their pervading spirit, has strong attractions for a certain, by no means inferior, order of mind, and we find it frequently maintained in the course of history by representatives of both systems. Some of the principal Socialists of the earlier part of this century used to declare that Socialism was only Christianity more logically carried out and more faithfully practised; or, at any rate, that Socialism would be an idle superfluity, if ordinary Christian principles were really to be acted upon honestly and without reserve. St. Simon published his views under the title of the "*Nouveau Christianisme*," and asserted that the prevailing forms of Christianity were one gigantic heresy; that both the Catholic and the Protestant Churches had now lost their power, simply because they had neglected their great temporal mission of raising the poor, and because their clergy had given themselves up to barren discussions of theology, and remained absolutely ignorant of the living social questions of the time; and that the true Christian *régime* which he was to introduce was one which should be founded on the Christian principle that all men are brothers; which should be governed by the Christian law, "Have ye love one to another?" and in which all the forces of society should be mainly consecrated to the amelioration of the most numerous and poorest class. Cabet was not less explicit. He said that "if Christianity had been interpreted and applied in the spirit of Jesus Christ, if it were rightly understood and faithfully obeyed by the numerous sections of Christians who are really filled with a sincere piety, and need only to know the truth to follow it, then Christianity would have sufficed, and would still suffice, to establish a perfect social and political organization, and to deliver mankind from all its ills."

The same belief, that Christianity is essentially socialistic, has at various times appeared in the Church itself. The Socialism of the only other period in modern history besides our own century, in which socialistic ideas have prevailed to any considerable extent, was, in fact, a direct outcome of Christian conviction, and was realized among Christian sects. The Socialism of the Anabaptists of the Reformation epoch was certainly mingled with political ideas of class emancipation, and contributed to stir the insurrection of the German peasantry; but its real origin lay in the religious fervour which was abroad at the time, and which buoyed sanguine and mystical minds on dreams of a reign of God. When men feel a new and better power rising strongly about them they are forward to throw themselves into harmony with it, and there were people, touched by the religious revival of the Reformation, who sought to anticipate its progress, as it were, by living together like brothers. Fraternity is undoubtedly a Christian idea, come into the world with Christ, spread abroad in it by Christian agencies, and belonging to the ideal that hovers perpetually over Christian society. It has already produced social changes of immense consequence, and has force in it, we cannot doubt, to produce many more in the future; and it is therefore in nowise strange that in times of religious zeal or of social distress, this idea of fraternity should appeal to some eager natures with so urgent an authority, both of condemnation and of promise, that they would fain take it at once by force and make it king.

The Socialism of the present day is not of a religious origin. On the contrary, there is some truth in the remark of a distinguished economist, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, that the prevalence of socialistic ideas is largely due to the decline of religious faith among the working classes. If there is only the one life, they feel they must realize their ideal here and realize it quickly, or they will never realize it at all. However this may be, the fact is certain that most contemporary Socialists have turned their backs on religion. They sometimes speak of it with a kind of suppressed and settled bitterness as of a friend that has proved faithless: "We are not Atheists, we have simply done with God." They seem to feel that if there be a God, He is at any rate no God for them, that He is the God of the rich, and cares nothing for the poor, and there is a vein of most touching, though most illogical reproach in their hostility towards a Deity whom they yet declare to have no existence. They say in their heart, There is no God, or only one whom they decline to serve, for He is no friend to the labouring man, and has never all these centuries done anything for him. This atheism seems as much matter of class antipathy as of Free-Thought; and the semi-political element in it lends a peculiar bitterness to the socialistic attacks on religion and the Church, which are regarded as main pillars of the established order of things, and irreconcilable obstructives to all Socialist dreams. The Church has, therefore, as a rule looked upon the whole movement with a natural and justifiable suspicion, and has for the

most part dispensed to it an indiscriminate condemnation. Some churchmen, however, scruple to assume this attitude; they recognize a soul of good in the agitation, if it could be stripped of the revolutionary and atheistic elements of its propaganda, which they hold to be, after all, merely accidental accompaniments of the system, at once foreign to its essence and pernicious to its purpose. It is in substance, they say, an economical movement, both in its origin and its objects, and so far as it stands on this ground they have no hesitation in declaring that in their judgment there is a great deal more Christianity in Socialism than in the existing industrial régime. Those who take this view, generally find a strong bond of union with Socialists in their common revolt against the mammonism of the church-going middle classes, and against current economical doctrines, which seem almost to canonize what they count the heartless and un-Christian principles of self-interest and competition.

Such, for example, was the position maintained by the Christian Socialists of England thirty years ago—a band of noble patriotic men who strove hard, by word and deed, to bring all classes of the community to a knowledge of their duties, as well as their interests, and to supersede, as far as might be, the system of unlimited competition by a system of universal co-operation. They inveighed against the Manchester creed, then in the flush of success, with an almost prophetic fury of conviction, as if it were the special Antichrist of the nineteenth century. Lassalle himself has not used harder words of it. Maurice said he dreaded above everything “that horrible catastrophe of a Manchester ascendancy, which I believe in my soul would be fatal to intellect, morality, and freedom;” and Kingsley declared that “of all narrow, conceited, hypocritical, anarchic, and atheistic schemes of the universe, the Cobden and Bright one was exactly the worst.” They agreed entirely with the Socialists in condemning the reigning industrial system: it was founded on unrighteousness; its principles were not only un-Christian, but anti-Christian; and in spite of its apparent commercial victories, it would inevitably end in ruin and disaster. Some of them had been in Paris and witnessed the Revolution of 1848, and had brought back with them two firm convictions—the one, that a purely materialistic civilization, like that of the July Monarchy, must sooner or later lead to a like fate; and the other, that the Socialist idea of co-operation contained the fertilizing germ for developing a really enduring and Christian civilization. Mr. Ludlow mentioned the matter to Maurice, and eventually a Society was formed, with Maurice as president, for the purpose of promoting co-operation and education among the working classes. It is beyond the scope of the present article to give any fuller account of this interesting and not unfruitful movement here; but it is to the purpose to mark two peculiarities which distinguish it from other phases of Socialism. One is, that they insisted strongly upon the futility of mere external changes of condition,

unattended by corresponding changes of inner character and life. "There is no fraternity," said Maurice, finely, "without a common Father." Just as it is impossible to maintain free institutions among a people who want the virtues of freemen, so it is impossible to realize fraternity in the general arrangements of society, unless men possess a sufficient measure of the industrial and social virtues. Hence the stress the Christian Socialists of England laid on the education of the working classes. The other peculiarity is, that they did not seek in any way whatever to interfere with private property, or to invoke the assistance of the State. They believed self-help to be a sounder principle, both morally and politically, and they believed it to be sufficient. They held it even to be sufficient, not merely in course of time, but immediately to effect a change in the face of society. For they loved and believed in their cause with a generous and touching enthusiasm, and were so sincerely and absolutely persuaded of its truth themselves, that they hardly entertained the idea of other minds resisting it. "I certainly thought," says Mr. Hughes, "(and for that matter have never altered my opinion to this day) that here we had found the solution of the great labour question; but I was also convinced that we had nothing to do but just to announce it, and found an association or two, in order to convert all England, and usher in the millennium at once, so plain did the whole thing seem to me. I will not undertake to answer for the rest of the council, but I doubt whether I was at all more sanguine than the majority." Seventeen co-operative associations in London, and twenty-four in the provinces (which were all they had established when they ceased to publish their *Journal*), may seem a poor result, but their work is not to be estimated by that alone. The Christian Socialists undoubtedly gave a very important impetus to the whole movement of co-operation, and to the general cause of the amelioration of the labouring classes.

The general position of Maurice and his allies (though with important differences, as will appear) has been taken again by two groups in Germany at the present day—one Catholic, the other Protestant—in dealing with the social question which has for many years agitated that country. In one respect the Christian Socialists of England were more fortunate than their German brethren. Nobody ever ventured to question the purity of their motives. The intervention of the clergy in politics is generally unpopular: they are thought, rightly or wrongly, to be churchmen first, and patriots afterwards; but it was impossible to suspect Maurice and his friends of being influenced in their efforts at reform by considerations of ecclesiastical or electoral interest, or of having any object at heart but the social good of the nation. It is otherwise with the Christian Socialists of Germany. Neither of the two groups affect to conceal that one great aim of their work is to restore and extend the influence of the Church among the labouring classes; and it is unlikely that the clerical party in Germany were

insensible to the political advantage of having organizations of working men under ecclesiastical control, though it ought to be acknowledged that these organizations were contemplated before the introduction of universal suffrage. But even though ecclesiastical considerations mingled with the motives of the Christian Socialists, we see no reason to doubt the genuineness of their interest in the amelioration of the masses, or the sincerity of their conviction of the economical soundness of their programme.

The Catholic group deserves to be considered first, because it intervened in the discussion much sooner than the Evangelical, and because it originated a much more important movement—larger in its dimensions than the other, and invested with additional consequence from the circumstance that being promoted under the countenance of dignitaries, it must be presumed to have received the sanction of the Roman Curia, and may therefore afford an index to the general attitude which the Catholic Church is disposed to assume towards Continental Socialism. The Socialist agitation had no sooner broken out, in 1863, than Dr. Dollinger, then a pillar of the Church of Rome, strongly recommended the Catholic clubs of Germany to take the question up. These clubs are societies for mutual improvement, recreation, and benefit, and are composed mainly of working men. Father Kolping, himself at the time a working man, had, in 1847, founded an extensive organization of Catholic journeymen, which, in 1872, had a total membership of 70,000, and consisted of an affiliation of small journeyman clubs, with a membership of from 50 to 400 each, in the various towns of Germany. Then there were also Catholic apprentice clubs—in many cases in alliance with those of the journeymen; there were Catholic master clubs, Catholic peasant clubs, Catholic benefit societies, Catholic young men's societies, Catholic credit societies, Catholic book societies, &c. &c. These clubs naturally afforded an organization ready to hand for any general purpose the members might share in common, and being composed of working men, they seemed reasonably calculated to be of effective service in forwarding the cause of social amelioration. Early in 1864, accordingly, Bishop Ketteler of Mayence warmly seconded Dollinger's idea, and at the same time published a remarkable pamphlet on the Labour Question and Christianity, in which he unfolded his views of the causes and the cure of the existing evils.

William Immanuel, Baron von Ketteler, had been for twenty years a powerful and impressive figure in the public life of Germany. His high rank, social and ecclesiastical, his immense energy, his weight of character, his personal disinterestedness of purpose, and his intellectual vigour and acuteness, had combined to give him great importance both in Church and State. Born in 1811, of an ancient Westphalian family, he was trained in law and politics for the public service, and actually entered upon it, but resigned his post in 1838, in consequence of the dispute about the Cologne bishopric, and resolved to give himself to the

work of the Church. After studying theology at Munich and Munster, he was ordained priest in 1844, and became soon afterwards pastor at Hopster in Westphalia. Being sent as member for Langerich to the German National Assembly at Frankfort in 1848, he at once made his mark by the vigour with which he strove for the spiritual independence of the Church, by the lectures and sermons he delivered on questions of the day, and especially by a bold and generous oration he pronounced at the grave of the assassinated Deputy, Prince Lichnowsky. This oration excited sensation all over Germany, and Ketteler was promoted, in 1849, to the Hedwigsburg Church, in Berlin, and in 1850 to the Bishopric of Mayence. In this position he found scope for all his powers. He founded a theological seminary at Mayence, erected orphan-houses and reformatories, introduced various religious orders and congregationist schools, and entering energetically into the disputes in Baden regarding the place and rights of the Catholic Church, he succeeded in establishing an understanding whereby the State gave up much of its patronage, its supervision of theological seminaries, its veto on ecclesiastical arrangements, restored episcopal courts, and assigned the Church extensive influence over popular education. He was one of the bishops who authorized the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, but he belonged to the opposition at the Vatican Council of 1870. He wrote a pamphlet strongly deprecating the promulgation of the dogma of infallibility, and went, even at the last moment, to the Pope personally, and implored him to abandon the idea of promulgating it; but as his objection respected its opportuneness and not its truth, he did not secede with Dollinger when his opposition failed, but accepted the dogma himself and demanded the submission of his clergy to it. Bishop Ketteler was returned to the German Imperial Diet in 1871, and led the Clerical Fraction in opposing the ecclesiastical policy of the Government. He died at Binghamen, in Bavaria, in 1877, and is buried in Mayence Cathedral. Ketteler had always been penetrated with the ambition of making the Catholic Church a factor of practical importance in the political and social life of Germany, and with the conviction that the clergy ought to make themselves masters of social and political science so as to be able to exercise a leading and effective influence over public opinion on questions of social amelioration. He has himself written much, though nothing of permanent value on these subjects, and did not approach them with unwashed hands when he published his pamphlet in 1864.

In this pamphlet, he says the labour question is one which it is his business, both as a Christian and as a bishop, to deal with: as a Christian, because Christ, as Saviour of the world, seeks not only to redeem men's souls, but to heal their sorrows and soften their condition; and as a bishop, because the Church had, according to her custom, imposed upon him, as one of his consecration vows, that he would, "in the name of the Lord, be kind and merciful to the poor and the stranger,

and to all that are in any kind of distress." He considers the labour question of the present day to be the very serious and plain question, how the great bulk of the working classes are to get the bread and clothing necessary to sustain them in life. Things have come to this pass in consequence of two important economical changes—which he incorrectly ascribes to the political revolution at the end of last century, though they have certainly taken place mostly since that date—the spread of industrial freedom, and the ascendancy of the large capitalists. In consequence of these changes the labourer is now treated as a commodity, and the rate of his wages settled by the same law that determines the price of every other commodity—the cost of its production; and the employer is always able to press wages down to the least figure which the labourer will take rather than starve. Ketteler accepts entirely Lassalle's teaching about "the iron and cruel law," and holds it to have been so conclusively proved in the course of the controversy that it is no longer possible to dispute it without a deliberate intention of deceiving the people. Now there is no doubt, that Ricardo's law of value is neither so iron nor so cruel as Lassalle took it to be; for when Ricardo said that the cost of the production of labour was simply the cost of the labourer's subsistence, he recognized the important element which Lassalle overlooked, that the cost of subsistence varied according to the customary standard of living among the labouring class. There is no doubt also that when Lassalle alleged that in consequence of this law 96 per cent. of the population of Germany had to support their families on less than ten shillings a week, and were therefore in a state of chronic starvation, he based his statement on a calculation of Dietrich's, which was purely conjectural, and which, besides, disregarded the fact that in working-class families there were usually more bread-winners than one. Ketteler, however, adopts this whole statement of the case implicitly, and says the social problem of our day is simply how to emancipate the labouring class from the operation of this economical law. "It is no longer possible to doubt that the whole material existence of almost the entire labouring population—i.e., of much the greatest part of men in modern States, and of their families—that the daily question about the necessary bread for man, wife and children, is exposed to all the fluctuations of the market and of the price of commodities. I know nothing more deplorable than this fact. What sensations must it cause in those poor men who, with all they hold dear, are day after day at the mercy of the accidents of market price? That is the slave market of our Liberal Europe, fashioned after the model of our humanist, illuminist, anti-Christian Liberalism and freemasonry." The bishop never spares an opportunity of attacking "heathen humanist Liberalism," which he says has pushed the labouring man into the water, and now stands on the bank spinning fine theories about his freedom, but calmly seeing him drown.

After this it might be expected that Ketteler would be all for abolish-

ing industrial freedom, and for restoring a *régime* of compulsory guilds and corporations; but he is not. He acknowledges that the old system of guilds had its advantages; it was a kind of assured understanding between the workman and society, according to which the former adjusted his work and the latter his wages. But it was the abuses of the compulsory powers of the guilds that led to industrial freedom; and, on the other hand, industrial freedom has great countervailing advantages of its own which he scruples to give up. It has immensely increased production and cheapened commodities, and so enabled the lower classes to enjoy means of life and enjoyment they had not before. Nor does Ketteler approve of Lassalle's scheme of establishing productive associations of working men upon capital supplied by the State. Not that he objects to productive associations; on the contrary, he declares them to be a glorious idea, and thinks them the true solution of the problem. But he objects to supplying their capital by the State, as involving a direct violation of the law of property. The Catholic Church, he says, has never maintained an absolute right of property. Her divines have unanimously taught that the right of property cannot avail against a neighbour who is in extreme need, because God alone is absolute proprietor, and no man is more than a limited vassal, holding under God, and on the conditions which He imposes; and one of these conditions is that any man in extremities is entitled to satisfy his necessity where and how he pleases. In such a case, according to Catholic doctrine, it is not the man in distress that is the thief, but the proprietor who would gainsay and stop him. The distressed have a positive right to succour, and the State may therefore, without violating any of the rights of property, tax the parishes, or the proprietors, for the relief of the poor. But beyond this the State has no title to go. It may legitimately tax people for the purpose of saving working men from extremities, but not for the purpose of bettering their normal position.

But where the civil authority ends the Christian authority comes in, and the rich have only escaped the obligation of compulsory legal enactment, to find themselves under the more far-reaching obligations of moral duty and Christian love. The Church declares that the man who does not give alms where he ought to give it stands in the same category as a thief; and there is no limit to this obligation but his power of giving help, and his belief that it would be more hurtful to give than to keep it. Ketteler's plan, accordingly, is that the capital for the productive associations should be raised by voluntary subscriptions on the part of Christian people. He thinks he has made out a strong case for establishing this as a Christian obligation. He has shown that a perilous crisis prevails, that this crisis can only be removed by productive associations, that productive associations cannot be started without capital, and he says it is a vain dream of Huber's to think of getting the capital from the savings of working men themselves, for most of the working men are in a distressed condition, and if a few are better off,

their savings could only establish associations so few in number and so small in scale, as to be little better than trifling with the evil. He sees no remedy but making productive associations a scheme of the Church, and appealing to that Christian philanthropy and sense of duty which had already done great service of a like nature—as, for example, in producing capital to emancipate slaves in Italy and elsewhere.

This remarkable proposal of the bishop seems to have fallen dead. Though he wrote and laboured much in connection with the labour question afterwards, he never reverted to it again; and when a Christian Socialist party was formed, under his countenance, they adopted a programme which made large demands not only on the intervention but on the pecuniary help of the State. It was not till 1868 that any steps were taken towards the actual organization of such a party. In June of that year three Catholic clubs met together at Crefeld, and after discussing the social question agreed to publish a journal (the *Christliche Sociale Blätter*) to promote their views. In September of the following year the whole subject of the relations of the Church to the labour question was discussed at a conference of the Catholic bishops of Germany, held at Fulda, and attended by Ketteler among others. This conference strongly recommended the clergy to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with that and other economical questions, to interest themselves generally in the condition of the working class they moved among, and even to travel in foreign countries to see the state of the labourers there and the effects of the institutions established for their amelioration. The Conference also approved of the formation of Catholic Labourers' Associations, for the promotion of the general elevation of their own class, but held that the Church had no call, directly or officially, to take the initiative in founding them. This duty was undertaken, however, later in the same month, by a general meeting of the Catholic Clubs of Germany, which appointed a special committee, including Professor Schulte and Baron Schorlemer-Abst, for the express purpose of founding and organizing Christian social clubs, which should strive for the economical and moral amelioration of the labouring classes. This committee set itself immediately to work, and the result was the Christian Social Associations, or, as they are sometimes called from their patron saint, the St. Joseph Associations. They were composed of, and managed by, working men, though they liked to have some man of eminence—never a clergyman—at the head of them, and though they allowed persons of property, clergymen, and especially employers of labour, to be honorary members. They met every Sunday evening to discuss social questions, and politics were excluded, except questions affecting the Church, and on these a decided partisanship was encouraged.

The principles of this party—or what may be called their programme—is explained in a speech delivered by Canon Moufang to his constituents in Mayence, in February, 1871, and published, with warm appro-

bation, in the *Christliche Sociale Blätter* in March. Christoph Moufang is, like Ketteler, a leader of the German clerical party, and entitled to the highest esteem for his character, his intellectual parts, and his public career. Born in 1817, he was first destined for the medical profession, and studied physic at Bonn; but he soon abandoned this intention, and betook himself to theology. After studying at Bonn and Munich, he was ordained priest in 1839. He was appointed in 1851 Professor of Moral and Pastoral Theology in the new theological seminary which Bishop Ketteler had founded at Mayence, and in 1854 was made Canon of the Cathedral. Moufang entered the First Hessian Chamber in 1862 as representative of the Bishop, and made a name as a powerful champion of High Church views and of the general ecclesiastical policy of Bishop Ketteler. In 1868 he was chosen one of the committee to make preparations for the Vatican Council; but at the Council he belonged to the opponents of the dogma of infallibility, and left Rome before the dogma was promulgated. He submitted afterwards, however, and worked sedulously in its sense. Moufang sat in the Imperial Diet from 1871 to 1877, was a leading member of the Centre, and stoutly resisted the Falk legislation. He is joint editor of the *Katholik*, and is author of various polemical writings, and of a work on the history of the Jesuits in Germany.

Moufang takes a different view of the present duty of the Church in relation to the social question from that which we saw to have been taken by Ketteler. He asks for no pecuniary help from the Church, nor for any special and novel kind of activity whatever. The problem indeed, cannot be effectively and permanently solved without her co-operation, but then the whole service she is able and required to render is contained in the course of her ordinary ministrations in diffusing a spirit of love and justice and fairness among the various classes of society, in maintaining her charities for the poor and the helpless, in dispensing comfort in distress, and in offering to the weary the hope of a future life. Moufang makes much more demand on the State than on the Church, in this also disagreeing with Bishop Ketteler's pamphlet. He says the State can and must help the poorer classes in four different ways.—

1st. By giving legislative protection. Just as the landlord and the money-lender are legally protected in their rights by the State, so the labourer ought to be legally protected in his property, which is his powers and time of labour. The State ought to give him legal security against being robbed of this, his only property, by the operation of free competition. With this view, Moufang demands the legalization of working men's associations of various kinds, the prohibition of Sunday labour, the legal fixing of a normal day of labour, legal restriction of labour of women and children, legal provision against unwholesome workshops, appointment of factory inspectors, and direct legal fixing of

the rate of wages. The last point is an important peculiarity in the position of the Catholic Socialists. Moufang contends that competition is a sound enough principle for regulating the price of commodities, but that it is a very unsound one, and a very unsafe one, for determining the price of labour, because he holds that labour is not a commodity. Labour is a man's powers of life: it is the man himself, and the law must see to its protection. The law protects the capitalist in his right to his interest, and surely the labouring man's powers of life are entitled to the same consideration. If an employer says to a capitalist from whom he has borrowed money: A crisis has come, a depression in trade, and I am no longer able to pay such high interest; I will pay you two-thirds or one-third of the previous rate, what does the capitalist say? He refuses to take it, and why? Simply because he knows that the law will sustain him in his claim. But if the employer says to his labourer: A depression of trade has come, and I cannot afford you more than two-thirds or one-third of your present wages, what can the labourer do? He has no alternative. He must take the wages offered him or go, and to go means to starve. Why should not the law stand at the labourer's back, as it does at the capitalist's, in enforcing what is right or just? There is no more infraction of freedom in the one case than in the other. Moufang's argument here is based on an illusive analogy; for in the contract for the use of capital the employer agrees to pay a fixed rate of interest so long as he retains the principal, and he can only avail himself of subsequent falls in the money-market by returning the principal and opening a fresh contract; whereas in the contract for the use of labour the employer engages by the week or the day, returning the principal, as it were, at the end of that term, and making a new arrangement. The point to be noted, however, is that Moufang's object, like Ketteler's, is to deliver the working men from their hand-to-mouth dependence on the current fluctuations of the market; that he thinks there is something not merely pernicious but radically unjust in their treatment under the present system; and that he calls upon the State to institute some regular machinery—a board with compulsory powers, and composed of labourers and magistrates—for fixing everywhere and in every trade a fair day's wages for a fair day's work.

2nd. The State ought to give pecuniary help. It advances money on easy terms to railway schemes; why should it not offer working men cheap loans for sound co-operative enterprises? Of course it ought to make a keen preliminary examination of the projects proposed, and keep a sharp look-out against swindling or ill-considered schemes; but if the project is sound and likely, it should be ready to lend the requisite capital at a low interest. This proposal of starting productive associations on State credit is an important divergence from Ketteler, who, in his pamphlet, condemns it as a violation of the rights of property.

3rd. The State ought to reduce the taxes and military burdens of the labouring classes.

4th. The State ought to fetter the domination of the money power, and especially to check excesses of speculation, and control the operations of the Stock Exchange.

From this programme it appears that the Catholic movement goes a long way with the Socialists in their cries of wrong, but only a short way in their plans of redress. Moufang's proposals may be wise or unwise, but they contemplate only corrections of the present industrial system and not its reconstruction. Many Liberals are disposed to favour the idea of establishing courts of conciliation with compulsory powers, and Bismarck himself once said, before the Socialists showed themselves unpatriotic at the time of the French war, that he saw no reason why the State, which gave large sums for agricultural experiments, should not spend something in giving co-operative production a fair trial. The plans of labour courts and of State credit to approved co-operative undertakings are far from the Socialist schemes of the abolition of private property in the instruments of production, and the systematic regulation of all industry by the State; and they afford no fair ground for the fear which many persons of ability entertain of "an alliance"—to use Bismarck's phrase—"between the black International and the red." Bishop Martensen holds Catholicism to be essentially socialistic, because it suppresses all individual rights and freedom in the intellectual sphere, as Socialism does in the economical. But men may detest private judgment without taking the least offence at private property. A bigot need not be a Socialist, any more than a Socialist a bigot, though each stifles the principle of individuality in one department of things. If there is to be any alliance between the Church and Socialism, it will be not because the former has been trained, under an iron organization, to cherish a horror of individuality, and a passion for an economical organization as rigid as its own ecclesiastical one, but it will be because the Church happens to have a distinct political interest at the time in cultivating good relations with a new political force. How far Moufang and his associates have been influenced by this kind of consideration we cannot pretend to judge, but the sympathy they show is not so much with the Socialists as with the labouring classes generally, and their movement is meant so far to take the wind from Socialism, whether with the mere view of filling their own sails with it or no.

No voice was raised in the Protestant Churches on the Social question till 1878. They suffer from their absolute dependence on the State, and have become churches of doctors and professors, without effective practical interest or initiative, and without that strong popular sympathy of a certain kind which almost necessarily pervades the atmosphere of a Church like the Catholic, which pits itself against States,

and knows that its power of doing so rests, in the last analysis, on its hold over the hearts of the people. The Home Missionary Society indeed discussed the question from time to time, but chiefly in connection with the effects of the Socialist propaganda on the religious condition of the country ; and it was this aspect of the subject that eventually stirred a section of the orthodox Evangelical clergy to take practical action. They asked themselves how it was that the working classes were so largely adopting the desolate atheistic opinions which were found associated with the Socialist movement when the Church offered to gather them under her wing, and brighten their life with the comforts and encouragements of Christian faith and hope. They felt strongly that they must take more interest in the temporal welfare of the working classes than they had hitherto done, and must apply the ethical and social principles of Christianity to the solution of economical problems and the promotion of social reform. In short, they sought to present Christianity as the labourer's friend. The leaders of this movement were men of much inferior calibre to those of the corresponding Catholic movement. The principal of them were Rudolph Todt, a pastor at Barentheim in Old Preignitz, who published in 1878 a book on Radical German Socialism and Christian Society, which created considerable sensation ; and Stöcker, one of the Court preachers at Berlin, a Member of the Prussian Diet, and an ardent promoter of reactionary policy in various directions. He is a warm advocate of denominational education, and of extending the power of the Crown, of the State, and of the landed class ; and he was a prime mover in the Jew-baiting movement which is still exciting Germany and shocking the rest of Europe. This antipathy to the Jews has been for many years a cardinal tendency of the "agrarians," a small political group mainly of nobles and great landed proprietors, with whom Stöcker frequently allies himself, and who profess to treat all political questions from a strictly Christian standpoint, but work almost exclusively to assert the interests of the landowners against the growing ascendancy of the commercial and financial classes, among whom Jews occupy an eminent place. We mention this anti-Jewish agitation here to point out that, while no doubt fed by other passions also, one of its chief ingredients is that same antagonism to the *bourgeoisie*—compounded of envy of their success, contempt for their money-seeking spirit, and anger at their supposed expropriation of the rest of society—which animates all forms of continental Socialism, and has already proved a very dangerous political force in the French Revolution of 1848.

Todt's work is designed to set forth the social principles and mission of Christianity on the basis of a critical investigation of the New Testament, which he believes to be an authoritative guide on economical as well as moral and dogmatic questions. He says that to solve the social problem, we must take political economy in the one

hand, the scientific literature of Socialism in the other, and keep the New Testament before us. As the result of his examination, he condemns the existing industrial régime as being decidedly unchristian, and declares the general principles of Socialism, and even its main concrete proposals, to be directly prescribed and countenanced by Holy Writ. Like all who assume the name of Socialist, he cherishes a marked repugnance to the economical doctrines of modern Liberalism, the heaven of the *bourgeoisie*; and much of his work is devoted to show the inner affinity of Christianity and Socialism, and the inner antagonism between Christianity and Manchesterdom. He goes so far as to say that every active Christian who makes conscience of his faith has a socialistic vein in him, and that every Socialist, however hostile he may be to the Christian religion, has an unconscious Christianity in his heart; whereas, on the other hand, the merely nominal Christian, who has never really got out of his natural state, is always a spiritual Manchesterist, worshipping *laissez faire, laissez aller*, with his whole soul, and that a Manchesterist is never in reality a true and sound Christian, however much he may usurp the name. Christianity and Socialism are engaged in a common work, trying to make the reality of things correspond better with an ideal state; and in doing their work they rely on the same ethical principle, the love of our neighbour, and they repudiate the Manchester idolatry of self-interest. The Socialist ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity are part and parcel of the Christian system; and the Socialist ideas of solidarity of interests, of co-operative production, and of democracy have all a direct biblical foundation, in the constitution and customs of the Church, and in the apostolic teaching regarding it.

Radical Socialism, according to Todt, consists of three elements: first, in economics, communism; second, in politics, republicanism; third, in religion, atheism. Under the last head, of course, there is no analogy, but direct contradiction, between Socialism and Christianity; but Todt deplors the atheism that prevails among the Socialists as not merely an error, but a fatal inconsistency. If Socialism would but base its demands on the Gospel, he says, it would be irresistible, and all labourers would flow to it; but Atheistic Socialism can never fulfil its own promises, and issues a draft which Christianity alone has the power to meet. It is hopeless to think of founding an enduring democratic State on the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, unless these principles are always sustained and reinvigorated by the Divine fraternal love that issues from faith in Jesus Christ.

As to the second principle of Socialism, Todt says, that while Holy Scripture contains no direct prescription on the point, it may be inferentially established that a republic is the form of government that is most harmonious with the Christian ideal. His deduction of this is peculiar. The Divine government of the world, he owns, is monarchical,

but then it is a government which cannot be copied by sinful men, and therefore cannot have been meant as a pattern for them. But God, he says, has established His Church on earth as a visible type of His own invisible providential government, and the Church is a "republic under an eternal President, sitting by free choice of the people, Jesus Christ." This is both fanciful and false, for Christ is an absolute ruler, and no mere minister of the popular will; and there is not the remotest ground for founding a system of Biblical politics on the constitution of the Church. But it shows the length Todt is disposed to go to conciliate the favour of the Socialists.

But the most important element of Socialism is its third or economical principle—communism; and this he represents to be entirely in harmony with the economical ideal of the New Testament. He describes the communistic idea as consisting of two parts: first, the general principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which he finds directly involved in the scriptural doctrines of moral responsibility, of men's common origin and redemption, and of the law of love; and second, the transformation of all private property in the instruments of production into common property, which includes three points: (*a*) the abolition of the present wages system, (*b*) giving the labourer the full product of his labour, and (*c*) associated labour. As to the first two of these points, Todt pronounces the present wages system to be thoroughly unjust, because it robs the labourer of the full product of his labour; and because unjust, it is unchristian. He accepts the ordinary Socialist teaching about "the iron and cruel law." He accepts, too, Marx's theory of value, and declares it to be unanswerable; and he therefore finds no difficulty in saying that Christianity condemns a system which in his opinion grinds the faces of the labouring classes with incessant toil, filches from them the just reward of their work, and leaves them to hover hopelessly on the margin of destitution. If there is any scheme that promises effectually to cure this condition of things, Christianity will also approve of that scheme; and such a scheme he discovers in the Socialist proposal of collective property and associated labour. This proposal, however, derives direct countenance, he maintains, from the New Testament. It is supported by the texts which describe the Church as an organism under the figure of a body with many members, by the example of the common bag of the twelve, and by the communism of the primitive Church of Jerusalem. But the texts about the Church have no real bearing on the subject at all; for the Church is not meant to be an authoritative pattern either for political or for economical organization; and besides, the figure of the body and its members would apply better to Bastiat's theory of the natural harmony of interests than to the Socialist idea of the solidarity of interests. Then the common bag of the disciples did not prevent them from having boats and other instruments of production of their own individual pro-

erty; and we know that the communism of the Primitive Church of Jerusalem (which was a decided economical failure, for the poverty of that Church had to be repeatedly relieved by collections in other parts of Christendom) was not a community of property, but, what is a higher thing, a community of use, and that it was not compulsory but spontaneous.

Todt, however, after seeming thus to commit himself and Christianity without reserve to Socialism, suddenly shrinks from his own boldness, and draws back. Collective property may be countenanced by Scripture, but he finds private property to be as much or even more so; and he cannot on any consideration consent to the abolition of private property by force. It was right enough to abolish slavery by force, for slavery is an unchristian institution. But though private property is certainly founded on selfishness, there are so many examples of it presented before us in the New Testament without condemnation, that Todt shrinks from pronouncing it to be an unchristian institution. Collective property may be better, but private property will never disappear till selfishness is swallowed up of love; and a triumph of socialism at present, while its disciples are unbelievers and have not Christ, the fount of love, in their hearts, would involve society in much more serious evils than those which it seeks to remove. Todt's Socialism, therefore, is not a thing of the present, but an ideal of the distant future, to be realized after Christian proprietors have come of their own accord to give up their estates, and Socialists have all been converted to Christianity. For the present, in spite of his stern view of the great wrong and injustice the working classes suffer, Todt has no remedy to suggest, except that things would be better if proprietors learnt more to regard their wealth as a trust of which they were only stewards, and if employers treated their workmen with the personal consideration due to Christian brothers; and he thinks the cultivation of this spirit ought to be more expressly aimed at in the work of the Church. This is probably, after all, the sum of what Christianity has to say on the subject; but it seems a poor result of so much figuring and flourishing, to end in a general truth which can give no offence even in Manchester.

Soon after the publication of Todt's book, Stöcker and some Evangelical friends founded two associations, for the purpose of dealing with the social question from a Christian point of view, and established a newspaper, the *Staats Socialist*, to advocate their opinions. Of the two associations, the one, the Central Union for Social Reform, was composed of persons belonging to the educated classes—professors, manufacturers, landowners, and clergymen; and the other, the Christian Social Working Men's Party, consisted of working men alone. This movement was received on all sides with unqualified disapprobation. The press, Liberal and Conservative alike, spoke with contemptuous dislike of this *Mucker-Socialismus*, and said they preferred the Socialists in

blouse to the Socialists in surplice. The Social Democrats rose against it with virulence, and held meetings, both of men and of women, at which they glorified atheism and bitterly attacked the clergy and religion. Even the higher dignitaries of the Church held coldly aloof or were even openly hostile. Stocker met all this opposition with unflinching spirit, convened public meetings in Berlin to promote his cause, and confronted the Socialist leaders on the platform. The movement gave promise of fair success. In a few months seven hundred pastors, besides many from other professions, including Dr. Koegel, Court preacher, and Dr. Buchsel, a General Superintendent, had enrolled themselves in the Central Union for Social Reform; and the Christian Social Working Men's Party had seventeen hundred members in Berlin, and a considerable number throughout the provinces. But its progress was interrupted by the Anti-Socialist Bill, passed soon after in the same year, which put an end to meetings of Socialists; and since this measure was supported, though hesitatingly, by Stocker and his leading allies, it has probably impaired their influence with the labouring classes.

The principles of this party, as stated in their programme, may be said generally to be that a decided social question exists, in the increasing gulf between rich and poor, and the increasing want of economical security in the labourer's life; that this question cannot possibly be solved by social democracy, because social democracy is unpractical, unchristian, and unpatriotic; and that it can only be solved by means of an extensive intervention on the part of a strong and monarchical State, aided by the religious factors in the national life. The State ought to provide by statute a regular organization of the working classes according to their trades, authorizing the trades' unions to represent the labourers as against their employers, rendering these unions legally liable for the contracts entered into by their members, assuming a control of their funds, regulating the apprentice system, creating compulsory insurance funds, &c. Then it ought to protect the labourers by prohibiting Sunday labour, by fixing a normal day of labour, and by insisting on the sound sanitary condition of workshops. Further, it ought to manage the State and communal property in a spirit favourable to the working class, and to introduce high luxury taxes, a progressive income-tax, a progressive legacy duty, both according to extent of bequest and distance of relationship. These very comprehensive reforms are, however, held to be inadequate without the spread of a Christian spirit of mutual consideration into the relations of master and workman, and of Christian faith, hope, and love, into family life. Moreover, they are not to be expected from a parliamentary government in which the commercial classes have excessive influence, and hence the Christian Socialists lay great stress on the monarchical element, and would give the monarch absolute power to introduce social reforms without parliamentary co-operation and even in face of parliamentary opposition. We have seen

that Todt was disposed to favour a republican form of government, but probably, like the Czar Nicholas, he has no positive objection to any other save the constitutional. His party has certainly adopted a very radical social programme, but it is above all a Conservative group, seeking to resist the revolutionary and materialistic tendencies of Socialism, and to rally the great German working class once more round the standard of God, King, and Fatherland.

JOHN RAE.

OUR INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

THE alleged abuses* in a large Metropolitan Industrial School having drawn public attention to this important class of institutions, some account of their origin and working may not be without interest.

For many years neglected destitute children—still more those actually trained to vagrancy and crime—excited the pity of the thoughtful and benevolent; and as it came to be understood that this class was the chief nursery of the criminal population, the attention of all earnest thinkers on social questions was drawn to it.

Various isolated endeavours were made, both here and abroad, to meet the evil, and homes and schools in which these unfortunates might be trained to virtue and industry were established. The Philanthropic Society and the Children's Friend Society in England, the Children's Aid Society in New York, and the Benevolent Associations which established the *Rauhe Haus* in Germany, and the Colony of Mettrai in France, may be named as instances of this class of benefactors. As cities and population grew, the evil became more and more prominent, and further efforts were made by the benevolent to meet it. Thus Lord Shaftesbury and his coadjutors, imitating the humble shoemaker of Portsmouth, John POUND, established the Ragged Schools of the metropolis. Their example was soon followed with much success by the late Mary Carpenter in Bristol, and by other friends of the friendless (to use a Hibernianism), in various large towns. All these institutions effected much good, rescuing many young persons from evil ways, and converting them into good citizens. These efforts produced also the further benefit of showing what could,

* As this matter is about to form the subject of a judicial investigation, all wise persons will for the present suspend their judgment upon it.

and what could *not*, be effected without change in the law and aid from the public funds.

To deal with the cases of those who had already become young criminals—after a long course of endeavours by enlightened and benevolent persons, which culminated in the Reformatory Congress held at Birmingham in 1853—the Reformatory Act of 1854 was passed, which authorized the compulsory placing of young offenders of both sexes in schools, to be trained to honesty and industry; and thus the most pernicious practice of repeatedly consigning them to prison for short periods—until, indeed, they had duly graduated in the university of crime—was shaken, and is now, in most parts of the country, at an end; though, unhappily, in the borough of Birmingham—the cradle of the reformatory system—owing to a difference of opinion between the Town Council and the Government as to which should pay the small weekly sum required by the schools to supplement the Treasury allowance, that system has been for some time nearly in abeyance. For during the last three years, thirty children sentenced in that town to reformatories, have been discharged from the gaol on the termination of the short preliminary imprisonment required by law, because no reformatory would accept them without the extra payment; and consequently the borough magistrates are becoming unwilling to sentence children to reformatories. And, were it not for the beneficent action of the School Board in clearing the streets of the neglected or misled class of children, who would soon grow into juvenile criminals, the old vicious graduation in crime, with gangs of young thieves trained and led by bold and hardened boys, which H.M.'s Inspectors of Reformatories report to be now nearly at an end, would have been re-established in that town in all its pristine vigour. As it is, a large number of young offenders are brought before the magistrates of the borough for punishment.

Boys or girls, however, can only be sent to reformatories who have been convicted of felonies or other serious offences, and must, by a clause in the Act, undergo a preliminary imprisonment of at least ten days. These institutions, too, are necessarily expensive, owing to the large staff of officers required to deal with young persons, many of whom are hardened in wickedness.

Potent, therefore, as are reformatories in repressing crime, they do not meet the need of the poor wandering neglected class of young children who get their living by begging and petty pilfering; and thus many of the institutions alluded to above were intended for this class rather than for those who might be properly called young criminals.*

* Now even those found to have committed felony, if not previously convicted and under twelve years old, may be sent to industrial schools instead of reformatories, and the Inspector proposes, with good reason, that as a rule all who are under that age should be thus dealt with. For this purpose, however, a change in the law is requisite, as at present one who has been previously convicted, even though he may have been punished only by a few strokes with a birch rod, cannot be sent to an industrial school.

The most systematic and effectual of the early endeavours to rescue the latter class of children, was that made at Aberdeen by Mr. Sheriff Watson, aided by Mr. Thomson of Banchory, and other benevolent persons; for the great success of the Industrial Feeding Schools of Aberdeen caused them to be rapidly imitated in all the larger towns of Scotland. And, as it was soon seen that the good, great as it was, effected by this class of institutions might be much enhanced by the power of compelling the attendance of children, and by the means of the school being supplemented from public sources, a strong desire was evoked in Scotland for legislation with that object; and, the matter being taken up by the late Mr. Dunlop, Member for Greenock, the "Reformatory Schools (Scotland) Act, 1854," was passed—a measure which, however, affected what are now called industrial schools rather than reformatories; and this law formed the model of the first English Industrial Schools Act.

As the Aberdeen Schools held so prominent a place in the history of the system, perhaps a short account of them may interest the reader.*

About the year 1840, Mr. Watson, then Sheriff-Substitute of Aberdeenshire, was painfully struck with the number of youthful offenders who came before him in his judicial capacity, and with the little effect that short terms of imprisonment had upon them. He ascertained that in Aberdeen there were 280 children, under fourteen years of age, who maintained themselves professedly by begging, but partly by theft, and of whom seventy-seven had been committed to gaol within the preceding twelve months. As these children alleged that they had no other means of livelihood, Mr. Watson perceived that, to induce them to abandon this course of life, it was necessary to provide them with food. The happy idea then suggested itself of an industrial school, an institution which should combine intellectual instruction with useful work, wherein the children should be sufficiently fed, and where they should be morally and religiously trained. Lodging and clothing the pupils formed no part of the scheme. Probably funds sufficient could not have been raised for that purpose; and, moreover, Mr. Watson felt a strong objection to breaking the domestic tie, even where the parents were persons of indifferent character; and he thought it highly desirable not to do more towards the maintenance of the children than was absolutely necessary.

The general arrangement of the day was four hours of lessons, five hours of work, and three substantial meals.

The whole produce of the children's work went towards defraying the expense of the establishment, thus attaining several important objects: reducing the expense of the school, and teaching the children practically the value of their industry in procuring for them food and

* This account of the Aberdeen Schools is partly taken from an excellent little work by Mr. Thomson of Banchory: "Social Evils, their Cause and their Cure."

instruction, and fostering in them from the first a sound principle of self-dependence, inasmuch as they knew from the moment of their entering school that they were doing, in return for their food and education, all the work they were capable of performing.

The inmates were taught to mend their clothes, and old garments were contributed for their use by well-wishers to the enterprise.

The school was not long in operation before results began to appear. Those who were in the habit of visiting were struck by the improvement in the appearance of the pupils. The regular supply of wholesome food soon told on their bodily frames, and the half-starved vagrant children began to assume the aspect of healthy thriving boys. The outward moral change was not less conspicuous; the turbulent, unruly urchins were, in a wonderfully short time, converted into tolerably quiet, orderly schoolboys. In accomplishing this, much, of course, depended on the teacher; and the committee of management were highly fortunate in the person whom they selected for that important office.

The good effects of this school were soon visible beyond its own precincts. The removal of so many youthful beggars from the streets of the city could not fail to attract notice; and the police authorities reported a perceptible diminution in the number of juvenile offenders. The discipline of these institutions afforded a moral training, the importance of which cannot be over-estimated. In a common day-school a child can hardly ever understand the importance to himself of what he is learning; and there is a separation made in his mind from the outset, betwixt his school acquirements and his industrial pursuits, calculated to injure his future progress. He may prefer his lesson, or he may prefer his work; but he is not led to feel that both together constitute his education. In a common school, too, however efficiently it may be conducted, there can be but little moral training; just because there is little opportunity given for the development and display of individual character. The whole management of a school requires that the pupils be as speedily as possible brought to a uniform outward conduct; and thus an appearance of good behaviour and propriety is produced within the schoolroom which is too often cast aside and forgotten the moment the pupils pass the threshold.

In these industrial schools the main dependence was on *training*. At the various meals, and during the various industrial employments, the pupil was taught practically many a moral lesson; he was trained to respect the property, the persons, and the feelings of his comrades; and, being constantly under the eye of the teacher, every improper act was noticed and checked, whether at work, at lessons, or at play. It may seem a very trifling matter, and yet the mere circumstance of a boy being prevented from beginning to eat his food the moment he reaches it, and being obliged to wait quietly till grace is said and the signal given, and that three times every day, accustoms him gradually to habits of self-restraint and self-denial which cannot fail to have

a beneficial effect on his character in future life. A similar practical training as to common honesty, and respect for the property of their neighbours, was given alike during meals and during work; and finding that their own was duly protected and preserved for them, they were encouraged to respect the rights of others. At first it was not easy to prevent their interfering both with the food and the working materials of those nearest to them; but gradually they learned by experience that "honesty is the best policy."

Owing, no doubt, to the feeding, an average attendance was obtained of about ninety per cent, which contrasts very favourably with that of non-feeding ragged schools, and even with public elementary schools generally.

The first established of these institutions, called the Original Boys' School, began with twenty pupils only, but gradually increased to sixty. The value of work done in the first six months amounted to £25 19s., or nearly 14s. 6d. per scholar. The expenditure was £149 5s. 4d., or £4 8s. 10d. per scholar; or, deducting his earnings, net, £3 14s. 4d., equal to £7 6s. 8d. per year, a cost considerably greater than in after years. In the following year, when the number of scholars had increased, the expenditure was £6 8s. per head, or, deducting the earnings, which were £1 2s. 8d., £5 5s. 4d.

As regards the after-life of the children, the results were very good. When old enough, situations were obtained for them, and the great majority became useful and respectable members of society; indeed, after the schools had been for some years in existence, the reputation of the pupils for intelligence and good behaviour caused them to be generally sought by employers.

Soon a great diminution in the committals of youthful offenders to gaol was observed; and, encouraged by the success thus obtained, Mr. Watson and his friends were enabled to establish additional schools of the same class for boys, and also two for girls.

But, as is usually the case with new movements when their novelty has worn off, the public interest flagged for a while, and, the subscriptions diminishing, the managers of the boys' schools felt themselves constrained to limit the admission, the consequence of which was a large increase of the committal of boy-offenders to prison.

Out of this evil, however, arose a crucial test of the benefit effected by the schools. The ladies who managed the girls' schools contrived to admit all comers; and thus, while boy-offenders were increasing, a great diminution took place in the commitments of girls, which could only be attributed to the industrial schools. Happily, after a while, subscriptions to the boys' schools flowed in again, and free admissions being resumed, the number of boy-commitments was greatly and permanently diminished. In 1841, sixty-one youthful offenders were sent to the Aberdeen prison, while, in 1851, only eight were received there. After some years also the number of adult

prisoners was greatly reduced, obviously owing to the cutting off the supply of the criminal population effected by the schools.

It is gratifying to relate that a considerable portion of the contributions to the Aberdeen Industrial Schools came from the working classes, who expressed their appreciation of the benefit conferred upon their own children by their being saved, when in the streets, from the contaminating association with young vagrants.

The system was gradually extended to most of the larger towns of Scotland, where it produced results similar to those of Aberdeen.

The Scotch Industrial Schools were conducted with great economy, the whole cost per child varying between less than £6 and £10 or £11 per annum, while the expense of food varied from eightpence to two shillings per week. Few of the children, however, were lodged.

In 1854, the magistrates of the county of Middlesex, pitying the numerous vagrant and neglected children, often in a most miserable condition, seen wandering and begging in the streets of the metropolis, obtained a local Act of Parliament, under which they established the great Industrial School at Feltham, in Middlesex, for that class of boys, who are there trained to various industries, shoemaking, tailoring, carpentering, &c., and those who show a disposition for the sea are prepared for the merchant service, being taught to row on the Thames, to make and mend sails, &c., and learning seamanship on the rigging of a vessel which is erected on the premises. Many boys were sent to this school from the magistrates' courts; and soon a diminution of vagrant and neglected children in the metropolis was observed.

The admirable results obtained in Scotland and Middlesex excited a desire for general legislation on the subject; and in 1857 an Industrial Schools' Act was passed, its provisions being mainly taken from Dunlop's Act, but adapted to the circumstances of England, with some minor improvements which experience had suggested.

By this measure, and the additions which have been from time to time made to it by the legislature, the Secretary of State for the Home Department is empowered to certify industrial schools as proper places for the reception of children—to be called "Certified Industrial Schools;" and authority is given to any person to take charge of any child apparently under fourteen years old who is in any of the following positions:—Found begging, or wandering about without proper guardianship, or without means of subsistence, or who is an orphan, or only has a parent or parents undergoing penal servitude, or frequenting the company of reputed thieves; also a child under the age of twelve, and who has not been convicted of felony, but is guilty of some offence punishable by imprisonment.

The child may be brought before a magistrate, who is empowered, if satisfied that he is under fourteen, to direct him to be detained in an industrial school for such time as he deems fit, but so that the child shall not be deprived of his liberty after attaining the age of sixteen.

A child detained in a pauper school who is refractory, or either of whose parents has been convicted of an offence punishable by penal servitude or imprisonment, may also, on the representation of the guardians, be dealt with as above. The school to which any child is sent must, if possible, be conducted according to the same religious persuasion as that in which he has been brought up. Moreover, when the parents of a child represent to the magistrates that he is refractory, he may be sent to an industrial school. But this last is a provision which magistrates are usually chary of acting upon unless the parents undertake to pay a considerable weekly sum for his maintenance. And, what is very important, means are provided for compelling the parents, when able, to contribute to the maintenance of their children while detained in the schools, so that the former should not be tempted, as is said to be the case in France, to relieve themselves of the maintenance of their children by foisting them on the public. And this provision is by no means a dead letter; for, of late years, the sum thus collected from parents in Great Britain has averaged from £16,000 to upwards of £18,000 a year.

Under this law various schools which had been established by benevolent persons were certified, and children soon began to be placed in them.

Subsequently an Act was passed which enabled counties, cities, and boroughs to establish industrial schools at the expense of the rate-payers of their localities. In these cases the Courts of Quarter Sessions of counties, and the Town Councils of cities and boroughs, are the managers of the schools, holding the same position regarding them as do the ladies and gentlemen who manage the other schools, and receiving similar allowance from the Treasury for maintenance. And by the Education Acts, School Boards are authorized to establish such industrial schools—a power which has been acted upon in many instances.

The Inspector reports that—

"Schools established and supported by local authorities and School Boards, and whose managers have the resources of the local rates to draw upon, are conducted at a much larger cost than those dependent for all revenue beyond the Treasury allowance on voluntary subscription and the work of the inmates."

And having managed a reformatory school of the latter class for seven years, I can testify to the strict economy—thinking over every penny before it was spent—which I had to exercise in order to make both ends meet. Had I been able to dip *ad libitum* into the ratepayers' pockets, I fear that I should not have been nearly so careful. Some of these schools annually expend at the rate of £30, £40, £50, and, in one instance, nearly £70, per inmate. The Chairman of a School Board, which had taken over a girls' industrial school, once said to me, "As soon as an institution of this sort comes into the hands of a public body, all the expenses go up as if by magic."

As to the comparative advantages of public and private management, the late inspector, the Rev. Sydney Turner, in his last official report, speaking of reformatories, says what is equally true of industrial schools:—

"The third distinguishing feature of the English system which I regard as one of the key stones of its success, has been that, while assisted and superintended by the State, the schools are essentially conducted and controlled by voluntary management, and have, throughout, retained an independent and partially charitable character.

"This has secured two essential advantages: on the one hand it has opened to the inmates of the schools means and opportunities of employment, and openings for earning an independent livelihood on their discharge from detention, which in a juvenile house of correction, under purely official management, whether government or magisterial, could have given them; enabling and interesting in their disposal private individuals of all classes, and allowing them to enter life without any brand or drawback from the character of the place they came from, substituting the school and benevolent asylum for what must always have had more or less of the character of a prison.

"The remarkable success of the schools, in the reclamation and recovery of from seventy to eighty, and in some cases ninety per cent. of those admitted into them, is essentially owing to the voluntary agency enlisted in their management. On the other hand, the entrusting the schools to private and individual effort under Government supervision, has kept the system free from that most formidable obstacle in the way of all public schemes of education shaped or directed by the State—the religious difficulty. Reformatory training is, of necessity, based on religious influences. Little permanent impression can be made unless a sense of religious duty is aroused and religious affections awakened.

"For this, free simple scriptural teaching, with careful personal attention to the individual character, is specially required; mere secular instruction, and mere formal and dogmatic religious instruction, have not much result. In many cases, the young offenders who enter reformatory schools have had a fair share of these; can read, write, and cypher, and are familiar with the technical forms and expressions of a catechism. They need to have the motives, feelings, and actions of Christianity brought home to them in plain personal teaching, and their interest in these awakened; and the teachers and superintendents of the schools need to be at full liberty (as well to have the personal capacity and disposition to do this, as the occasion offers), without the restrictions which the formal regulations of a time-table, and the cautionary provisions necessary for strictly public and rate-supported institutions, impose. The provisions of both the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Acts involve, indeed, that the schools should be in a certain degree denominational, as they secure for the children in them, when desired, the instruction of ministers of their own persuasion, when they are not of the same religious denomination as that to which the school belongs; and the conditions, imposed in the rules approved by the Secretary of State, protect the children from being taught or required to learn the distinctive formulae of any section of the Christian Church but that to which they or their parents belong. But the voluntary element in the management of the schools has effectually removed any practical difficulty, combining men of various denominations on their committees, ensuring freedom of religious teaching, and keeping this essentially to the plain foundations of practical scriptural instruction in the Protestant schools, and allowing the Roman Catholic children, who form so large a portion of the inmates, to be provided with schools appropriate to themselves, and instructed fully in the requirements of their own Church."

In the last report which has appeared, that dated May, 1880, the present Inspector, Major Inglis, says:—

"The great element of success in these schools is, without doubt, the combination of voluntary managing committees and government supervision and support. The support takes the form of a weekly grant for each child, varying, according to circumstances, from six shillings down to two shillings a week."

Both the private and public industrial schools, as they are termed—i.e., those established by benevolent individuals or by subscriptions on the one hand, and those instituted at the expense of localities on the other—are of several descriptions; as agricultural schools, where the main employment of the inmates is cultivating land; town schools, where various industries are carried on, as firewood chopping, match-box making, teasing hair, &c. &c.; and ship schools, where the lads are trained, as much as circumstances will admit, to all the occupations which appertain to a seaman's life. But in all these schools the children perform, under due supervision, the work of the establishment—scouring, cleaning, washing their linen, cooking, &c. And in boys' schools there are usually tailoring and shoemaking classes, where the clothes of the institution are made and mended; while in schools for girls sewing and knitting, &c., is taught, so that they also learn to make and mend their clothes. Thus the children are brought up in habits of industry and thrift, and are rendered competent to perform the duties of household servants, labourers, workers in factories, and of soldiers and sailors.

There are many ship-industrial schools, as well as ship-reformatories. These are more expensive than the land schools, as it is not usually practicable to carry on in them trades with much profit; and a considerable proportion of the boys' time is occupied in learning seamanship. However, this class of schools is peculiarly suitable to boys of a restless and adventurous character, and affords them an occupation for after-life at which they are more likely to remain than any other, except the army, in which a proportion of the pupils who desire it are enlisted.

After an inmate has been in an industrial school for eighteen months or upwards, the managers may, if they think him fit to be trusted, license him out to a service where they are satisfied he will be well taken care of and duly trained, but from which, if his behaviour is unsatisfactory, he may be sent back to the school; while, on the other hand, if he acquits himself well, he frequently remains in his situation after his term of detention has expired, and is thus provided with a livelihood. This practice is most valuable, as easing the inmate out, as it were, and accustoming him gradually to freedom, instead of suddenly shifting him from a state of restraint to one of full liberty, and thus placing him under great temptation.

In Massachusetts this system is carried much further, the majority of the children who would here be sentenced to reformatories or sent to industrial schools, being placed at once in the houses of private indi-

viduals as servants; whence, however, if seriously misbehaving, they are removed to the schools. And when in that State I was informed that this treatment, while relieving the public funds from much expense—as no payment is made for the maintenance of the children—is generally found to be more beneficial to them than placing them in reformatory or industrial schools. And assuming, what is I believe the case, that the homes are well selected, it seems probable that a more powerful influence can be exerted upon a single child by a kind and intelligent family, than can be done by the few officers of a school, however well qualified and careful they may be, upon its numerous inmates. No doubt this practice is much facilitated by the great demand for, and difficulty in obtaining, servants in the United States. Still there is every reason to believe that in a considerable proportion of cases it might be adopted with advantage here, particularly as regards the younger children; for the success of the system of boarding-out pauper orphans has proved, if proof were needed, that among our respectable working-classes there is a large number of kind-hearted persons of good character who are delighted to have the charge of children, and who are competent to train them well.

On the attainment of the age of sixteen, or sooner, if the period of detention ends earlier, all control over the child ceases. This is a serious evil; for it often happens that boys or girls who are licensed out, and are in places which they like and where they give satisfaction, are removed by their parents as soon as the authority of the school-managers comes to an end. Here, again, we may well take a hint from our American cousins; for in most of the States of their Union any child sent to an industrial school or reformatory, or to a family, as above described, is made a "ward of State," so that the authorities have power over him until he attains his majority.

Another useful practice is adopted by some of the town industrial schools of this country—viz., of allowing those of their boys whom they consider sufficiently trustworthy to go out and work in the manufactures like other factory boys. These wear no distinguishing dress, go to work, and come backwards and forwards freely to meals and at night, and draw their wages like free working-boys. The wages, however, are brought by them to the superintendent of the school, to pay for their board and lodging, though a portion is handed to, or put by for them, so that they are encouraged by the enjoyment of a part of the fruits of their toil. Like licensing out, this system accustoms them to a semi-freedom before they are thrown on their own resources.

Many of the industrial schools were established as *mixed schools*—i.e., containing both boys and girls. However successful this arrangement may be with regard to day schools—and the general opinion of the people of the United States, where it is prevalent, is in its favour—it has not been found to work well in reformatories and industrial

schools where the inmates are boarded. As a well-known philanthropic lady, who had tried the experiment, remarked, "they will have their little feelings:" besides which other serious evils have been found to arise from the system. Consequently, in most cases, the boys or the girls of a mixed school have been removed to another establishment, or where that has not been done they are usually almost completely separated.

The education in the industrial schools of England and Scotland is of a plain character, the more so as, by law, only three hours a day may be employed in secular teaching. It usually comprises, besides religious instruction, reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the elements of geography, and sometimes one or two other subjects.

The very ignorant state in which the children are usually found on admission, often at the ages of eleven or twelve or even older, prevents their attaining so high a degree of advancement as children outside. But the importance of training them to get their livelihood by honest industry is so great that it is better to license them out to a good situation, or let them work in manufactories, even without passing the fourth educational standard (a limitation which has been proposed), than to risk that advantage for the sake of securing more intellectual teaching.

And here the British practice seems to compare favourably with that of Ireland, where a higher class of instruction is often given, pupils being frequently trained to be teachers of drawing, music, &c. With children of this sort the object should be to make them honest and industrious members of the class in which they are born (and from which, in after-life, they will, of course, like others, have a chance of emerging, if possessed of extraordinary ability, energy, and conduct), rather than lifting them into another class, and thus placing them in a better position than they would have attained had their parents done their duty by them, or had their own conduct been good. It must be discouraging to an honest hard-working couple, who have risen early, so late taken rest, and eaten the bread of carefulness, and have thus succeeded in rearing their children to be honest and industrious labouring people like themselves, to see the offspring of their idle, careless, and drunken neighbours looking down on them from a superior rank in society.

The law provides that the children shall have at least two hours of recreation daily, and the remainder of their time, except while eating or sleeping, is spent in the various kinds of industry above mentioned.

The sanitary state of the industrial schools seems to be generally good, the deaths averaging only eight or nine per 1,000. But there is often a good deal of suffering from chilblains, for which children are sometimes kept in bed for several weeks at a time. This, however, may be much diminished by attention to precautions—such as taking

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that woollen stockings are put on before winter begins, using

Lancashire clogs in wash-houses, &c. As ailments of any kind in the school are most harassing to the officers and very costly to the managers, they will, no doubt, as a rule, take every reasonable precaution against them.

The great success at Aberdeen shewed how much poor children might be improved, and vagrancy, crime, and imprisonment diminished, by schools of a very much less costly character than industrial boarding schools; and a clause was introduced into the first English Act giving the managers a discretion to permit such children as they thought proper to lodge with their parents or other friends. But this clause was, I believe, never acted on; and in the re-enactment of the law it was omitted. Indeed, day scholars in an industrial school chiefly filled with boarders would be an anomaly very difficult to deal with. Thus, until 1876, there was no school to which children could be compulsorily sent between the ordinary public elementary school and the boarding industrial school. And yet, in all our urban districts, there is a large number of children who are unfit for the former, and yet who need not the strong remedy of being placed in the latter, a course involving long separation from parents and much cost to the community. These are the poor half-starved and ill-clad class of urchins who filled Mr. Sheriff Watson's schools at Aberdeen, and who, in London and other towns, were provided for, after a fashion, by the ragged schools. As these children, unlike those of the respectable working classes, have no training in the common duties of life, it is necessary that such training should be supplied at school; besides which they require food and clothing, or, at any rate, some help on this behalf; and lastly, but not leastly, they need training to steady industry. Nothing, however, was done for this class, except in some instances by private means, until the matter was taken up by the late Mary Carpenter; and this is not the least of the many benefits she conferred on her country. After long pressing the subject on public men, she succeeded, in the year before her death, in obtaining the passing of the "Education Act 1876," which provides for the establishment by School Boards of day-industrial schools, wherein secular and industrial training, with at least one good meal a day, must be provided for children, who, from their absenting themselves from school, or being found wandering and without proper control, may be considered fit subjects for a modified restraint. These children are retained in the schools during the day, and return to their homes at night, three hours being spent in secular instruction, three hours or more in industrial training, and a portion of the time in recreation. Disobedience to an order to attend a day-industrial school may be punished by detention in a boarding one.

There were, at the date of the Inspector's last published report (May, 1880), seven of these schools—viz., three at Liverpool, and one each at Plymouth, Bristol, Oxford, and Glasgow. These are reported by the

Inspector to be working successfully, attendance being well maintained; and he considered that they bade fair to exercise a very important influence in dealing with necessitous and neglected children, especially in our large towns. Schools of the same class were in contemplation in Gateshead, Stockton-on-Tees, and Wolverhampton.

Last summer I visited the day-industrial schools of Bristol and Oxford, and was much pleased with them. They were conducted by homely, kindly persons: that at Oxford by a husband and wife, and the Bristol School by two mistresses. The former had a kitchen-garden, in which the children worked, besides being employed in the house-work and other occupations. In the Bristol School (which having been established by Mary Carpenter, and maintained by her with voluntary aid, had been transferred to the School Board after the passing of the Act), there were about seventy children, boys and girls, who were all taught, trained, and kept in good order by the mild management of the two mistresses. I learned that these establishments gave general satisfaction. It is to be hoped that, ere long, School Boards generally may follow the example thus set them; for the class of children which need these establishments exists everywhere; and to see their poor, worn, hungry faces, and wretched clothing, in the Board Schools is often very painful. Yet many have parents, infirm, helpless, often thriftless, but by no means altogether bad, and who, indeed, as was often found at Aberdeen, are capable of being improved by the society of a child taught at the schools; so that in these cases there is no need to break the parental tie by a long separation.

In 1880, the Inspector reports the day-industrial schools to be working so well that he doubts whether any more of the boarding schools should be established until the day schools have had a full trial.

Truancy—i.e., children staying away from the school of their own will, and not through the fault of their parents—is a serious trouble to School Boards. To fine the parent—as every magistrate who, like myself, has heard many School Board summonses knows—is often cruelly unjust. Frequently he is a widower, who must work hard all day, away from home, to maintain his family, and has no means of making his children attend school; and the case of a widow, who must leave home early every morning and not return until late, is still harder. In the few towns where day-industrial schools exist many cases may be met by ordering the children to attend these schools: when the attraction of food, and the dread of being sent to an industrial boarding school in case of further truancy, will generally be successful in obtaining attendance. But where there are no such day schools, truancy has been punished by placing the child for a time in a boarding industrial school. This, however, is not a desirable course. Truants need *punishment* to deter them from repeating the offence;

but an industrial school in which children are placed for years to be educated and trained, ought not to be a place of punishment; its discipline should be arranged to make the inmates as happy as circumstances will admit. To introduce a class who have to be kept a short time and subjected to penal discipline can hardly fail to have an evil effect upon the mass of the pupils. Truants, therefore, who are unsuitable to the day-industrial schools ought to be placed in establishments specially adapted to them, where there should be hard work, much drill, and little recreation. A very short period of this treatment would be sufficient to cure most children of truancy. On this ground, therefore, the School Boards of London, Sheffield, and Liverpool have established truant schools: but in most towns truants are still sent to the boarding industrial schools, from some of which they are licensed out earlier than the other inmates; while in others little difference is made between the two classes, although the Act authorizes the truants to be licensed out after a month's detention; while probably with a strict and somewhat severe discipline—sharp and short—a week or two would be sufficient to make the child understand that truancy does not answer.

If truant schools and day-industrial schools were generally adopted, there would soon be a great diminution in the numbers sent to the industrial boarding-schools.

Speaking of the demeanour of children in industrial schools in his last report, Mr Sydney Turner says that—

"It is difficult to realize, when mixing with the inmates of a reformatory, still more an industrial school, that they have been collected from the depraved and disorderly classes, which most of them originally belonged to. Their manners, habits, and appearance compare very favourably with those of most ordinary parochial day-schools, not to say with those of many of the higher class of public institutions and boarding-schools."

The all-important subject of dealing with the inmates when their terms have expired, or they are fit to be licensed out, occupies much of the attention of the managers of industrial schools. The best mode of dealing with girls is to place them in domestic service with kind motherly mistresses of the lower middle class, who supervise them personally, and keep up over them a wholesome control; and where the girls can be spoken well of by the matron of the school, such places are not hard to find. But some girls, or their parents, are not willing that they should go into service; and these, when their terms cease, usually enter manufactories, or undertake other work, such as can be obtained in their neighbourhoods. For boys more various employment can be found. From the training-ships the great majority enter the sea-service. Out of 1,890 discharges that took place in the years 1876, 1877, and 1878, 1,420 boys went afloat; and Feltham, which is a land school, sent, in three years, 121 boys to sea; and from the establishment of the reformatories and industrial schools, down to

the end of 1879, 3,565 boys from reformatories, and 6,850 from industrial schools, became sailors. Boys are also placed out in the various employments which are open to the working class generally.

What is very important, a supervision is, as far as possible, maintained over the inmates for some time—three years or more where practicable—after their discharge. The Superintendents encourage the departed boys and girls to correspond with them, and to visit the school when opportunity serves, and to apply to them as friends when in any difficulty.

"By their fruits shall ye know them," says the highest authority. The real value of all institutions must be tested by their results. How do the boys and girls who have been trained in these industrial schools turn out in after-life?

By the Inspector's report of 1880 it appears that, of the 5,918 boys who were discharged in the three previous years, omitting those who died,—

4,820	or about 81 per cent.	were doing well.
248	" 4 "	were doubtful.
324	" 6 "	had been convicted or re-committed.
526	" 9 "	were unknown.

Of the 1,424 girls discharged in the same period—

1,143	or about 80 per cent.	were doing well.
145	" 10 "	were doubtful.
7	" — "	had been convicted or re-committed.
129	" 9 "	were unknown.

And former years show a nearly similar proportion.

Remembering that the children entered as doubtful and unknown must not be all considered as failures, and that even the re-convicted have been sometimes charged with trifling offences only, or afterwards turn out well, this table proves a very gratifying proportion of success.

The joint effect of reformatories and industrial schools may be judged of from a table (published in the Inspector's Report for 1880) of the commitments of juvenile offenders (under 16) in England and Wales during the twenty-two years ended the 30th of September, 1870, bearing in mind that the Reformatory Act was passed in 1854, and the Industrial School Act in 1857. In 1856, at which time few children comparatively had been sent to reformatories, 13,981 persons under 16 years old were committed to prison. In 1857 the number was 12,501, in 1858 it had fallen to 10,329, while in 1877 the number was reduced to 7,582. Before 1856 the commitments of youthful offenders was rapidly increasing. And further, as all children sentenced to reformatories must first undergo at least ten days' imprisonment, the commitments to prison include those sent to reformatories. The admissions to Industrial Schools in 1879 were 2,898; a large proportion,

however, of these were of a sort who never would have been committed to prison under any circumstances.

Considering the increase of population, particularly of the large towns, whence the great mass of such children come, it must be admitted that this diminution of commitments testifies strongly to the usefulness of reformatories and industrial schools.

It has sometimes been said that industrial schools, and even reformatories, are attractive; that children desire to get into them, and that their parents wish to place them there in order to be relieved from the burden of their maintenance and the trouble of managing them. That such cases occasionally occur is true, and magistrates find it necessary to guard against them; but having had a considerable experience as a Justice of the Peace in a very populous neighbourhood, I am satisfied that, in the districts with which I am acquainted, they are not the rule, but the rare exception. On the contrary, the sending to a reformatory or an industrial school is the punishment by far the most dreaded of any, both by parents and children; and, indeed, the magistrates of the petty sessions where I sit constantly threaten to send children to reformatories or industrial schools (pretty much the same in the eyes of the class) if the child commits another offence; and this threat is so effectual, that in the great majority of instances he does not reappear.

Recollecting that a child is rarely sent to a reformatory—and in our district, at any rate, not often to an industrial school—until he is ten or eleven years old, an age when he has become useful, and will soon be able to earn his livelihood, it is not remarkable that his parents should be loth to lose him, and have to pay a weekly sum for his maintenance during several years into the bargain.

A subject which has been for some time exercising the minds of the Inspectors and the Government is the rapid increase which has taken place in the numbers of industrial schools and their inmates. It appears by the Inspector's Report that, between 1864 and 1880, the number of schools had increased from 34 to 124, and their inmates from 191 to 14,953. The increase was greatest between 1867 and 1872, since which it has become much slower. A great deal of this increase seems to be owing to the action of the School Boards, which, in 1879, sent 2070 of the 3,903 children admitted to industrial schools in England and Wales. Of these School Board children, 1,063 were sent for vagrancy and petty theft, 207 as uncontrollable, and 800 under Section 12 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876. Many of the first-mentioned class were no doubt properly sent to the industrial boarding schools; though, had day-industrial schools been in existence, a large proportion might have been dealt with in this less forcible and costly manner, as was done at Aberdeen. Such of the two latter classes as were unsuitable to day-industrial schools ought obviously to have been sent to truant schools, where a very short detention might have cured them. The Inspector believes that many

of the children placed in industrial schools ought to have been dealt with by the Poor Law authorities; and, indeed, he considers that some are sent there merely in order to save the local rates at the expense of the Treasury. I never knew of such an instance; for the magistrates of my district look upon the consigning of a child to several years' restraint, and to be maintained at the expense (total or partial) of the public, to be a very serious act, and one which ought not to be taken, except where there would otherwise be no reasonable prospect of saving him from a life of vagrancy or crime. The Inspector proposes the extension to England of the provision of the Scotch Law providing that, where a child is ordered to be sent to an industrial school, who is then, or has been within three months, chargeable to the poor rates, the parish must partly recoup the Treasury for its expenditure. This would, no doubt, tend to check the abuses complained of.

Managers of industrial schools often meet with much difficulty in finding thoroughly competent superintendents and officers, particularly for boys' schools. The labour and responsibility cast on these persons during day and night is very great, and the salaries that can be afforded are less than are earned in public elementary schools, where the duties occupy much less of their time, and where, as soon as school-hours are over, all care and responsibility ceases.

The officers are mostly meritorious persons, but few are of the quality of those trained at the Rauhe Haus or Mettrai, where young men (and, at the Rauhe Haus, also young women), who have a strong religious feeling, and believe that they have a call to this work, are subjected to a most careful training under the highly qualified superintendents, for a course of years, during which time those who turn out not to be naturally suited to the duty, are eliminated and advised to adopt other avocations. Would that some of the enlightened, earnest, benevolent men and women of this land established such institutions here!

The troubles at St. Paul's Industrial School have brought up the subject of inspection. It appears that every school is inspected once a year at least; but one inspection—and that usually after notice, not a surprise visit—is very inadequate for the detection of abuses and shortcomings. Although industrial schools differ greatly from gaols, and have no prison-like character, the inmates are detained without regard to their parents' will; thus a duty is cast on the State to take every precaution that full justice shall be done to these poor children. The inspection, therefore, should be frequent, and many of the visits should be entirely unexpected by the officers and managers of the schools. It would be very desirable, also, to appoint ladies to be assistant inspectors, as their knowledge of household matters would be very useful, particularly in girls' schools.

The managers of all industrial schools, whether private or public,

should remember that a very serious trust is confided to them, and ought, in every instance, to establish a strict and complete system of supervision, making many surprise visits, and thoroughly examining all that is going on.

In conclusion, I venture to hope that it will be admitted that, notwithstanding shortcomings—more or less unavoidable in all human institutions—our industrial schools have conferred, and are conferring, great benefit upon the nation.

ALFRED HILL.

OLD AND NEW CANONS OF POETICAL CRITICISM.

II.

IN a former paper I endeavoured to show that Poetry cannot be said to be a criticism of life in any customary signification of the word criticism and of the word life; that, were there no other objection to such a definition, when advanced as a measure of the relative greatness of a poet, it must perforce succumb to the difficulty that no consensus exists as to what is a true and sound criticism of life; and finally that, though a poet may occupy himself with criticism of life, he curtails his chance, if he does so to any considerable extent, of being a great poet. Furthermore, in the course of the argument, it appeared that the reason why poets legitimately may, and frequently do, criticize life, is that criticism of life has, in due course of human evolution, become part, but only part, of life itself; and that the reason why poets do and may occupy themselves with this part, as with every part, of life, is that Poetry is a representation of life—in other words, a representation of “whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do.”

Thus far, therefore, we seem to have got—that Poetry is a Representation of Life. Everybody, however, will at once perceive that, though this may serve as the kernel of a correct definition of the peculiar function of Poetry, it is only the kernel, and some fresh qualities have to be added to it, before it can become, in our hands, a fruitful canon of criticism.

First and foremost, the representation must be a representation in language, and not only in language, but in verse or rhythm. The proviso, that it be a representation in language, is necessary, in order to distinguish Poetry from Painting, which is likewise a representation of life, but a representation in colour, or in silent form. About this there can be no difficulty, for everybody will at once recognize it as indisputable. The time was when it would have been equally superfluous to insist upon

the qualification that Poetry is a representation of life in rhythm or verse. Unfortunately, in these days of generous but somewhat uncircumspect enthusiasms, we frequently hear of prose-poetry. Now, at the risk of seeming to differ from some eminent authorities, I must venture to suggest that prose-poetry is, in the words of Polonius, "a vile phrase." Is there, in fact, such a thing as prose-poetry? There is such a thing as poetical prose, just as there is such a thing as prosaic verse. To surrender these distinctions is to leave the road open to the introduction of all sorts of monsters and hybrids. I should say that even poetical prose is a thing to be written very sparingly. It is occasionally a striking and welcome adornment to the prosaic prose which is the foundation, and should be the normal manner, of a really good prose style. Pages upon pages of poetical prose satiate, cloy, and sicken; and every man of delicate literary palate turns from the loaded banquet with a feeling of nausea. It was, doubtless, in order to excuse this deviation from literary traditions of good taste and good sense, that the phrase "prose-poetry" was invented. To the clear, harmonious, definitely-partitioned, Hellenic mind, prose poetry would have seemed an abomination to be classed with the barbarous idols of Egypt, or the deformed monsters of Etruria.*

The nucleus, then, of our definition of Poetry—that Poetry is a representation of life—must be enlarged, and we thus advance to the proposition that Poetry is a representation of life in verse or rhythm. There is no difficulty, however, in showing that this again is not enough. Let us take an instance of representation of life in verse, which, I submit, is not Poetry, from a poet who has written Lyrical Poetry of the very highest order; for the instance will thus, perhaps, be more instructive, and there will be less likelihood of prejudice influencing the judgment either of the writer or the reader. The extract is from Wordsworth, and is taken from "Simon Lee, the Old Huntsman":—

"And he is lean and he is sick;
His body, dwindled and awry,
Rests upon ankles swollen and thick;
His legs are thin and dry.
One prop he has, and only one,
His wife, an aged woman,
Lives with him near the waterfall,
Upon the village common.

"Oft working by her husband's side,
Ruth does what Simon cannot do:
For she, with scanty cause for pride,
Is stouter of the two
And though you with your utmost skill
From labour could not wean them,
Alas! 'tis very little—all
Which they can do between them."

Need I hesitate to say that, though written by Wordsworth, this is not Poetry, though certainly it is a representation of life in verse? Let us

*That this is no arbitrary nor fanciful distinction, may, I think be gathered conclusively from the fact that more than one great imaginative novelist has equally failed in the realm of poetry proper.

turn to another poem of Wordsworth's, which is equally simple as far as language is concerned, but which everybody will have just as little hesitation in saying, is Poetry, and very beautiful Poetry. It is called "The Reverie of Poor Susan":—

"At the corner of Wood Street, when daylight appears,
Hangs a thrush that sings loud, it has sung for three years;
Poor Susan has passed by the spot and has heard,
In the silence of morning, the song of the Bird.

"It is a note of enchantment; what ails her? She sees
A mountain ascending a vision of trees,
Bright volumes of vapour through Lothbury glide,
And a river flows on through the vale of Cheapside!

"Green pastures she views in the midst of the dale,
Down which she so often has tripped with her pail;
And a single small cottage, a nest like a dove's,
The one only dwelling on earth that she loves.

"She looks, and her heart is in heaven: but they fade,
The mist and the river, the hill and the shade:
The stream will not flow, and the hill will not rise,
And the colours have all passed away from her eyes."

It is not necessary to descant upon these two compositions—both professing to be poems, but one being Poetry, and the other being merely verse. Everybody at once feels the immeasurable distance between them, since it is not a difference of degree, but a difference in kind. What is the difference?

In the description of the Transfiguration in St. Matthew, we are told that "Peter, James, and John his brother, were brought up into a high mountain apart," and that "a bright cloud overshadowed them." Applying, with becoming reverence, that sacred scene, I would say, that Poetry is a transfiguration, which takes place only at a certain elevation, and during which those who perceive it are overshadowed by a cloud, but a cloud that is bright.

Let us test this by applying it to "Simon Lee, the Huntsman," and to "The Reverie of Poor Susan." In the first case, no transfiguration occurs. Wordsworth describes the lean, dwindled, and crooked body, the thin dry legs, the thick and swollen ankles, of the man, and the industry of his stout wife, just as anybody might have seen, and anybody could describe them. There they were, and he who passed might write about them, if he chose, after that particular fashion. They stand upon the low ground; there is no cloud about them, bright or otherwise; and we are conscious of no elevation in the portraiture of them that is presented to us. The consequence is that, though they are described in verse, they are not described in Poetry. In "The Reverie of Poor Susan," on the contrary, everything is transfigured, while retaining, in every particular, its reality—nay, whilst its very reality is made more real to us. Wood Street is transfigured; the thrush is transfigured; Lothbury and Cheapside are transfigured; mist, river, hill, stream, and shade are transfigured; Susan is transfigured; and we who read are transfigured. The "bright cloud" is over it all. We are on "a high mountain apart."

How is it done? I really do not know, any more than Peter, James, and John his brother, knew. But I think I know when it *is* done, and I fancy, do most people; and though we may be unable to analyze the process, we have names for it, and we call it the Ideal, Elevation, Transfiguration; more commonly, Imagination.

Having then, in our minds, a sense of the analogy, almost the identity, between Transfiguration and Imagination, may we not take another step forward and say that "Poetry is an imaginative representation of life, in verse or rhythm"? Such, at least, is the definition of the peculiar essence and the special function of Poetry I propose to advance for acceptance. It may seem a very simple one; but possibly, on examination it may turn out to be as comprehensive as is necessary, and quite as complex as anything ever is to which a definite and available meaning is attached. It may, moreover, strike some persons as not possessing much novelty. But a definition is no worse for being old, if it happens to be true, more especially should it help to expose the weakness of definitions that are new, but happen to be false. At any rate, let us have it plainly and unmistakably before us.

Poetry is a transfiguration of Life; in other words, an imaginative representation, in verse or rhythm, of whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do."

Does there exist any well-known classification of Poetry corresponding with the classification of Life, "whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do"? To vary the wording of the question, without varying its substance—Are there different kinds of Poetry analogous to the functions of Perception, Emotion, Thought, and Action?

I think there are. Every one is familiar with the terms, Descriptive, Lyrical, Reflective, and Epic and Dramatic Poetry; and there is no form of Poetry which cannot be assigned to one or more of these divisions.* Now, is it not the fact that there is an analogy, and a striking analogy, between Descriptive Poetry and what men perceive, between Lyrical poetry and what they feel, between Reflective Poetry and what they think, and between Epic and Dramatic poetry and what they do? The parallel is so patent, that to state is, I think, to establish it.

Let us then treat Perception, Emotion, Thought, Action, on the one hand, and Descriptive, Lyrical, Reflective, Epic and Dramatic Poetry, on the other, as convertible terms, and as equally well representing "whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do;" and let us watch the operation of transfiguring imagination—the remainder of our definition—upon each and all of these in turn.

* Thus, for example, Narrative Poetry, which is a recital of simple and individual facts, and has nothing in common with the complex dignity of Epic Poetry—e.g., most of Keats's and many of Wordsworth's poems belong to the division Descriptive Poetry. Again, Inductive and Satiric Poetry belongs to Reflective Poetry. As a rule, so-called Inductive and Satiric Poetry is not Poetry at all, but only verse, however good may be that verse. Occasionally, as in the finest passages of Pope, it becomes transfigured by Imagination, and then it is Poetry of a high order, though, as we shall see later, at best but Poetry of a secondary rank.

Is there such a thing as Poetry which shall be the literal and unadorned representation of our perceptions? I should say that, accurately speaking, there is not. Verse, it may be; Poetry, it will not be. Let us see, by illustration, if this be not so; and again let us have recourse to Wordsworth, since his name is so dearly loved and so deeply revered by us all, and thus there will be less chance of prejudice influencing the judgment, when passages are adduced from which transfiguration would seem to be absent. The following lines are from the opening passage of "The Excursion."

" 'Twas summer, and the sun had mounted high:
Southward the landscape indistinctly glared
Through a pale steam: but all the northern downs,
In clearest air ascending, showed far off
A surface dappled o'er with shadows flung
From brooding clouds: shadows that lay in spots
Indetermined and unmoved, with steady beams
Of bright and pleasant sunshine interposed.

* * * * *

Across a bare wide common I was toiling
With languid steps that by the slippery ground
Were baffled: nor could my weak arm disperse
The host of insects gathering round my face,
And ever with me as I paced along."

This is descriptive verse, and very accurately descriptive verse. Is it Poetry? I should say it is not. Everything is described, not only just as one particular person saw it, but just as everybody in general might see it. It is the dry bones of description, presented in metre. It is the literal representation in verse of what the material eye perceived; nothing more, nothing less. But let us advance a few pages, and in the Second Book of the same poem, we come across this passage:—

" I could not, ever and anon, forbear
To glance an upward look on two huge peaks,
That from some other vale peered into this:
'Those lusty twins' exclaimed our host, 'if here
It were your lot to dwell, would I soon become
Your prized companions. Many are the notes
Which, in his tuneful course the wind draws forth
From rocks, woods, caverns, heaths, and dashing shores;
And well those lofty brethren bear their part
In the wild concert—chiefly when the storm
Rides high; then all the upper air they fill
With roaring sound that ceases not to flow,
Like smoke, along the level of the blast,
In mighty current; theirs, too, is the song
Of stream and howling flood that seldom fails;
And, in the grim and breathless hour of noon,
Methinks that I have heard them echo back
The thunder's greeting. Nor have Nature's laws
Left them ungifted with a power to yield
Music of finer tone: a harmony,
So do I call it, though it be the hand
Of silence, though there be no voice, the clouds,
The mist, the shadows, light of golden suns,
Motions of moonlight, all come hither—touch,
And have an answer.'"

I do not quote this as one of the finest specimens to be found in Wordsworth of descriptive verse raised to the dignity of descriptive

Poetry, by the transfiguring power of imagination. It was better, perhaps, to choose an average instance of Descriptive Poetry truly so called, as a foil to the other passage, which is an average instance of Descriptive verse falsely called Descriptive Poetry.

Now, I suppose, anybody feels the difference between the two descriptions. One is literal, the other is spiritual; and in this case also it is true that the letter killeth. The spirit alone keeps alive, or makes alive. The outer world, of itself, is dust of the ground; and dust of the ground it remains, even when described by man in language, until the poet or maker breathes into it the breath of real life. Then it becomes living soul; then it becomes Poetry.

For it must not be supposed that language has of itself any spell to disinvest man, who employs it, of that dust of the ground which enters so largely into his composition, and into his perception and conception of things external to him. We have seen how the most accurate description, in verse, of the features of external nature by a singularly familiar observer does not suffice to produce Poetry; and the same holds good of the most accurate description of man himself, whether in rest or in action. The quotation I have already made from "Simon Lee, the Old Huntsman," goes a certain way towards establishing that conclusion. In order to place it beyond doubt, I will cite another passage, descriptive of something going forward—in other words, a passage exemplifying what is usually called Narrative Poetry. It is from Wordsworth's poem of "Michael:"

"With daylight Isabel resumed her work
And all the ensuing week the house appeared
As cheerful as a grove in spring, at length
The expected letter from their kinsman came,
With kind assurances that he would do
His utmost for the welfare of the Boy;
To which requests were added that forthwith
He might be sent to him. Ten times or more
The letter was read over; Isabel
Went forth to show it to the neighbours round;
Nor was there at that time on English land
A prouder heart than Luke's. When Isabel
Had to her house returned, the Old Man said
'He shall depart to-morrow.' To this word
The Housewife answered, talking much of things
Which, if at such short notice he should go,
Would surely be forgotten. But at length
She gave consent, and Michael was at ease."

The passage is perfectly intelligible, and taken with the context, not devoid of interest; but I submit it no more is Poetry than is the first narrative one may hear at the corner of a village street. It is too literal; it is not quickened by the spirit. It is dead dust of the ground. If any one wants to see how the same writer can lift narrative from the ground, and endue it with the ethereal buoyancy of Poetry, let him turn to "The Leech-Gatherer:"

"Beside a pool bare to the eye of heaven
I saw a man before me unawares:
The oldest man he seemed that ever wore grey hairs."

Himself he pressed, his body limbs and face,
 Upon a long grey staff of shaven wood :
 And still as I drew near with gentle pace,
 Upon the margin of that moorish flood
 Motionless as a cloud the Old Man stood,
 That heareth not the loud winds when they call,
 And moveth all together, if it move at all

* * * * *

The old man still stood talking by my side,
 But now his voice to me was like a stream
 Scarcely heard : nor word from word could I divide :
 And the whole body of the man did seem
 Like one that I had met with in a dream,
 Or like a man from some far region sent,
 To give me human strength, by apt admonishment."

The poem is of some length, and therefore cannot be quoted in its integrity. But anybody can perceive at once that the narrative is conducted at a different elevation from the narrative cited from "Michael." We are listening on the "high mountain," and the Old Man here is transfigured; just as in "Michael," Isabel, the Kinsman, the Boy, the Housewife, and all they said and did, are only figured—are presented crudely, baldly, literally. Yet can any one doubt which of the two scenes it is that is the more vividly represented, and the more clearly seen? For Transfiguration does not darken the figure; it illuminates it. It surrounds it with a cloud, if you will; but it surrounds it with a cloud that is bright.

Will Emotion, described literally in verse, suffice to produce Poetry? That may seem a more difficult question to answer than the one to which a reply has just been found; but I will venture to answer it likewise in the negative. Once again, a few instances are more convincing than any amount of argument. Let our instance be Wordsworth's "The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman:"

"Alas! ye might have dragged me on
 Another day, a single one;
 Too soon I yielded to despair,
 Why did ye listen to my prayer?
 When ye were gone, my limbs were stronger,
 And oh! how grievously I rue,
 That afterwards a little longer,
 My friends! I did not follow you!
 For strong and without pain I lay,
 My friends! when ye were gone away.

"My child! they gave thee to another,
 A woman who was not thy mother,
 When from my arms my babe they took,
 Oh me how strangely did he look!
 Through his whole body something ran,
 A most strange working did I see,
 As if he strove to be a man,
 That he might pull the sledge for me!
 And then he stretched his arms, how wild!
 Oh mercy! like a helpless child."

I think there does not exist the reader who will not feel that this is distressingly prosaic; and I should not have quoted it did it not lend us signal assistance in advancing along our road. For it is, on the whole, an accurate and literal description of what a woman so circumstanced

would feel. It is Emotion, rendered literally, and, as some people would say truthfully; and the Emotion itself is as literal as the rendering of it. The only lines in which there is anything approaching to imaginative feeling imaginatively rendered, are, "As if he strove to be a man, that he might pull the sledge for me." Unfortunately, in ceasing to be literal, they cease more or less to be true, being extravagantly rather than justly imaginative, and represent more what a writer would be likely to ascribe to the woman than what she would be likely to feel herself. But, taking the passage, and, indeed, taking the whole poem, as a test of what we are trying to ascertain, we perceive that the literal and accurate representation of Emotion in verse does not necessarily produce Poetry.

Let us now look for our pendant or contrast, for some perfectly accurate but something more than literal representation of Emotion, that shall strike the whole world as Poetry. There is just as little difficulty of finding in Wordsworth the one example as the other. This was his emotion on seeing a Highland girl of "twice seven consenting years" at Inversneyde:

"Dream and vision as thou art,
I bless thee with a human heart,
God shield thee to thy latest years!
Thou neither know I nor thy peers
And yet my eyes are filled with tears.

* * * * *

With earnest feeling I shall pray
For thee when I am far away
For never saw I mien or face
In which more plainly I could trace
Benignity and home bred sense
Ripening in perfect innocence.

* * * * *

With no restraint, but such as springs
From quick and eager visitings
Of thoughts that lie beyond the reach
Of thy few words of English speech
A bondage sweetly brooked, a strife,
That gives thy gestures grace and life
So have I, not unmoved in mind,
Seen birds of tempest loving kind,
Thus beating up against the wind.

"What hand but would a garland cull
For thee who art so beaut'ful?
Oh happy pleasure! here to dwell
Beside thee in some healthy dell
Adopt your homely ways and dress!
A shepherd, thou a shepherdess!
And I would have
Some claim upon thee, if I could,
Though but of common neighbourhood.
What joy to hear thee, and to see!
Thy elder brother I would be,
Thy Father, anything to thee!"

I ought perhaps to apologize for curtailing any line of this lovely poem. But enough is cited to show how, here, Emotion, though represented with requisite accuracy, is represented not literally, but

spiritually, and by the spirit made Poetry. One feels that the lines themselves are "quick and eager visitings of thoughts that lie beyond the reach," not only of English speech, but of all speech. One feels that they, too, are beating up against the wind, and kept at their grand height, and maintained in their glorious steadfastness, by the very tempest of feeling that half opposes their utterance. No better sample could be given of what occurs to Emotion on "the high mountain apart," no more shining instance of the magic of transfiguring Imagination.

Let us now pass on to the inquiry, whether there is such a thing as Reflective Poetry devoid of the quality of imagination—in other words, whether Poetry can be produced by representing Thought literally in verse. In the Fourth Book of the "Excursion," occurs the following passage:—

"Here then we rest: not fearing for our creed
The worst that human reasoning can achieve,
To unsettle or perplex it—yet with pain
Acknowledging, and grievous self-reproach,
That, though immovably convinced we want
Zeal, and the virtue to exist by faith
As soldiers live by courage, as by strength
Of heart the sailor fights with roaring seas.
Alas! the endowment of immortal power
Is matched unequally with custom, time,
And domineering faculties of sense
In all; we meet with superadded foes,
Idle temptations, open vanities,
Ephemeral offspring of the unblushing world;
And in the private regions of the mind,
Ill-governed passions, ranklings of despite,
Immoderate wishes, pining discontent,
Distress and care."

What are we to say of this? It is Thought, no doubt; and had it been presented simply as such, it might have passed. But it is presented as Poetry; and, unfortunately, it is nothing of the kind. Some pages further on, in the same Book, we encounter these lines:—

"I have seen
A curious child, who dwelt upon a tract
Of inland ground, applying to his ear
The convolutions of a smooth-hipped shell;
To which, in silence hushed, his very soul
Listened intently, and his countenance soon
Brightened with joy; for from within were heard
Murmurings, whereby the monitor expressed
Mysterious union with its native sea.
Even such a shell the Universe itself
Is to the ear of Faith, and there are times,
I doubt not, when to you it doth impart
Authentic tidings of invisible things;
Of ebb and flow and ever-during power,
And central peace subsisting at the heart
Of endless agitation—Here you stand,
Adore and worship, when you know it not,
Pious beyond the intention of your thought,
Devout above the meaning of your will."

What a contrast! In the one instance, we have bare, literal, pedestrian Thought. In the other, we have Thought lifted into the air, draped with the bright cloud, searched by the spirit into transparency, trans-

figured glorified. Does any one want to see the same Thought transfigured and glorified still more completely, let him turn to another page of the self-same poet :

" Those shadowy recollections,
Which be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
Are yet a master light of all our seeing.
Uphold us, cherish, and have power to make
Our noisy years seem moments in the being
Of the eternal silence : truths that wake,
To perish never :
Which neither listlessness, nor mad endeavour,
Nor Man, nor Boy,
Nor all that is at enmity with joy
Can utterly abolish or destroy !
Hence in a season of calm weather,
Though inland far we be
Our souls have sight of that immortal sea
Which brought us hither,
Can in a moment travel thither,
And see the children sport upon the shore,
And hear the mighty waters rolling evermore."

If ever Thought was etherialized, was by the spirit made perfect, was taken up to a high mountain apart, in a word, was transfigured by Imagination, it is subjected to that treatment in the foregoing passage. All literalness, almost all substance, has disappeared; but the tenuous brightness of the Thought is more real, more convincing, than the bodily presence itself.

Yet one more of the operations of life as they are known to us, and as they are represented in Poetry, remains to be considered. Perception, Emotion, Thought, in other words, Descriptive, Lyrical, and Reflective verse, have been passed under review. Action has still to be considered; and this, in Poetry, is represented in its fulness by verse either Epic or Dramatic.

Here we must perforce part company with Wordsworth. In his copious pages, anybody may find abundant instances of Descriptive, Lyrical, and Reflective verse, which is only verse because lacking imagination, and abundant instances of Descriptive, Lyrical, and Reflective Poetry, which is indeed Poetry, because saturated with imagination. But Action was alien to that pious and contemplative mind; and we must turn elsewhere if we want instance of Epic or Dramatic poetry.

Even in betaking ourselves elsewhere, however, we are confronted with a difficulty, though not a difficulty which is not easily overcome by a little good-will and a little good faith. The difficulty, where Epic and Dramatic Poetry are concerned, is that illustration becomes impossible, save by reference. Two epics or two dramas cannot be quoted. They can only be alluded to. Yet, I think everybody will be of opinion, if they will first read Sir Richard Blackmore's "King Arthur," and then Virgil's "Æneid;" first Addison's "Cato," and then Shakespeare's "Julius Cæsar," that precisely the same contrast exists between epics in verse and epics in Poetry, between dramas in verse and dramas in Poetry, that we have seen exists between Descriptive, Lyrical, and

Reflective Poetry, and Descriptive, Lyrical, and Reflective verse, and that the contrast is caused by the absence or presence of the same quality, transfiguring Imagination. Blackmore hobbles; Virgil moves along at a hand-gallop. Addison and his characters never get their feet off the ground. In Shakespeare we are reminded of that Battle of the Huns, represented by Kaulbach on the wall of the double staircase of the New Museum at Berlin, in which the slain actors in the fray, so exasperated and excited had they been, rose during the night, and continued the fight in the air. Out of their shrouds and cerecloths they come, the real personages of the poetic drama, clamber into the sky and among the clouds, the bright clouds transfigured, renew, when all else is dark, the stormy or tender passions of their past.

Am I mistaken in thinking that it is now established, as far as illustrations can establish anything, that neither Perception, Emotion, Thought, nor Action, neither Descriptive, Lyrical, Reflective, nor Epic and Dramatic verse, will or can produce Poetry, unless something be added to them which we call Transfiguration or Imagination? We have tested the question in both ways. We have seen what Descriptive, Lyrical, Reflective, Epic and Dramatic verse are, when devoid of this quality, and what they are when this quality is present; and the result in either case is to corroborate and confirm the proposition, that *Poetry is a transfiguration of life; in other words, an imaginative representation, in verse or rhythm, of whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do.*

Should any one happen to think that the attempt to demonstrate the soundness of this conclusion was superfluous, I would ask him for one moment to recall various opinions, which he can scarcely have failed to come across, if familiar with the current literature of the time. How often have we been told, that all a poet or a painter requires is, to see things just as they are, and to represent them just as they are, and that perfect realism will produce perfect Poetry, just as it will produce perfect art. How often have we been assured that the one thing necessary for a writer is to feel intensely; and that Emotion, if only keen and deep enough, will make him a poet! Finally, how frequently, of late, has it not been pointed out that compositions which few persons can understand, are Poetry, because they are profound in thought. None of these assertions can be accepted, if the conclusions towards which we have gradually travelled be the goal of which we are in search.

At the same time, it will hardly be supposed that I should have ventured to ask anyone to take the trouble of accompanying me thus far, had I not intended to ask him to accompany me still further. We have as yet got only the foundation upon which practical critical conclusions are to be built. But it was indispensable to have the foundation incontestably firm and sure, before any superstructure could safely be erected upon it.

It will be remembered that, in a former paper, I contended against

two propositions which I submitted had been, in effect, propounded by a great authority, Mr. Matthew Arnold. They were:—

1. *That Poetry is a criticism of life.*
2. *That the relative greatness of a poet mainly depends on the healthfulness and truth of his criticism of life.*

Had the first proposition been sound, sound also would have been the second, since it is a corollary from the first. I think we saw that both are unsound. At any rate I laboured to show them to be such, and to get them negatived. I will now state two other propositions, one of which has been advanced already, and, I fancy, established, and the second of which is but a corollary from the first. They are these:—

1. *Poetry is a transfiguration of life; in other words, an imaginative representation, in verse or rhythm, of whatever men perceive, feel, think or do.*

2. *The relative greatness of a poet depends upon the amount of life he has transfigured; in other words upon how much of whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do, he has, in verse or rhythm, represented imaginatively.*

To these I shall ask to be allowed to add a third proposition, and then our task will be done.

Is there any prevailing estimate of the relative importance of the four various functions of life with which Poetry has to deal—viz., whatever men perceive, feel, think, or do? To put the same question in other terms—Does there exist some general opinion as to the relative importance of Perception, Emotion, Thought, and Action?

Surely everybody will at once answer, "Unquestionably there does; and they are advancingly important in the order in which they are here stated." That, I take it, is a correct answer; and to it must be added, that they are so by no artificial or arbitrary progression, but by that most necessary and inevitable of all progressions, the progression that depends upon natural development. Perception is the preliminary and prelude to Emotion; Perception and Emotion are the preliminary and prelude to Thought; Perception, Emotion, and Thought are the preliminary and prelude to Action. Men perceive before they feel, feel before they think, feel and think before they act. Confining ourselves to the operations of ordinary life and ordinary people, we may safely affirm that Emotion is a higher function than Perception, Thought than Perception or Emotion, Action than any of the other three; for, in this ascending scale, what succeeds implies and includes what goes before, while what goes before does not imply and include what succeeds.

Now, has this order of the relative dignity of perceiving, feeling, thinking, and acting, no relevancy to that "relative greatness of the poet," about which we are at present inquiring? I think it has; so much pertinence, in fact, that, if we cling to it, we shall find ourselves on the traces of a critical canon of considerable pregnancy.

For if it be the fact, as we have seen it is, that Perception, Emotion,

Thought, and Action, correspond with Descriptive, Lyrical, Reflective, and Epic or Dramatic Poetry, and if it further be the fact that Perception, Emotion, Thought, and Action are an ascending scale of functional dignity and greatness, is there not a strong presumption that an analogous ascending scale of greatness and dignity is to be observed in Descriptive, Lyrical, Reflective, and Epic or Dramatic Poetry?

Everyone familiar with scientific or even with logical modes of thought will grant this; and, on examination, I think we shall find that the presumption is a sound one, and in striking conformity with the estimate of the most authoritative critics in all times and all nations.

The supremacy of Epic and Dramatic Poetry—in other words, of Poetry that deals specially and pre-eminently with Action—was affirmed two thousand years ago, and has never since been seriously contested. Upon what is the conviction of this supremacy based? It is based on the observation that Epic Poetry and Dramatic Poetry “deal with more of life,” and with life in more complex aspects, than any other kind of poetry, and therefore demand the exercise of wider and more vigorous imagination. This is what Professor Bain means when he says that “the snatches of fairyland” to be met with in lyrical poetry are “but the faintest approach to the historical imagination, the power of full concrete realization.” Hence, while every nation and every tongue has produced Descriptive, Lyrical, and Reflective poets of genius and distinction, Epic and Dramatic poets of indisputable eminence have been fewer and more far between than angels’ visits.

Both Epic and Dramatic Poetry deal specially and pre-eminently with Action. To which of these two must the higher rank be assigned? I have not space to argue that question; and for me to express an opinion on the subject without argument would be intolerable presumption. I must therefore content myself with quoting a great authority, in very few words. “Those things,” says Aristotle, “which the *Epopœe* possesses are to be found in Tragedy, but everything which Tragedy contains is not in the *Epopœe*. It is evident Tragedy will be more excellent than the *Epopœe*, in consequence of attaining its end”—which is elsewhere stated to be Action—“in a greater degree.”

Let us look at this a little more closely. “Every tragedy,” says Aristotle, “has scenes, apparatus, manners, and a fable, and melody, and, in a similar manner, sentiment. But the greatest of these is the combination of the incidents. . . . The end of Tragedy does not consist in imitating manners, but it embraces manners on account of actions, so that the action and the fable are the end of Tragedy. But the end is the greatest of all things. Moreover, without Action, Tragedy cannot exist; but it may exist without manners. . . . Further, if anyone place in a continuous series moral speeches, sayings, and sentiments, he will not produce that which is the work of a tragedy; but that will be much more a tragedy which uses these things as subordinate, and which contains a fable and combination of incidents The fable,

therefore, is the principal part, and, as it were, the soul of Tragedy ; but the manners are next in rank The sentiments rank third."

What is this, I ask, but to say that the cardinal distinction of Dramatic Poetry is, that it deals in a special, more enlarged, and more complete manner, with the greatest of all human functions, Action—in other words, with "whatever men do"—at the same time that it deals incidentally with Perception, Emotion, and Thought, or "whatever they perceive, feel, or think?" This it is which constitutes its greatness ; this it is which establishes its superiority.

I can scarcely believe that Mr. Matthew Arnold would dispute this conclusion. Indeed, does he not allow us to perceive that he was conscious of it, when he affirms that what constitutes the relative greatness of a poet is "an ample body of powerful work," and the fact that he "deals with more of life"? Such language as this we can have no difficulty in endorsing, indeed, we must endorse it, for it tallies exactly with the conclusion at which we have arrived. But how, I venture to ask, shall we succeed in applying it to Wordsworth, or to any poet who has not coped with Action at all? I should have thought that the one obvious, glaring defect of Wordsworth's Poetry is that it does not deal with enough of life, or, as Mr. Arnold confessed more than a century ago, "averts its ken from half of human fate," and, if I may be allowed a familiar solecism, by far the larger half. Think of how Shakespeare deals with the most meditative of men, Hamlet, Prince of Denmark ! And then think how Hamlet would have been dealt with by a purely meditative or reflective poet. The whole secret is there. It is the difference between movement and still-life ; the difference between Claude's "Arcadis," and Raphael's "Battle of the Milvian Bridge ;" the difference between a smiling pastoral by Constable, and one of Turner's stormy landscapes, with all the elements visibly at work upon the canvas.

To this conclusion, then, we seem to have travelled, by natural if not by easy stages, that the highest and greatest Poetry is Dramatic Poetry, Epic Poetry, and whatever other form of Poetry, if there be such, which permits the imaginative representation of great action in a great and adequate manner. Applying the reasons which have led us to this conclusion, we should find that, descending the scale, we come next to Reflective Poetry, or the Poetry of transfigured Thought ; then to Lyrical Poetry, or the Poetry of transfigured Emotion ; finally to Descriptive Poetry, or the Poetry of transfigured Perception. Perhaps one qualification should here be made. Though transfigured Thought or Reflective Poetry, pure and simple, must be ranked higher than transfigured Emotion, or Lyrical Poetry, pure and simple, I am not sure there does not exist poetry, to which a distinctive appellation has not yet been given, in which Thought and Emotion are fused in equal proportions, and which is higher in quality than either the Poetry in which Thought plainly predominates,

or than the Poetry in which Emotion plainly predominates ; just as we often feel, in conversation, that the finest and most impressive thinker is the man who thinks emotionally without ceasing to think justly. In that case we might have to say that though purely Reflective Poetry must be ranked higher than purely Lyrical Poetry, a compound of the two—Lyrical-Reflective Poetry—of which Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations of Immortality" is a capital instance, would have to be placed before either.

I think we have now reached our goal, and that I may venture to formulate that third Proposition which I said remained to be added. I would state it thus :—

3. *In valuing the amount of life a poet has transfigured, in other words, in estimating the relative greatness of a poet, the place of honour, dignity, and importance must be assigned to Action, the next to Thought, the next to Emotion, and the last to Perception or Observation.*

It will now be evident that, between Mr. Matthew Arnold and myself, there are both identity and divergence of opinion. Did we differ wholly and entirely, I should necessarily be obliged to suspect that he was right and I was wrong. But we agree in insisting upon the importance of what he calls "the laws of poetic truth and poetic beauty," and what I call "transfiguration or imagination," and we seem to be at one where he dwells upon "a sound subject-matter," and reiterates the phrase "deals with more of life," and where I dwell upon "the amount of life" with which a poet has dealt, giving the place of honour to that which, it seems to me, is the highest function of life—viz., Action. We appear to go apart in this, that, whereas he affirms that Poetry is a criticism of life, and the greatness of a poet depends upon how he has criticized it, I venture to affirm that Poetry is a representation of life, and that the greatness of a poet depends upon how much of it he has represented ; the poetic manner being, in either case, presupposed.

These, then, are the Canons of Poetical Criticism I would venture to advance. Whether they present any novelty, either in their conclusions or in the methods by which these have been reached, it is not for me to say. But I think I may venture to assert that they are not arbitrary canons, nor based on any individual predilection ; that they have their analogy, their foundation, and, to that extent, their justification, in the laws of human nature and human development ; and that, though possibly it may be found difficult to reconcile with them certain opinions about poets and Poetry, which have been extensively disseminated during, say, the last quarter of a century, they will be found in strict harmony with all previous opinions concerning poets and Poetry that have resisted the ordeal of time, and will leave Homer, Sophocles, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, on the thrones that have been assigned to them, while placing upon somewhat lower seats those poets who have failed to "deal with as much of life," and to

bequeath as "ample a body of powerful work." If, in travelling towards these conclusions by a road of his own, the writer had found that he was deviating from the critical judgments of the past, and the accumulated *consensus* of successive generations, then, indeed, he would have been satisfied that somehow he had missed his way. But if the worst that befalls him, from frankly pursuing this road, is to diverge in some degree from the prevailing judgments of the age in which he happens to live—well, he must bear that result, and its well-known consequences, as best he can.

I trust the object of these two papers is now plain to those who have been good enough to accompany me thus far. The object was, in the words with which the former of them was concluded, "to provide ourselves with certain critical canons, raised above the bias of individual taste, or the prevailing spirit of any current age, by referring to which we may ascertain with sufficient fairness and tolerable accuracy the rank of any particular writer in the poetic hierarchy." That such an object will ever be attained by affirming that Poetry is a criticism of life, and that the greatness of a poet depends on the truth and healthfulness with which he has criticized life, I could not and I cannot believe. Such canons of criticism are ready-made weapons for the critical partisan. If poetry be a criticism of life, then critics may, and assuredly will, estimate poets according to their own criticism of life. Is not that an appalling prospect?

Unhappily, the evil is not prospective only. It is rampant amongst us, and probably was always more or less rampant in every controversial age. Incidental reference has been made to the epics of Sir Richard Blackmore, a Whig writer who flourished in the reign of Queen Anne. By a writer, himself of Whig opinions, but living not in the reign of Queen Anne but in the reign of Queen Victoria, or a hundred and fifty years later, they are described as "works which enjoyed great reputation in their own day, but have long been condemned as flat, inelegant, and wearisome." With the candour that usually comes with flux of time, this critic adds: "The admiration which they once enjoyed is not wholly to be attributed to the low state of public taste, but in great measure to the spirit of party. Blackmore, being a zealous Whig, and a friend of the King, who knighted him, it became a kind of political duty with one set of people to read and praise his works, while another set heartily despised them."

This is by no means a singular instance of the effect of party spirit in corrupting literary judgment. What the Whigs are here described as doing at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Tories did with equal vigour and equal unfairness at the beginning of the nineteenth century. That the genius of Shelley should have passed almost unnoticed in his lifetime, and not have been noticed at all except to be pooh-pooed, remains an eternal opprobrium to contemporary criticism, and an enduring evidence of the invincible dishonesty of party spirit.

He was reputed to be an Atheist and a Republican, and so there was an end of the matter. Tory criticism of life soon made up its mind about his Poetry. In the case of Wordsworth, the same cause operated, though in a lesser degree, to defraud an entire generation of the privilege of reading his Poetry. Though he became a pretty good Tory before his life ended, he was, in the commencement of his career, associated with Jacobin opinions, and it was not till the critics of life discovered how orthodox were his views, that they discovered how exquisite was his Poetry.

Thanks to the whirligig of time which brings in its revenges, the situation is once more changed. Literary criticism is, at present, mainly governed by Liberal opinion; and, hence, were some poet, who had not concealed his opinion that Liberalism, in its more recent development, is a sort of softening of the intellect, to publish, let us say, a great epic poem, I suspect it would meet with that mixture of skilful neglect and damning faint praise, in which party spirit is invariably so expert.

The wrong thus done to the individual is a matter of small moment, if indeed it be of moment at all. I have neither sympathy nor pity for the fretful pinings of unrecognized genius; and as a rule they are indulged in only by those unfortunate persons whose sole gift of imagination is to imagine that they have it. Shelley and Wordsworth bore the neglect of their contemporaries with the patient dignity of genius that is genuine. As Mr. Tennyson, who possesses both in abundance, has finely said,

"To have the great poetic heart
Is more than all poetic fame,"

and a man who has the rare privilege of genius, deserves to be deprived of it, if he craves uneasily for its prompt recognition, or cares one single line, should recognition be withheld. Moreover, he must be singularly unfortunate, if he be not told by some one or other what he already knows; if some gentle spirit, gifted with the foreknowledge that affection inspires, does not crown him with premonitory laurel. Pity Shelley indeed! Shelley, in whom Mary Godwin believed, though she had not seen! Let us rather keep our pity for Byron, for whom the loveless applause of the world was the hollow din of a reverberating drum. Who can doubt, when Petrarch was crowned upon the Capitol, that his thoughts, like those of the dying gladiator, were "far away," and that he would gladly have forfeited the plaudits of the Roman people, if, in the solitude of Vaucluse, he could have once heard Laura exclaim, "O my poet!"

It is, therefore, not for the sake of the individual, that protests have to be made against canons of criticism which would countenance and encourage literary judgments saturated with prejudice and steeped in party spirit. It is for the sake of the public and of critics themselves. Against the foibles of human nature, against personal grudge or the partiality of cliques, no precautions are possible. But let us at least deprive criticism

of all excuse for the bias that springs from community or conflict of opinion. A brilliant, but I cannot honestly say a judicial critic, has asked us to regard Collins as the greatest English poet of the eighteenth century, because he was more or less a Republican! Similarly we are invited to esteem a certain French poet as the greatest singer of his time, because he denounces Kings and glorifies the People. From a literary and critical point of view, this is deplorable. But it would have a good deal to say for itself, if poetry were really a criticism of life, and if the relative greatness of the poet depended on the truth and healthfulness with which any of us happened to think life had been criticized by him.

It is narrated of St. Augustine that, walking one day upon the shore at Ostia—just after, I suppose, the death of his mother—and meditating afresh upon the intellectual doubts that still withheld him from embracing Christianity, he suddenly perceived a child that, with a shell, was ladling the sea into a hole in the sand. "What are you doing my child?" asked the Saint. "I am emptying the ocean," was the reply, "into this hole." "That is impossible." "Not more impossible than for you to empty the universe into your intellect," said the child, and vanished. Poetry is the Ocean. Criticisms of life are holes in the sand, which the next tide of human emotion will level and abolish.

It is idle to hope that criticism will ever be able to do full justice to great works of imagination. Something however, may be done towards guarding it against doing them injustice: and once more I venture to say that if we are to ascertain with sufficient fairness and tolerable accuracy the rank of any particular writer in the poetic hierarchy, we must provide ourselves with critical canons, that, raised above the bias of individual taste or the prevailing spirit of any current age, and that having their foundation in permanent laws of human nature, will bear being tested by the consensus of critical opinion in past generations. Such canons I have attempted to propound, and to every critic who desires to judge, without fear or favour, I can only say, in conclusion,

"Vive, vale Si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum."
Farewell. If better system's thine,
Frankly impart it, or use mine.

ALFRED AUSTIN.

ON SOME DEFECTS IN THE EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF SCOTLAND.

I SHALL state in a few words the nature of the subject which I have chosen for my address.* There is a prevalent belief that, especially in Scotland, there is a want of men of great and prominent ability, and this is accounted for by saying that culture has spread over larger masses rather than concentrated itself on a few eminent persons. Whether this be so, or not, I shall not stop to inquire. But I have no hesitation in asserting that we might be better than we are, and I shall attempt to explain to you certain defects in the organization of our society which tend to keep us lower than we ought to be.

I wish to proceed cautiously in dealing with such a subject. I know that things vary according to the point of view which one assumes. If you put your eye close to an object, the part seen is magnified, but it is only a very small part that is seen, and all sense of proportion is lost. As the object recedes from the eye, it becomes smaller and smaller, and the mind has continually to correct the impression of the sense. And how various are the feelings with which we view natural objects! One notices every shade of colour, another every feature of form; one delights in a fragment of a landscape, another likes a large expanse; and every one looks on external Nature with emotions which are not suggested by it, but flow forth from the depths of his own human experience of joy and sorrow. If such is the variety of view with which we look on external Nature, how much more varied must be the aspects in which the movements of human society present themselves to us, especially when it is the society in which we ourselves live and move. We are sometimes puzzled to know whether it is ourselves or our fellows that are moving on. We are disturbed by considerations which are suggested by our own peculiar circumstances. At the best,

* Delivered at the Opening of the Watt Literary Association, Edinburgh.

the human being is always limited. He can see only within a limited sphere, and can comprehend only a portion of what he sees. It is, therefore, with a full consciousness of the possibility of my being in the wrong that I lay before you the facts and considerations which I wish to submit to you; and it is for you to judge, and I trust that you may find materials in some of them for your discussion.

Before I proceed, I have still one preliminary observation to make, and that is in regard to the common idea of progress. It is now the fixed belief of many that the course of mankind is ever onward and upward, and that the present age is always better than the past. They imagine that all that is best and wisest gets permanently fixed in the race, that no truth or noble idea is ever lost, and that the present includes within it all the goodnesses of the past. There are others who take a quite contrary view. They think that the present age is the worst that ever existed, and that the next will end mankind in utter ruin. History and our own experience seem to me to teach that neither of these opinions is correct. The powers of goodness are stronger than the powers of evil, and there is no fear of our utter destruction. These gloomy ideas arise from the bitter experience or bilious tendencies of the individual thinker. On the other hand, the reception of new ideas and the embodiment of past goodness must depend on the capacity of the individuals who are to contain them. Now there cannot be a doubt that decay often makes its appearance in races, and that sons are not always equal to their fathers in intellectual power or moral self-control. There is, besides, a dissipation of energy in the mental as in the physical world. The moral and intellectual atmosphere may become thick with ideas which correspond in character to decaying matter in the physical world. These ideas may have a lowering effect on the whole moral build and constitution of the age, and thus lofty conceptions of life and lofty ideals of character may have to retire before meaner ideas and less worthy aims. It is, therefore, of supreme importance to us to watch the tendencies of our own times, and if there are defects, to discover and remove them.

It is to some of these defects in Scotland, some of those obstructive agencies which block up the outflow of intellectual power and limit our moral freedom, to which I now call your attention.

Every one has seen cases of decay in the commercial world. A great number of people were engaged in hand-loom weaving when the steam-loom was invented. There was but one course open for these workers. Many of them thought there were two. The first idea that occurred to them was to break the steam-looms; but it soon became apparent that this procedure was useless, and they had to follow the other course—to adapt themselves to the new circumstances. Those who tried to maintain a struggle with hand-looms against steam-looms had to pay for their obstinacy, and, in the end, to succumb. But may not there be similar obstinacy in the intellectual world? I wish to put it to you

whether such obstinacy has not existed in Scotland. The Renaissance and the Reformation produced a profound interest in education. It was felt that education should be extended to larger masses, and that the education of some should be carried to a higher point than had hitherto been attained. Education meant, in those days, a thorough knowledge of Latin. In the vernacular tongues there were no—or few—books of real literary merit; and the science, and history, and geography that then existed were to be found only in Latin works. Accordingly the child was trained to speak Latin. He began at the earliest age, in his father's house; he went to school about six or seven, and there learned the Latin rudiments and dialogues, and he continued till about twelve or thirteen, when he went to the University. It is of consequence to remember how comparatively small was the circle of knowledge in those days. But in the eighteenth century a great movement took shape among the nations of Europe. The knowledge of the earth's surface had been enormously enlarged by daring voyagers and bold discoverers. Modern literatures had arisen, and claimed the attention of men; science had made gigantic strides; the era of criticism had begun, and the very foundations of society were laid bare by Rousseau. There was a fermentation of new ideas in France, in Germany, in England—almost in every country of the Continent; but the education of the youth went on the same as before. The boys learned Latin, and nothing more; and the girls learned sewing, and very little more. Could this form of education continue in such circumstances? It was impossible. Rousseau roused attention to the subject—the aim and work of education were keenly discussed, and various tentative schemes were launched by Basedow and others. It was given to the Germans, finally, to bring all these ideas into a focus, and out of them to elaborate a complete system of national education. They were in peculiarly favourable circumstances for doing that. Individuals among them had tried almost every possible experiment in education with more or less success. Their great king, Frederick, had, in creating the Kingdom of Prussia, devoted special attention to education, and laid a sure foundation; and a group of the greatest thinkers and remarkable scholars arose at the very time when the greatest distinctively modern literature made its appearance. They had also a strong stimulus. Napoleon had struck them a savage blow with his iron foot, and for a time the kingdom staggered. But they determined that they should rise, and that every effort should be made to make the nation wise and powerful. Education was to be one of the principal means of this renovation, and accordingly all the wisdom of the nation must be applied to the elaboration of a sound and complete system of education. And what were the ideas which guided them? It is beyond my purpose to discuss the system of primary education that was established; I wish to draw your attention to the ideas which guided them in framing the higher education. Now, first of all, there was a revolution in the conception of the object to which higher education

man be directed. It was not to be a mere cultivation of the polite literature; it was not merely to refine and polish the gentleman; it was to fit the young man for entering on the work of the present with the greatest intellectual power and insight. The work of education was, above all, to contribute to the formation of highly-gifted and well-equipped citizens. Accordingly Latin could no longer be the only and prominent subject of study. It must find its place among a number of other subjects; and the very mode of studying it must be changed. What will have influence on the future destinies of a nation will not be a knowledge of the Latin language, but a knowledge of the Roman people—how they lived, how they governed, how they fell from their great power. The youth receiving a higher education must, indeed, know the Latin language, but mainly as a key to open the treasures of thought and wisdom that lie within the Latin writers and Roman history and institutions. But if Latin requires to be known for this reason, much more does Greek. Greek literature is the freshest, the most original, the most stimulating of all literatures; and the Greeks tried endless experiments in political organization, and threw their genius into every form in which the beautiful can be embodied. But for similar reasons the languages of modern nations, and especially one's own language, must not be neglected. The young man, at the proper time, must study the history of his own country and of other modern nations in preparation for his work in life. And in addition to this, or in connection with it, he has to know something of the localities of the earth and of the progress of science. It is not for me to discuss how, or on what principles, the claims of these various educative subjects were adjusted. I have merely to note the revolution that took place in the conception of the object and subject-matter of education. But this revolution led to another, which is the one which mostly concerns my argument. If the higher education is thus to be extended, and to embrace in some form the intimate knowledge of the course of European civilization and the ideas which have led to the present state of European society, it was no longer possible to keep up the old system of boys beginning Latin, and ending their school studies at twelve or fourteen. The vernacular language must be the first studied, and not Latin. Latin must come later, and time must be found for the other subjects. What is the principle on which this prolongation of time shall take place? There were two guiding ideas that solved this problem. First, it was the mode of thought, the history and institutions of a country, which the pupil was to know to fit him for his future work. It is, therefore, plain that he must have sufficient time to master the languages in which he comes into personal contact with these thoughts and institutions. The boy must remain at school until he gets a firm hold of Latin and Greek, and has read a considerable portion of the best literature in each language. It must be the same with his knowledge of modern languages and literatures. To begin Latin or Greek, and to end with only

a feeble grasp of the language and a mere spelling out of a few extracts of the literature, was deemed an utter waste of time. Either not begin it at all, or go on till the literature is a source of enjoyment and the ideas are easily mastered in their original form and language. But the same conclusion was reached in another way, and from a psychological point of view. Every one knows that there is a gradual and natural growth of the human mind. The child first uses his senses and observes individual things. From this exercise he becomes able to take in groups, and thus he advances until he is able to deal with the larger generalizations and the most abstract ideas. But the attainment of this last faculty takes place only after long and varied practice in dealing with concrete objects and individual feelings. Now, if we look at the process of development in the average man of considerable capacity, we shall find that from his birth, to about eleven, he is not capable of much more than observation, and the powers of observation should then be specially cultivated. From eleven to eighteen or nineteen he has the special faculty of imitation and appropriation. He devours books, he gathers in stores of knowledge, he reproduces what others have produced. He can lay up a vast mass of material for original induction. Then comes the last and noblest stage, the stage of creative activity. He can now deal in an independent manner with the materials he has accumulated. He thinks over the problems which his previous accumulations have presented to him, and he forms his own solutions of them and works with fresh insight. To any one who has studied the human mind it is plain that he cannot exert this original power happily without having laid in a large store of observations and a knowledge of the experience of others. The youth who attempts this work prematurely may never succeed in it at all, and is always liable to hasty generalizations, or to imagine himself forming opinions for himself when he is merely re-echoing the last impressions produced on him by some one else. For these reasons, then, a revolution took place in the school age. It was determined that henceforth it should continue to eighteen or nineteen. Steady, regular schoolwork was to go on till the youth destined to receive the highest culture should attain his eighteenth or nineteenth year. This revolution was one of profoundest importance, and has exercised an incalculable influence on the history of philosophy and science, and the destinies of nations.

These, then, were the two revolutions that took place in the arrangement of the higher education. In Germany, the revolutions have been complete, and they have been more or less complete in nearly all the countries of Europe. Scotland alone stands prominently out as a marked exception. In Scotland, a considerable change has taken place in the subjects of instruction, but it is not long since Latin was nearly the only subject taught in our grammar-schools; and even yet it is impossible for the idea to take deep

root that a knowledge of antiquity is the real object of a classical education, for there is no deep soil in which it can take root. But we are still further behind in the period during which our boys attend school. The majority of them leave school at fifteen, and there is no reason why they should not leave at fourteen, as far as the educational arrangements are concerned. The courses of our universities are such that a boy of fourteen should be perfectly well able to do the work. There are, indeed, a few exceptional schools, where, through special circumstances, an effort is made to keep the boys for a longer period; but such schools, so far as their highest classes are concerned, are out of harmony with the other educational arrangements of the country, and in fact most of them look away from Scotland for the further development of their pupils. Contrast with this the state of matters in Prussia. For comparison, I select the province of Brandenburg, containing the capital, because the population is nearly the same in number as that of Scotland. In this province, then, there were, in 1873, 28 gymnasia, 16 Realschulen, and 9 higher Bürger-schulen, or citizen schools. The gymnasia correspond to our high schools. All the pupils who leave school for the university must stand an examination on the subjects which they have studied. Of the 331 who passed that examination in Brandenburg in 1873, 2 were under seventeen, 28 were seventeen, 63 were eighteen, 96 were nineteen, 83 were twenty, and 61 were above twenty. This statement may give you some idea of the nature of these schools. These boys were taught during their course, religion, German, Latin, Greek, French, geography and history, arithmetic and mathematics, natural philosophy and a knowledge of Nature, drawing, writing, singing, gymnastics, and Hebrew. Now it is plain that these boys have ample time to master the languages which they are taught, and to make themselves familiar with the literature of these languages. And they would be at home in all the great facts of the sciences which they thus carefully, and for a long period, study. The acquisitions which they make at school will be acquisitions that will remain with them through life. They will read the classics and French with ease, they will be able to handle these languages with independence, and carry out any literary or scientific investigation with powers of mind fully matured. How is it possible for our boys to cope with these in the higher regions of historical investigation, of learning, and of science? Our boys break off before they have any firm grasp of the languages they study, and they soon forget what they have learned. It has given them little pleasure. They have reaped almost none of the enjoyments of learning, and so the learning of the school retires into the lumber-room of their memories, and proves of little moment to them in their subsequent career. And let me draw your attention to the complete supply of such schools in Prussia. While Scotland does not possess one that carries on its work as far as the German gymnasium, Potsdam, with a population of 38,000, has one; Charlottenburg,

with a population of 18,000, has one; the town of Brandenburg, with a population of 25,000, has one; Neuruppin, with a population of under 11,000, has one; and towns with 6,000 or 7,000 of a population have such schools. And alongside of these schools there are schools where the merchant and manufacturer are prepared by a more scientific and modern education. Such schools are called *Realschulen* and, as I have said, there are sixteen such schools in Brandenburg. There is none in Scotland of like aim and completeness.

Let us now turn to the idea of the university, which arose at the same time and out of the same circumstances. The young lad, according to the conception I have just expounded, has become familiar with all the instruments of investigation, and he knows what has been done by thoughtful men in previous generations. He is now fit to pass to the university. What is the university to do for him? The university is to help him in his creative efforts, in his endeavour to form independent judgments, to carry out original research, and grapple with some of the innumerable problems of life and history which the world presents to men for inquiry. For this work he must be free in his choice. He is not compelled to go to any one teacher. He selects the department in which he is to work, and then every facility is to be given him for the work. How is this to be done? It is by freedom of teaching. Has a man studied any particular subject, and is he competent to deal with it? He must be admitted as teacher or lecturer in the university. There must be no restriction. Should he prove in the end to be an able investigator or teacher, the university will keep him as a permanent official. And so a body of men constitutes the university who have a vocation for their work, who are eagerly devoting their lives to investigation, and who are recognized as men fit for their work. And there must be a representation of all the subjects which present themselves for human inquiry. Every subject which is worthy of the attention of the thinker and inquirer must be allowed a place in a university. From nineteen to twenty-two, and as long after as they like, the young men are to devote themselves to voluntary pursuit of truth with all the aids which a university so constituted can give. Here again was another revolution in education, and here again the idea spread into every country of Europe. It underwent various changes, especially in France and England, according to the different forms of thought prevalent in the different countries; but practically a great revolution took place in all. Scotland is the only exception. In Scotland the universities have not advanced from the idea which led to their formation. In Scotland there are no universities according to the use of the term now universally prevalent in other countries. The Scottish universities are schools. The Latin, Greek and mathematical classes are purely school-classes. Boys have gone direct from the fifth standard to Glasgow University, and, possibly, to the other universities. Many go to the university Greek classes without knowing a word of Greek, and they

start with the elements of geometry and algebra. And every other obligatory class in our universities is of a similar nature except, perhaps, that of English literature. The logic class is for beginners, the natural philosophy is for beginners, the moral philosophy is for beginners. All the teachers go on the plan of expounding the principles of their science to young men who are for the first time making acquaintance with them. There is no room for investigation. The young men come without the knowledge requisite for it. Even as schools they are entirely antiquated in their arrangements. You have, first, in the largest of them, classes numbering between one and two hundred, and these classes are composed of the most heterogeneous elements — young lads who have escaped from school at an early stage because they had no hope of prizes, and who never will learn much, and young men whose education has been neglected, up to able lads who have spent four or five years at Latin, and two or three at Greek to good purpose. These boys are to learn all that the university prescribes for them of Latin and Greek and mathematics in ten months. They are set free from the ordinary discipline of school, and are on their honour. The professor may not know them, the professor may never question them, but the lads are supposed to have such a burning desire for knowledge that they will study hard. And then the lads have no choice of subject or teacher. The subjects are fixed irrevocably for the time, whether they are suitable for the lads or not, and they are fixed nearly on the old Reformation programme. All modern languages and literatures but English are banished, geography and history disappear. There is no continuous training. The lad tackles Latin and Greek and mathematics for two years, and then throws them aside; then he gives himself to English literature and logic and metaphysics, and throws them aside; and then he tries moral philosophy and natural philosophy, and finishes with them; or in some similar combination, for in some universities he is allowed the liberty of grouping his subjects. I have, indeed, taken no note of the voluntary classes in this account, because voluntary classes are sure to go to the wall beside obligatory ones. The additional chairs that have been established, or may be established, are chairs of the future. The students at present cannot afford time to attend them, and the inclination is smothered under the obligatory system. The teacher is equally fixed. He has an entire monopoly. He may be fit or unfit, it matters not. Him they must attend. They need not listen to him unless they like, but there is a magic efficacy in the benches of his class-room. Only those who sit in these time-laboured seats can attain the coveted degree and gain the coveted prestige of a Scottish university career. And the lads, after their ten months' sitting-out of Greek and Latin and mathematics, and an examination which guarantees that they have got a smattering of these subjects, which often very soon disappears from memory, and their five months' dose of logic, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy, and

English Literature, and an examination which proves that they have made a decent cram of the professor's lectures, are sent into the world crowned by Scottish universities as *Magistri Artium*, Masters of all Liberal arts. But as far as the universities are concerned, they are not masters of any art. They have studied nothing thoroughly. They are junior apprentices, and if they do not take some means of adding vastly to the knowledge which the universities undertake to impart and require of them, they go from them at an earlier stage than that at which the German lads leave school, and with requirements very far below those necessary for admission to a German university. This seems to me a humiliating state of matters, but I do not think that anyone can doubt the fact. "The Scotch universities," says Wiese, one of our best authorities on educational matters, "are not what their name indicates, but have even more than Oxford and Cambridge the character of schools, with lower and higher classes." And we have a notable proof that our universities are schools in the fact that some of our students, who want a higher education, first go through the Scotch universities and then enter at the lowest stage of an English university course. And this fact has emphasis put upon it, if you give heed to Mr. Matthew Arnold. He states his belief that the English universities are "in fact schools and do not carry education beyond the stage of general and school education." So that, if we accept his account of the matter, our Scotch universities are schools of a lower grade, and lads who study at them can complete their school education, if they have the means, at the higher schools or universities of England.

I have not expounded what I believe to be the real condition of our so-called higher education in Scotland with any intention of finding fault with anyone. Certainly the boys at schools and the students at our universities have done wonderfully well, considering the circumstances, and their diligence and energy are beyond all praise; and our professors have often worked with a zeal and an ability which have thrown distinction round their universities. The evil, too, is not of recent growth. Protests have been made against the organization of our higher education from the end of last century; and boldest and most outspoken among the reformers have been many of the professors of our universities, and most perseveringly and most vigorously among them, the veteran and loved professor of Greek in this city. But the Scotch people care not, and have been deaf to all appeals.

My object in bringing the subject before you is to show that, with the educational revolution of the nineteenth century, a revolution has also taken place in the competition for distinction in science, scholarship, theology, and all the higher intellectual pursuits. The Scotsman has to fight with bow and arrow against men armed with rifles and cannon. He is the hand-loom weaver of the intellectual world. In such circumstances we need not be surprised if it should turn out to be a fact that Scotch young men have up-hill work in gaining high

positions in the competition for the Indian Civil Service; that great scientific men, or great scholars and theologians, and inquirers into history, do not arise amongst us in great numbers. Individual genius and effort may overcome great difficulties, but there may be difficulties which no genius can overcome, and, at any rate, it is only the very few that can overcome them. And my exposition may also enable you to see why we derive so much of our scholarship, and our science, and our philosophy and theology, from Germany. Instead of speaking of Germany, I might have appealed to the sterling success of our medical schools. There monopoly has been abolished, and our university courts allow any one to teach who has the faculty and the wish. The professors treat their subjects in a scientific manner, often giving the results of their own investigations, and the examinations are thorough and searching.

Sometimes there are special obstructions to the attainment of eminence in some departments of thought. There is, for instance, a general impression that we have fallen behind in the study of theology, and that our country does not exercise that influence on theological thought and inquiry that it would be desirable it should. One symptom of this consciousness of weakness showed itself in an earnest desire to establish lectureships, and several important lectureships have been established. But the lectures have not attracted much attention in the literary or theological world of England or the Continent. Many of them have not attracted much attention even in Scotland. Most of them have added almost nothing of permanent value or permanent suggestion to theological thought, and the one or two that dealt ably and scientifically with their subjects, have not received the attention which their great merits deserve, most probably because they were delivered in Scotland. Let us look into this matter and see if we cannot find out that peculiar forces are at work in this department. And here, again, with the new educational impulse, a revolution has taken place. The Scotch theologian of past days dwelt largely on the doctrines of election, and the mode of Divine existence, and atonement, and similar dogmas. Most of these were doctrines not to be found expressly stated in Scripture. Almost all the terms of dogma are foreign to Scripture. Trinity, persons of the Trinity, Atonement, retributive justice, and a host of other theological terms are unknown to the Christian writings of the first two centuries, and the theologian acknowledged this. It was his business not merely to interpret Scripture, but to make inferences from it, to work out the meagre statements of Scripture into dogmatic formulas, and to rationalize the whole into a closely compacted and self-consistent scheme of theology. This work of the theologian has become somewhat antiquated, though it lingers amongst us. The theologian of the present day must first of all be an interpreter, and then he must be an historical investigator. He must know thoroughly the languages in which the Scriptures were written; he must cultivate

the critical faculty, so as to weigh evidence in determining the dates and authorship of books, and the genuineness or spuriousness of certain suspected portions. And then he must be master of the languages in which the history of theology is to be investigated. There are thus certain acquisitions with which old theologians might have to some extent dispensed, but which are absolutely necessary to the modern. But besides these there is another and absolutely indispensable requisite for a successful theological inquiry—freedom of thought. If theological study is fettered by restrictions and penalties, successful inquiry into theological subjects is an impossibility. And I may add a third condition. It is necessary that there should be a sufficient number of competent readers. Many even of those who have mastered the means of conducting investigations, feel no impulse to push their investigations beyond what their duty prescribes. They do not wish to add to human knowledge. They have other and more congenial work to accomplish in this world. But the cultivated man, and especially the cultivated minister, ought to be eager to appropriate every new truth that is revealed, and to master every important investigation that is made. And where there exists such a body of men on the outlook for more knowledge and greater insight, it is certain that there will grow out of their midst, some who will open up new vistas, and push their investigations beyond the limit already reached, to the awakening of thought and the benefit of mankind. But I doubt whether there will be much extension of knowledge where there is not a considerable number of earnest and capable sympathizers.

These then seem to me to be the three conditions of an original theological literature—adequate preparation for the work, freedom of inquiry, and a considerable body of competent judges of the worth of the investigations. I am afraid Scotland falls short in each of these three requisites. I have already discussed the means which we possess for preparing the scientific theologian, and I doubt whether the other two can exist without these.

It would have been interesting to inquire how freedom of thought arises and grows, if time had permitted. But, at any rate, all will acknowledge, that there can be no real freedom of thought, unless where there is a consciousness of the weakness and one-sidedness of the human mind and the infinity of truth. But such a consciousness can be produced only by much thorough reading and thought, and thus knowledge is essential to it. Ignorance and bigotry are continually associated, though knowledge does not always cast out bigotry. Be that as it may, he would be a bold man who could affirm that we have much freedom of thought in our churches. If you have watched the processes that go on among all theological students, you will agree with me that they are somewhat of the following nature.

The young and ardent student enters with keenness into his theological

studies, but he soon finds that he is continually beating against the bars of his prison, and he quits the theological hall for ever. At this stage, a considerable number of our ablest young men break off. But suppose the able young man to continue. He pursues his Greek and Latin studies after he has left the university. He continues to work at his Hebrew after he has left the Divinity Hall. Probably he goes to Germany and makes himself acquainted with all that is most interesting and stimulating in recent researches. He comes back full of ambition to do something for the theological literature of his country. He works and toils, and at length publishes his first essay. But no sooner is it out than he is denounced as a heretic, as the proclaimer of dangerous doctrines. He is summoned before his presbytery, he is dealt with by his brethren, he undergoes endless worry, and at length he offers a mild recantation, and makes up his mind that henceforth he will be free in his thought, but will not trouble the world with his investigations. The conviction has been branded into his mind that silence is the greatest wisdom, or, if he is to speak at all, he must use the most general phrases, which are as easy to comprehend as it is to grasp mist.

Many efforts have been recently made to strike out in new directions of theology, but all of them have been judiciously, or injudiciously, smothered. Hence we can have no genuine theological literature within ecclesiastical circles, and others have not much inducement or ability to prosecute theological inquiries. The last instance of theological research is so appropriate to my argument that I cannot help alluding to it, although so much has been said on it, that nothing new is left for me to say. Mr. Robertson Smith, from his earliest days, displayed a singular versatility of mind; he found every subject congenial. Accordingly, we find him first mastering the most difficult problems of mathematics and uniting metaphysical and scientific ability. In the regions of physics and mathematics he was allowed to roam undisturbed. No one raised a hue and cry against him because he dared to grapple with Hegel. From the study of science he passed to the study of Hebrew with all the ideas of the genuinely scientific man. He studied Hebrew thoroughly, he entered into all the inquiries which Hebrew scholarship suggests, and then he published his account of the present position of Hebrew scholarship. Immediately there was a cry raised against him. Why? He had never uttered a word that could give the slightest basis for doubting his orthodoxy. His opinions on inspiration were sound. He was true to the dogmas of the Church. He had not said anything even that was inconsistent with the Confession of Faith. What was his offence then? It was that he had studied Hebrew and Hebrew literature according to the scientific or critical method of the nineteenth century. If he was to be a thorough Hebrew scholar, he could do it in no other way. I have not investigated the special opinions which he has promulgated, and he may be right or wrong in regard to them, but they are all

distinctly within the limits of the new method, and it is the method that really formed the centre of attack. That method is exactly the same which we use in dealing with classical literature, and with all ancient literature; and I venture to say that every one who proceeds far enough in the study of Hebrew, Greek, or Latin literature, will henceforth pursue no other method. How did his Church meet the emergency? Did they try to argue with the apostle of the new method? The churches of the first centuries would have selected five or six of the best Hebrew scholars on the other side, and they would have requested them to discuss the matter publicly with Mr. Smith and his associates; and they would have listened patiently till the whole truth should come out. I am not sure, however, that the Churches of modern Scotland could have adopted this process. Would they have found five or six first-rate Hebrew scholars of their number willing to cope with Mr. Smith and his friends? I regard it as the most solemn duty of a learned ministry to be perfectly at home in the languages of Scripture, and I should deem it a duty on the part of the Church far more to libel those who had neglected this most solemn duty, than to libel the man who had undergone all the toil fearlessly and honestly. I am not sure but we have here an illustration of what I mean by the want of a body of competent sympathizers. Men who had sunk down into intellectual indolence, men who had forgotten their Hebrew and their Greek, men who knew nothing of the great theological thinkers of this age, and the great theological movements of the Continent, were unfit to sit in judgment on a man who had been true to his conscience and thorough in his work. And if such were the mass of the Free Church Assembly—a point on which I have no means of forming an opinion—the only verdict that they could pronounce would be that the new learning was dangerous and troublesome, and must be driven away at all hazards. But what if it is driven away? It means that all honest inquiry shall take place outside the Church, that the Church shall become more and more bigoted and ignorant, and that in the end the paganism of unbelievers shall be more tolerant, more honest, more charitable than the so-called Christianity of an ignorant Church, wise in its own conceit.

I come now to the last of the subjects which I shall propose for your consideration; it is somewhat of a political nature, and opens up a region of thought in which it is difficult to walk securely, and in which I confess I but grope my way. But I speak as unto wise men, and wish all that I say to be thoroughly canvassed, that light may be thrown on the facts and the right mode of action. The subject is this: it is a remark frequently heard among men who are deeply interested in political questions that Scotland, though its population shows great intelligence and a lively interest in political matters, does not send up to the House of Commons men that are statesmen, but a body of respectable mediocrities. It does not send, they affirm, men who are able

to take their place beside a large number of English representatives in intellectual and social power, and to mingle in debates on great imperial questions; but mostly prudent and excellent men, who are wise enough to hold their tongues, and a few headstrong men who air their crotchets clumsily, talk a great deal of matter pitched on a low intellectual key, and thus create the idea that Scotland is a land of crotchets and commonplace men. I am not here to discuss how far these remarks are true, although I will say this much—that if there had been high intellectual ability, combined with moral earnestness of purpose, in considerable measure among our Scotch members, I do not understand how Scottish affairs could be neglected. For intellectual power combined with moral earnestness in statesmen has never yet, in my reading of history, failed to command attention. Be this as it may, however, I take the remark as indicating a subject for examination, and as an incitement to inquire if there are not hindrances in this department, which render it difficult for Scotland to rear great statesmen, and to send up men who are equal to most in the House of Commons. Now, in looking into this matter, I find first of all that the limits of selection are very narrow. Every Scotch member except two, in the House of Commons, belongs to one of two classes. He has either been trained to no profession or to a nominal one, or he is a merchant—that is, he has either independent means, or he can leave his business behind, his business being such as to supply him with an ample sum of money, though he is absent from it. There are thirty-two landed proprietors, there are twenty-two merchants, two are nominally doctors, but practically independent gentlemen, two have been soldiers, one was a professor, one was an advocate in Aberdeen, and two are advocates in Edinburgh, the only two that carry on their professional work while acting as Members of Parliament. In one word, the position of Members of Parliament is closed against all who have, by hand or head, to earn their livelihood. It is open only to those who have inherited riches, or who are becoming rich through the labours of others. This, surely, is a great limitation. Let us look further into the matter. I think it a great advantage that there should be in a community a number of men possessed of independent means. It is like so many endowments of research, of the study of politics or of similar pursuits. Now it may be laid down as an axiom that it is scarcely possible for a man to gain a high position among politicians and statesmen who does not make a theoretical and practical study of the science and art of government. It is in the study that clearness of view and loftiness of aim are acquired. It is in society, especially in the society of statesmen, and in the practical work of politics, that the limits of the practical become known, and the statesman ascertains what he may accomplish and what he may not. Men possessed of independent means have good opportunities of preparing themselves for the work of statesmen in both these ways. But if you look at the list of Scottish Members of Parliament,

you will find that the number who have thus prepared themselves are few very few, compared with the number that England furnishes. In fact their going into Parliament seems very much of an afterthought in their career, or an accidental occurrence; and if so, how is it to be expected that they can be a match for men who have made politics their life study, who at an early age have been initiated in the mysteries of office, and who have resolved never to quit the political field till the necessities of old age or death compels them. There is another peculiarity about these members. Twenty-one of them had their entire education in England and nine of them, though at Scotch places of learning, finished their studies in an English University. This would strongly be in their favour if at an early age, they decided to follow out a political career. It seems nothing to say that a young man has passed through *Alex and Oxford*. The young man who has gone from a German Gymnasium to the University is guaranteed as a cultivated man, because he has gone through a process of training in which he is judiciously tested, and at the end pronounced ripe by competent authorities. But a man may go through *Eton and Oxford* without being much the better for it, and, as far as my knowledge enables me to judge, the M.A. degree of *Edinburgh University* is a better guarantee of ability and of the power of rapid assimilation than the Oxford degree. But at the same time it has also to be noticed that the English universities give the willing student much greater opportunity for study than the Scotch. They detain him longer, they give facilities for study under eminent teachers, they supply him with cultivated society, in which wit sharpens wit, and they stimulate him by the discussion of all the topics of the day which interest cultivated society. So much should be in favour of this class of Scotch Members of Parliament, but there is a danger, if the young man has not a very strong character and strong national instincts, that nearly all the Scotch that is in him will evaporate, and he may therefore so far fail to represent Scotch interests and aspirations.

Let us turn to the other class, the class of merchants. Their career has generally been quite different. Thirteen of them have never been at a University. Their learning has been got almost exclusively at Scotch schools. Nearly all of them, therefore, have had no opportunity of equipping themselves fully for their political career. All of them except two are fifty years of age or upwards, and the two are near fifty. They come late, therefore, into the political arena of the House of Commons. Probably they were much occupied with local questions, and their training has taken place through parochial business. How could it be expected that such men in the average should be able to cope with educated statesmen of wide experience? It would be very surprising if men in these circumstances could take large and comprehensive views of statesmanship, or could carve out a new policy or direct the destinies of a nation.

The position of affairs is peculiar and striking. The one essential

requisite for enabling one to become a Scotch representative is wealth, or the occupation of an intermediary in commerce. It is only thus that one can rise in Scotland to any participation in the government of the affairs of town and nation. All those who gain their livelihood by the direct exertion of their own faculties, are practically excluded, and must submit to be governed by the rest. I know no European country in which this is so completely the case as in Scotland. It is an entire change from the past. Socrates had not much more than twenty pounds a year, and yet his poverty did not prevent him from being President of the Athenian Assembly. Many of the most eminent men of antiquity, who swayed the destinies of empires, had incomes not greater than those of an artisan of the present day. In many of the countries of Europe, the poor but able man finds a place in the government of his country; and even in England, partly owing to the circumstance that Parliament sits in London, men who are living by their own activity are able to be members of the House of Commons, and notably there are two artisans who, though possessed of small incomes, have gained the respect of the House by their honesty, their independence, and their genuine patriotism. I wonder sometimes whether this predominance of mere wealth in Scotland, has not produced the peculiar phenomena which present themselves in this country in relation to the working man. The true idea of the State recognizes no such class as the working man. There may be social distinctions, and it may be wise, and it is wise, to observe social distinctions, giving them exactly such value as they deserve. But our constitution recognizes only Queen, Lords, and Commons, and all commoners are peers to each other. But recently our legislature, and especially our legislators take special pains to address themselves to the working man. They pat him on the back. They are willing to provide education for him, but they will not provide education for the middle classes. Some even would soothe him by throwing all endowments into his hands. I think that this attitude assumed towards the working man is degrading to him—that it is one which he should reject with scorn. The man who earns his bread by the skill of his hand, has no reason to shrink from looking any one in the face, and he assumes his true position only when he indignantly refuses every special favour, and demands that he be treated as one of the citizens of a great empire. But it is fair that he should be so treated, and that, if it could be accomplished, the highest offices of the State should be open to him, not as an artisan or a representative of artisans, but as a man capable of doing good service to the community. I intensely sympathize with the idea which Mr. Gladstone has again and again nobly expressed, that it is desirable that the artisan should feel no desire to abandon his art, no desire to rise by becoming an intermediary, but should glory in the thoroughness of his work, and claim a position equal to that of every other man that earns his livelihood by his own exertions. And any

movement that could help him forward in this aspiration, seems to me to deserve the greatest consideration. It appears to me that these intermediaries form one of the difficulties of the case. There is at present a great agitation about land; and, by all means, let the land question have a full discussion. But I think that the labour question presents a much more complicated and more pressing problem. In the case of the land, the tenant pays the landowners, and knows what proportion he is paying to him, and the landlord, at the best, gets a comparatively small percentage on the capital with which the land has been bought. But the intermediary of commerce keeps the money in his own hand, and pays his men, and they do not know how much he has made out of them. And when one sees a merchant live far away from his business, and build magnificent mansions and purchase land out of the profits, one cannot help wondering whether he has not got an enormous percentage on his capital, and whether a good portion of it should not have gone into the hands that toiled hard for it. This is a question for you to consider, whether justice might not be done in this matter, and the artisan enabled to obtain more of what the purchaser pays for the article he has made, and the intermediary be compelled to take less. The affairs of the artisan might in this way become easier, and he himself more ready to act an independent part.

But, besides this, there ought to be a change in the entire spirit of our educational legislation. We ought to know nothing of the working man. The legislation should be for the whole community, and the provisions should be such that highest and lowest might receive the best education for which they are fitted, without difficulty and without class distinctions. I think we have fallen behind other countries in this respect. You have heard a great deal of the educational ladder. No ladder should be required. The road should all be on the plain. Contrast our country with Germany. In this city there was once but one school of higher education, the High School, open to all classes, the Grammar School of the city, free to all who paid a small fee, and admitting many without fee. All met within its walls, rich and poor, and out of it came most of the great men of last century and the beginning of this, that Edinburgh produced. But a change took place. A more fashionable school, and a school with higher culture than a Scotch school could give, was desired, and the Academy was formed. And then a still more fashionable, and a still more English school was desired, and Fettes College came into existence. And then the Merchant Company appeared, and they must have a school lower than the High School. And the Heriot Trustees wished a still lower school, so that all the poor boys of the Heriot fund might herd together. And even with all these institutions, there are boys of great merit who cannot get a good secondary education. Here education is adapted to five different castes of Edinburgh society, and has five different sets of managers. In Germany every

gymnasium has its certain number of vacant places. No poor boy of ability can find the slightest difficulty in getting admission; and the poor boy sits beside the prince and the noble, and learns the same lessons, and they come to know each other, and both are better for the intercourse. In Germany no boy of ability has the slightest difficulty in getting access to the University. The places are open for him. He has but to take his seat among the rest. In France the lectures of the most eminent professors are given at such hours, and in such a style, that all can attend them and all educated persons can understand them. And in Germany, and France, and many other countries the poor boy rises through his education to the highest position of influence and power in his native land. Which is the wiser plan? I, for my part, do not see why, in our own country, similar provision should not be made for the benefit of all classes of the community. There is no reason in the nature of things, why the artisan, still retaining his handicraft, should not continue to cultivate his mind if he has the ability, and why he should not occupy political positions which demand moral and intellectual worth.

I hope none will misunderstand my motive in thus exhibiting the dark side of our national condition. I might present another side to the picture. I could speak of what Scotsmen, by their individual energy, determination, and high qualities, have accomplished in spite of all difficulties. But it is well for us sometimes to look at the dark side. We are peculiarly situated. Our country is far away from the great centres of European thought. We run the risk of falling out of our place among the nations of the earth. The cycle of intellectual heat and fervour may range just a little south of us, and we may be thus left to intellectual torpor, bigotry, and ultimate degradation. None of us would wish this. We should like to see our nation powerful and influential, adding to the knowledge, and virtue, and wisdom of the world; and if this is to be the case, we must rouse ourselves from all deluding dreams of the past; we must throw off all self-conceit, we must dare to look at facts as they are, and fighting boldly with all difficulties, and exerting ourselves to the utmost, we may help to make Scotland a land of true liberty, of great intellectual influence, and of high moral aspiration.

JAMES DONALDSON.

THE IRISH LANDLORDS.

THE troubles of the Irish landlords are now occupying no small place in public interest. Their misfortunes are being painted in striking colours on one side of politics, and along with it their innocence, their helplessness, their remarkable resignation. But starting from this last quality as a very questionable *public* virtue, advocates on the other side are descanting on their listlessness, their apathy, their want of union, as important elements in the present social crisis of Ireland. This latter view was brought prominently before the world by Mr. Gladstone, who stated that the Irish landlords had not given the Government that support which might have been expected from them. It was manifest enough that his sentiments on the question were stronger than his expression of them, and so the challenge was taken up angrily by the landlord organs, who laid all the blame on the Prime Minister himself. You are the man, they exclaimed, who have shackled and bullied and maligned the Irish gentry. You are the man who have swept away their Church, who have destroyed their county influence, who have invaded their territorial rights; and you now venture to complain that they have not been strenuous in your support! They offered advice, and it was scorned; they offered concessions, and they were rejected. The Government chose to rule Ireland in a manner hostile to their interests, and opposed to their principles. Why on earth should they interfere to help such a Government out of its difficulties?

No fallacious argument is so dangerous as that which is based on facts. Most people think that if their premises be true, the conclusion must be true; and for that reason the landlords considered this retort satisfactory. At least as an *argumentum ad hominem* against a Liberal Prime Minister, it appeared to them quite conclusive.

Indeed, the amount of importance attached to this sport in certain counties is not to be understood by people who do not themselves hunt, and who have not studied it closely. It was a dictum of old Sir John Power, who introduced fox-hunting into the County Kilkenny, that all morality and religion are derived from it, and he quoted the example of his own county, in which the gentry had been (according to him) murderers, adulterers, and thieves until he had brought hunting among them. In such counties, not to hunt is the certain sign of a fool or an ass, or whatever other strong term can express human worthlessness. To shoot a fox is regarded as a far more mortal sin than any in the Decalogue. The latter might be condoned, the former never. Many gentlemen are so devoted to this sport, that they regard the summer as merely a disagreeable interruption to hunting. They divert themselves a little with fishing, with shooting (good autumn shooting is rare in Ireland), and lately with lawn tennis. But on the whole it may fairly be said, that they *hibernate* in summer, in order to live again when cub-hunting begins.

This is the sort of person, and this the sport, which the Land League has lately attacked. The farmers have been suborned to object to the necessary trespass of hounds in two ways. They have either notified that they only object to certain persons hunting, and that they will insist on their being prevented. These persons are usually gentlemen who have been active as magistrates or peremptory as landlords. Or else the farmers have more broadly asserted that they will allow no hunting whatever while the Suspects are in gaol. Whenever gentlemen have ventured to disregard these prohibitions, they have been mobbed and pelted, and the hounds attacked either with pitchforks or with poison.

The duty of a master of hounds under such circumstances is as plain as possible. There ought to be no hesitation. That a neighbouring squire, probably a personal friend, should not come out into the hunting-field, when forbidden by people who have *no right* to forbid it, is an insult which should be met with the strongest language at the master's command. Most masters of fox-hounds have some proficiency in that way, and by common consent are allowed to use terms in the field which would be unseemly in the senate-house. If ever the use of such language were not only excusable but praiseworthy, it must be in reply to so insolent a request.

But the farmers, though they have no right to ask it, have power to enforce their views. They can mob the hunt and poison the hounds, and this they do when their more particular request is disregarded, or when they make the general statement that while the Suspects are in prison hunting shall be stopped. What is the duty of the master then? He should at once, and before the outrage takes place (he generally has notice), announce his resignation, and the members of the hunt should back him by a stout declaration that they will not hunt on sufferance, or with exceptions.

In the present crisis more should be done. In those counties where no objection has yet been made, the landlords should at once come together, and resolve that, instead of waiting till they are stopped, they will take the initiative, and discontinue their sport this winter. I am even tempted to suggest that the hounds and horses should be sold for the benefit of distressed landlords, or the money applied to evictions in the district where the hunt has been stopped. The crisis is too great, the future is too serious, for sports to be even thought of. Those who can still afford to hunt ought to be subscribing from their abundance to those in distress. Those who have energy for field sports should apply this energy in magisterial work, in organizing work, in forcing their just claims upon the country. They should be all up and stirring, not to hunt foxes, but to track out conspirators, to protect the defenceless, to support the law.

Is this the course pursued by the Irish landlords? Is it even anything similar? Far from it. The facts, as one gathers them from the newspapers, from one's friends, and from the excuses printed by gentlemen of position, are in melancholy contrast to what should have been expected—at least to what should have been expected from people of the antecedents and professions of the hunting landlords. In some counties the unpopular men volunteer to stay at home, in order to allow their friends' sport to continue. This course, though very considerate on the part of the unpopular men, and not in any way disgraceful, is thoroughly impolitic, and has the appearance of cowardice. It is a submission to the illegal dictates of the mob; it is on the part of their friends very like an abandoning of fellow sportsmen for the sake of their own sport. In any case it was a miserable staving off the evil day, for everyone could predict that matters would not stop there, and that the "liberation of the Suspects" would presently be brought to bear on all the rest.

But so far there was no public meanness, no exhibition of selfishness.

There were other counties in which the unpopular men were requested not to hunt, and this request was either made or acquiesced in by the actual members of the hunt! We are now reaching a deeper and lower state of social morality. On account of what was called their unpopularity, a number of gentlemen were invited by their fellows to abandon their sport. The real reasons, if declared—and they are well-known—make the matter worse. These men had been active in supporting the law, or in asserting for themselves and others their legal rights.

We are still far from the climax. So far it is only meanness and cowardice; we have not yet arrived at selfish dishonesty.

But when it was seen that the tenants were in earnest with their policy, there were meetings called by the landlords, to endeavour to effect a compromise, and see whether their favourite sport could not be maintained. At these meetings the arguments of the landlords were tolerably uniform. They at first professed the greatest goodwill and

friendship for the tenant classes. That was accepted for what it was worth. They next urged the farmers to consider the immense losses the counties would suffer, if all the hunting establishments were broken up. No end of money would leave the country. The price of horses and fodder would fall. All the farming classes would suffer terribly. To this argument the Land League people stoutly replied that they had considered the loss, and were ready to bear it; that when their relations were languishing in prison they would not tolerate amusement. They charged the county gentlemen with having furnished the Castle with evidence and advice about the Suspects. In fact, they would have no compromise.

If the gentlemen had broken off even here it might have been tolerable. They had appealed to the interests of the people, and the people had replied that they cared not about their interests, but about principles. This was an ugly rejoinder indeed. But what followed? Some gentlemen, magistrates, men of property, began to disclaim any share in the action of the Government. They had not suggested any names to Mr. Forster. They had not asked for additional police. On the contrary they grieved at seeing the prisons full, and hoped to see peace and harmony restored. These statements were either false, or showed the most reckless indifference to the state of the country. Either these magistrates had done their duty in sending all the evidence they could to the Castle, in advising constantly on the state of their county, in pointing out the "village ruffians" who ought to be imprisoned, or they had done nothing. In either case they should be deprived of their commission--if the former, for mendacity; if the latter, for criminal negligence.

But we may console ourselves that this time punishment was not slow, or exposure long delayed. Forthwith, upon these declarations, the tenants drew from their pockets petitions for the release of the Suspects, and called upon the friendly magistrates, who sympathized so deeply with the prisoners, to sign them. Here was a real dilemma. All the touting for popularity had failed. What remained as a subterfuge? Shuffling, sneaking, and prevaricating. Let us look, they asked, at the terms of the petition. After all the meeting has been called about hunting, and not about the Suspects. Let us have time to consider. With some qualifications, such as a due regard to the safety and peace of the country, they would agree to sign. And then in some places the tenant members of the meeting were allowed to pass resolutions of a similar character to their petitions, and the landlords sat by in silence, if they did not formally acquiesce.

Of course all this shocking degradation did them no good; their hunting was stopped by the people, and by the sounder gentlemen, who must have looked on with no small indignation. They had disgraced themselves, and got nothing by it.

But as if all this was not enough, some of them, when attacked by the

public press, committed the inconceivable blunder of defending themselves by more prevarication and absurdity. One of them, a leading man in his county, says that the meeting at which he was present, of which a landlord was chairman, and at which two landlords spoke, was not a meeting of the hunt; and that though present, he is not responsible for what occurred! Yet he was present when disloyal resolutions were passed, when his brother landlords were coquetting with sedition, and said nothing! He reminds us of the people found in the forefront of Irish riots, who always protest that they were there by accident, and in no way responsible. The excuses of another landlord present, who actually spoke, were couched in such confused language that one is disposed to relieve him of most of his moral responsibility. So far he has defended himself with success.

These exhibitions of incompetence and folly took place most recently, and prominently, in the County Kildare—a county hitherto remarkable for a large and influential gentry. It is difficult to conceive how, for the sake of a mere amusement, they should have so completely forgotten what was due to themselves and to their order. We are told that only a hunting man can understand the importance of this sport, and how much is lost by its abolition. It is indeed very true that they lose a great deal, nay, even more, than they confessed. When urging upon the farmers the pecuniary advantages of hunting, one might have imagined that all the profits went to the lower classes. They kept in the background the fact that many country seats are now let for high rents, which will lie empty this winter, and that some of the poorer gentry counted on this subsidy, for they moved elsewhere and let their places. It is also well-known that horse-dealing is not confined to the tenants, but is another source of profit to many members of the hunt. So that, as regards pecuniary loss, the landlords were probably so much afraid of it themselves that they thought it the strongest argument wherewith to convince others.

But let us put this aside; let us imagine that pure love of sport actuated them, and that we who do not hunt are incapable of understanding how completely it engrosses the human mind. Thus, an honourable man, who in a southern county rose up and said, at a meeting of the hunt, that—not as a hunting man, but as a gentleman—he must protest against playing with treason, was met by the retort that he never mounted a horse himself! We need not pause over the logic of such a retort. We need only say that if the effect of the noble sport of fox-hunting is to produce this sort of feeling, and this kind of action, the sooner a man can assert that he never followed hounds the better for him. He will have a right indeed to speak as a gentleman, not as a hunting man.

Of course this pursuit is not so uniformly depraving. There are many free and noble gentlemen through Ireland who pursue foxes, and have not embarked their honour in the business. There are counties in Ireland where all attempts at currying favour with the seditious were

laughed to scorn, and where hitting was abandoned without any disgraceful negotiations. But these negotiations were frequent and general enough to bring us to serious occasions about the landlords. Are they indeed malignant passions standing aside in silent rage from the conflict of the Government and the Land League, anxious and ready to stand by the cause of law and order? Have we not rather before us the latest and the most public instance of what everybody has been saying for two years back, that the landlords are running their cause—a very strong and just cause—by selfishness and apathy?

They were attacked by a powerful and distinguished organization. They were assailed by young Irish rebels and by some misguided English radicals. Every kind of misrepresentation was made concerning them, every sort of abuse started to against them. What did they do to protect themselves? They remained silent, separate, perplexed. With scarce funds at their disposal, they made no attempt at a strong and central united-organization: the partial efforts of 171 associations, started by a small number of men, received no general support. Every man who was still unassailed waited to see whether he would himself escape. If you asked them why they did not call meetings, and propose some joint action, they said money would stand. They had their views stated in meetings by the Conservative Members in Parliament, and by the *Daily Express*. Some of them went as far as to pen a letter to their agent, making complaints. But what as a class, the landlords have spent better time and money in defending themselves. They say they expected Government to do it: as a matter of fact they were waiting and hoping for somebody, anybody, anything, to intervene which would save them any measure of public scorn and public self-derision and leave them in their holes.

They are very ready to say, 'What could we do?' We live isolated through the country: we could not leave our houses without danger to ourselves, exposed to our families at home. If we had resisted with arms, and shot any one who assailed us, we should forthwith have been found guilty of murder by the jury and perhaps hanged without any interference of the Government. Now even if all this were strictly true, it is a great mass of people must not regard expense or danger as obstacles. They must be ready to stake their lives: they must run risks for their families. They are not likely to overcome such an enemy without risk and danger. And now instead of making a good fight, and losing (if they lost) in a good cause, they see themselves staring them in the face, while they are rapidly losing the sympathy of their former friends. What they say then, 'What should we do?' the answer is, Pay money and organize. Pay some poor pretty expenses and support your order in the country: even if you double the persons assailed. The Land League, with its usual resources, selected at first 11,000 names for Boycotting. Its leaders allow they felt that person double was quite sufficient to stop any effective aid. The landlord neighbours said: Serve him

right: we always knew he was a bad fellow. But presently their own turn came. So they were taken in detail, and in many cases conquered one by one.

Even those who were really unable to help in organizing had a strong weapon left in their hands. They could scream. Nay, more, they were bound to scream. They were bound to appeal through the great English papers to the power and justice of the English people. Take the case of Mr. Bruce Jones. He screamed right loud and lustily when they endeavoured to plunder and ruin him. His case excited the attention of the whole nation. Take the case of Captain Boycott. He screamed also, not in the *Town Herald*, or the *Skibberreen Eagle*, but in the *Times*. What followed? He enlisted the sympathy of the whole English people. He obtained an army to protect him. He even wielded a power which the Roman Emperor sought for in vain; he added a new word to his mother tongue. There are many far worse cases kept in silence, or disclosed in a few lines to some local paper. We hear now that ladies of respectability have been obliged to seek admission to the workhouse, owing to the prevailing national dishonesty. It is through false shame, or a craven spirit, that these cases are kept secret. They should be flaunted in the open day, and cast up to the Land League as the results of its teaching.

A proper and systematic organization must discover many other means of action. The interests of the labourers, which are at variance with those of the tenants, should have been proclaimed by placards on every wall in Ireland, not merely in learned pamphlets or platform speeches. Above all, the local magistrates should either have been willing to risk their lives in administering the law, or they should have resigned their commissions. In thousands of cases the cowardice of the local bench has thwarted the cause of justice. Men think of their personal safety, nay, of their popularity, when their all is at stake. It is hard to keep patience when these things are brought perpetually before us. If one magistrate is active and conscientious, the chances are that his brother-magistrates will carefully disclaim any sympathy with him, and separate themselves, if possible, from his danger, certainly from his deserts. The cowardice of the lower classes, who are kept in awe by a small band of ruffians, is spreading to the landlords, and leavening the whole of Ireland with its fatal effects.

The causes of this incompetence among the Irish landlords are not far to seek, and are worth a short inquiry, to show how far, in a large historical sense, they have any real value in the country, or how far their abolition, though accompanied with much injustice and hardship, might ultimately benefit the country. An advanced Radical historian said to me that whether a few hundred landlords were shot or ruined was a very little matter, if the great land problem could be finally solved. This is a hard and unjust saying, and one which no Government ought to entertain; but there is historic truth in it nevertheless.

Let us see of what various classes the Irish landlords are really composed. And at first sight, what strikes us as an element of weakness is their great variety. They differ in income, of course; but also in traditions, in religion, and in policy. No doubt this is one cause of their want of union. We have first of all the great territorial lords, who, whether they are Irish or not, spend much of their time in England and abroad. These are the principal absentees, who earn the scurrilous abuse of the patriot orators, for sending their sons to English public schools, for keeping residences in London, for "carrying off the money of the country," as an Irish orator recently declared, "to spend it in Rotten Row and other low haunts of vice." In spite of these denunciations, the so-called absentees of this class are the best landlords in Ireland. There are, no doubt, a few scandalous cases of men drawing £10,000 or £12,000 from Irish estates without having even a lodge upon them to live in, and without ever thinking of the improvement of their tenantry. These people will have their reward; and it is highly unjust to extend the censure due to them over the whole class of absentees who are really good and considerate landlords. The rich owner can afford large charities, he can make large outlays promising distant returns, he can make allowances in bad years. He generally has a home farm, which is a model to the surrounding country; the best kind of agriculture, the best breeds of cattle, the newest machinery, are to be found there. The people are taught by example to see what intelligence and thrift can produce from land. And yet this is the class called upon to sell, denounced as strangers and aliens, spoken of as the dark feature of Irish landlordism!

Compare them for a moment with the petty squireens, owning from £100 to £500 a year in land. These people live all their lives on or about their property; they have neither the means nor the desire to leave it. They are obliged to extract the uttermost farthing to keep themselves alive. If a bad year comes, or any sudden misfortune supervenes, they have no means to afford charity, no margin of income to forgive rent or make reductions. They are indeed resident, but like horse-leeches, on their estate. Would to Heaven they were absentees! And yet this is the class which is likely to increase in Ireland; this is the sort of man who will be developed out of the tenant proprietor. The man who buys out his landlord may work; his son will turn petty landlord, and what kind of landlord will he make?

Intermediate between these extremes we have a large class of men with incomes varying from a modest competence to considerable wealth. But the proper distinction is not one of money. It is one of tradition. The majority have inherited their land, and with it a traditional way of managing it. Their tenants are personally attached to them, and they reciprocate the feeling. In most cases these men are indulgent in money matters, too indulgent in other respects; for they are not only ready to forgive rent and tolerate arrears to a degree very mischievous

for their dependants, they also condone and overlook all kinds of thriftlessness and idleness in their tenants. Hence it is that scandalously bad farming pervades the country. Possibly half the natural wealth of the country is lost by dirty and slovenly farming—I mean the tolerating of weeds, dilatoriness in sowing and ploughing, waste of ground in ditches, incessant church holidays, and the like. The whole nation is thriftless and idle, and desires to be at the same time rich and comfortable. It will puzzle even the present "Cabinet of talents" to devise laws for curing such a condition of things.

Together with this amiable, but not stirring and vigorous class, we find a smaller and more active class of landlords, who are commonly called "land-jobbers," because they have lately bought their estates from the decayed gentry, and bought them as a business speculation. In most cases they bought cheaply; they found the estates under-rented, or else they found people willing to pay a higher rent. They had their newly-acquired estates re-valued, and insisted on receiving the full return for their bargain. These are the men who have made the loudest outcry against recent legislation, because they purchased on the security of the Government; they can state exactly what they laid out, and they can call any interference now a breach of contract on the part of the State. This clearness and definiteness of their case has made them seem to the English public worse treated than their neighbours, and yet they ought not to claim one tithe of the sympathy. They have come as strangers to the district, or have started up from the lower classes by successful dealing; they do not know, or they ignore, the traditions of the estate; they have no old friendship or respect for the tenants. They are merely driving a hard bargain, and generally carrying out a very successful speculation. If we consider the curious contrasts, the great divisions of class of sympathy and traditions among these various classes, it strikes us as natural that there should be little unity of action among them. The "old stock" of the country look down with contempt on the new comers, whose harshness and want of consideration has perhaps brought on the whole land question, but who at all events have afforded the Land League all their really strong cases. These people have evicted and expatriated in some cases the old tenants, and raised a storm of indignation against themselves by stoutly putting down idleness and debt. They have acted harshly, if not unfairly, and therefore the old squires hate them, and will not join with them in any action. The great lord and the poor squireen are too far apart in fortune and interests to meet on a common ground. If the latter—as is rarely the case—has the stronger character, he will not assert it against the county magnate. It is not therefore natural that the Irish landlords should combine in joint action, unless one of two conditions supervenes. The first is a strong organization, started independently of them, and having its branches and emissaries all over the country. This method has been followed by the Land League, which has not only framed such

an organization, but has carried it through by appealing to the most universal spring of action in the Irish peasant—the desire to keep his money for his own use—and by enforcing their behests through terrorism. Issuing an order in itself most agreeable to the people—Pay no debts—they have enforced it in the simplest way, by shooting the man who disobeys.

It is impossible to unite the landlords so easily, for the first demand must be: Contribute to a general fund; and this must be enforced, not by violence, but by persuasion. There was only one class of gentry throughout the country who could have worked such an organization easily, and persuaded the landlords to join it—I mean the old clergy of the Established Church. They were themselves squires or the sons of squires; they were connected with the county families; they were looked up to by all classes as men of education and importance. These men could have done a great deal in the present crisis. But they have been swept away by the Disestablishment, and, still more, by the Disendowment of their Church, which reduced their incomes, degraded their status, and above all, abolished, in most cases, the comfortable rectories which were the place of meeting for the surrounding gentry. Among the losses sustained by Ireland owing to recent legislation, there is probably none so disastrous as the expulsion of this, the most enlightened and educated class of country gentlemen, and the only gentlemen whose residence was permanent and even compulsory. Their disappearance has been an irreparable loss to Irish society, for with them have disappeared many laymen who had a taste for educated life, and who have gone to seek it in cities or foreign countries.

This leads us to the second condition which might have worked out a spirit of union in the landlords. In spite of the disappearance of the most educated class, the old country parsons, the general education of the landlords might have so improved with the age, that they would reflect upon public affairs, see the evil day approaching, and enter into a Defence Association with a strong feeling of public spirit. It is this public spirit which is the surest proof of education, if it shows itself readily, and without the compulsion of fear or necessity. But alas! instead of improving, it is a melancholy fact that the education of the country gentleman is rapidly disappearing. I will not say that many Irish gentlemen do not see the value of education, and train their sons carefully. But if they do, the young men go off to professions, they scatter through the world, and those who remain at home are the idle and good-for-nothing, who think they can live by amateur farming and mis-managing agency business, till they succeed to their property, when they will do little but hunt, and pass their time in idleness at home. It is a notable fact, that while formerly the gentry of Ireland were, as a rule, educated in Trinity College, that University is now at a loss to find any man of intelligence and position belonging to this class, when its seats in Parliament are vacant. Such a candidate would be greatly

preferred to the successful lawyers, who seldom make independent representatives. This may be said without offence at the present moment, when two brilliant exceptions to the rule happen to be the sitting members. In any case the fact remains, that the Irish gentry do not seek a university education in Ireland.

But there are loud complaints that they send their sons to Oxford and Cambridge. I earnestly wish they did. The fact is they send them nowhere. The number of Irish boys at English schools is very small; the number of Irish lads at the English universities is far smaller still. It is a common thing in Ireland for the sons of respectable parents to learn nothing till they are twelve years old; then they are sent to school, and expected to know enough at sixteen. A friend who went to a leading Irish school a few years ago, as a young boy, told me his first surprise was to find that the senior boys wore whiskers and moustaches. "What," said I, "kept such lads there? I suppose they were preparing for some military or civil service competition." "Not at all," he replied, "*most of them are learning to read.*" Every sort of excuse is adopted to delay the boy's going to school. He is supposed to be delicate; his mother would break her heart. After all, hasn't he time enough? He hasn't to earn his bread like poor people? What good are books? They ruin most men. Look at Gladstone, they say; he's a regular book-worm, and of all the—— I will not venture to finish the sentence. The necessity of paying ready money for the boys' keep also lies in the background, an unexpressed but not less powerful motive. So it comes that many, very many, of the Irish landlords have only the rudest elements of an education. They never read a book. The splendid libraries so common before the famine times, are scattered, and it is now an exception to find a good library in any country-house. They tell you it is no longer needed; have they not their daily papers, and can they not get books down from a lending library in Dublin? This last argument is perhaps specious; it is of all the excuses the most delusive and the greatest snare. As to the libraries, if they do subscribe, and that is by no means very general, they occasionally get a box of books selected for them in the library—the scum and sweepings of the enormous literature now issuing from the press. If lively novels are among them, they are perhaps read; no serious book is ever opened, except to shut it with a malediction on the Dublin man for sending down such stuff.

But then they do really read their daily papers; and is not that in itself an education? I will not add to the many panegyrics of the daily press, and still less will I attempt to expose them, lest I should find myself in conflict with that many-headed hydra. But this much I will venture. Reading newspapers is a task of no small difficulty. You take up one paper after another, and you find them strangely inconsistent. Nay, there have been cases known where the same newspaper has pronounced oracles of opposite and

contradictory import. If the reader is to weigh and judge between the inconsistent declarations of various organs, then he must have some independent knowledge, he must read something else than his daily paper, he must learn to think that what is in print is not infallible. Otherwise he must simply follow it as a guide, and this is ordinarily the case with the people under discussion. They subscribe to what they think a safe and sound paper, meaning by sound, what upholds their traditionally acquired views, often at the sacrifice of common sense and of common honesty, and to this they adhere. Yet sometimes this course leads to curious results. I will illustrate it by an anecdote. An old M.P., who resides now in Dublin, revisited, some time ago, the county which he had represented in Parliament, and upon going into the county club—an exceedingly Tory club—saw on the table the *Pall Mall Gazette*. As the paper had passed for more than six months into the hands of Mr. Morley as editor, and was producing almost daily his well-known articles on the Irish Land Question, my friend asked some members present, how it was that they still took in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. They answered: Of course; why not? the best and ablest Conservative paper; it always expresses our views precisely. He asked them had they observed nothing odd about it lately? Had they read the articles on the Land Question? They said they had, but had noticed nothing strange. At last one man said, more for the sake of appearing as shrewd as the questioner, than from any other motive—"Yes, by the way, now that you mention it, I did think there was something odd about one of the articles I read lately. But, of course, as it was the *Pall Mall*, I knew it was all right!" . . .

These are the men educated by reading newspapers only. These are the men expected to combine with public spirit and protect one another from impending ruin. I will venture to assert that the man who reads newspapers only, not only remains perfectly ignorant; he labours under this additional delusion, that when he sees his views strongly stated in his daily paper, he fancies that all is done that can be done. Why should he attend meetings, and labour to collect subscriptions? is it not all put in the paper better than he can put it? Then he reads his article, grumbles at the Government, but will take no active step in advance. There is no surer cause of want of union, and want of public spirit, than this lamentable ignorance.

It is well known that the first effect of civilization is to bring men together, and create a common feeling of common advantage and common wrong. It is the savage, the godless Cyclops, who rules his family and slaves, and cares not a straw for anything beyond. In the same sort of sense, though in very different circumstances, the Irish squireen cares only for his family, his farm, his amusements; he has no knowledge or interests beyond them. Ask him to attend meetings, or to go round the country and collect money; he will tell you he has no time; why can't somebody else do it? he has no ready money; his own tenants and he are

on the best of terms; why should he help unpopular people who can't manage better? Presently his own turn comes; he is then helpless; he has lived in isolation from the wants and sympathies of the neighbouring squires; of course he can expect no help. He has his pride, too, and will not confess his distress; often his timidity is intensified by feeling that in his isolation his family are in danger, and that his first duty is to protect them. Hence he remains at home, a great sufferer, ruined by an unjust and illegal conspiracy, but still at first unwilling, and presently unable to do anything in the support of law and order.

The great and permanent cause of this condition of things is the want of education. How often, when I have been urging on parents the necessity of sending a boy to school, have I heard the fatal formula, "He doesn't require to work," expressed in a tone of assumed modesty, as if I had made a social blunder, by presuming that the boy was, like myself, obliged to work for his livelihood. "What does he want with education?" said an old lady to me once, in the same connection; "isn't he a fine handsome boy, and can't I keep him till he grows up? Then he will go over to England, and *some rich lady will treat herself to him.*" She had before her eyes a case in point, where an Irish adventurer of the neighbourhood had secured a large fortune. So long as any class honour idleness more than work, it is only by stern necessity that they must be taught the fatal error of such a notion. There are curious indications that now at last there is a change. During these two years of great depression, when everyone is complaining of poverty, when the landlords receive no rents, and the shopkeepers lose their custom, the number of students on the books of Trinity College, Dublin, has increased beyond the record of the last thirty years. The classes which have held back their rents are not the classes who have caused this increase. They are far below the need of University education, and in any case an influx from among them would at once show itself in an increasing number of Roman Catholics. From whence then comes this curious increase, so contrary to all expectation? There seems no other explanation than this, that people who, when in affluence, despised education, now foresee that their sons must work, or may have to work to earn their bread, and so they feel compelled to educate them. If this be the true explanation, it is one of the strangest results of the Land agitation.

I have thus endeavoured to answer the question how far the Irish landlords are to be blamed for want of spirit and union in asserting their rights. It is said, that though the Irish Government is now prepared to support them with unlimited military protection in carrying out their ejections, they are hanging back and delaying to take advantage of this support, offered, indeed, tardily, but still offered to them with unsparing hand. If this be so, it is only a confirmation of what is here maintained, that the Irish landlords are wanting in public spirit and vigour mainly because they are wanting in education, and that they have failed to foresee the calamities which every sensible man could

safely predict. I have a Home Rule friend who insists that it all dates from the year 1800, when the Irish gentry sold their right of self-government to England, and handed over their public interests to the Imperial Parliament. This may be so, but it is more practical to insist upon the immediate, than the remote cause, and to understand clearly the present condition of the question.

It is a very disagreeable and thankless task for an independent witness to give his evidence on such matters. On the one hand, the landlords have been grossly and unjustly maligned for tyranny and oppression—such crimes are rare among them. On the other, they have been treated as men thrust into their position by circumstances without any blame or responsibility on their part, and suffering the wrongs brought upon them by an incompetent Government and a disloyal rabble. Both these pictures are exaggerated, and neither of them touch the deeper causes of the landlords' failure, which I have endeavoured to set forth.

I know very well that my picture, too, will be called exaggerated, for it were easy to point out in most counties of Ireland men of intelligence and vigour, who see the coming evil, and have both high principle and public spirit enough to fight the battle like men. No praise given to such landlords in these days is excessive, for it is perfectly true that the difficulties under which they labour are great and perplexing, and often enough to tempt them to sit down in despair. But it is in the interest of these men to make it known that their greatest and most melancholy difficulty is their isolation—not territorially, though that, too, is often no small obstacle—but socially, in the midst of a majority who think it enough to rail at the Government, and even refuse to aid any public action because they will not help the rulers of the country out of the scrape. This plea has been often put forward by landlords when they were asked to subscribe to a common fund; so often, that some people are persuaded that it is a real motive. But the fact is, that apathy and selfishness will lay hold of any specious argument, and there is no more favourite way of refusing an appeal for money than getting into an irrelevant rage. For the scrape, whoever caused it, is now a terrible scrape, into which the landlords have fallen, and from which they must escape whether the Liberal Government is to blame or not. No man seriously intends to be ruined for the purpose of disgracing the management of the country.

It may be said that to expose the weakness of the loyal, or passively loyal, side is itself a mischief. It may be called a gratuitous injury to attack the unfortunate landlords, who are already in so evil a plight. This objection would indeed be a valid one if the battle were over, and the landlords finally defeated. But this is very far from being the case. Now that we at last have a Government, able and willing to give every kind of assistance to the landlords; if even now they would be up and stirring, they have resources and power to crush the Land League

in Ireland. It is reported in the papers that an appeal to their order to subscribe one-half per cent. ($\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. !) has brought in less than £17,000, and they now appeal for donations from England. The Irish appeal, if properly circulated and properly responded to, should have brought in £100,000. If the shopkeeping classes, who are now suffering from the growing dishonesty of the tenants, had been likewise appealed to, any deficiencies in the case of really indigent landlords could easily have been made good. Men of wealth, and owners of large English estates, would of course be expected to contribute more. With a capital of £150,000, a properly organized Defence Association could select a large estate, incur the heavy costs of clearing it by selling out the tenants, and purge it absolutely of disloyal and dishonest people. They could obtain any military force requisite to enforce the ejectments and hold the land. If this were carried out in a very few counties, it is the opinion of every man who knows Ireland, that the rest would water, pay their rents in most cases, and leave the small residue easy to be conquered or expelled. This is what the landlords have it still in their power to do. It requires self-sacrifice, confidence in the management of affairs, a surrender of private spite and party feeling—in fact, public spirit instead of wretched apathy and isolation. I will not venture to predict the result of such an appeal, publicly made, and so made that those who refuse or stand aloof shall be known and held up to national censure. We know well, if we study history, that when the failure of a race or of a class arises from accidental causes, it is but temporary, and a great trial often brings out the strength and purity of the race. If, on the other hand, any race or class fails from inherent vices, then the strain of adversity discovers all that is weak and rotten, and the wonder is how it lasted so long. This is the kind of crisis through which the landlords are now passing, and the result, whatever it is to be, is not very far distant.

There ought to be but little chance of offending those censured in this article, if the statement be true, that they read nothing beyond their daily paper. But I am not safe from their displeasure, which is truly to be deprecated, as the Irish daily papers may do me the honour of printing extracts from this article, and so they may be led to believe that I am attacking their rights in doubting the justice of their cause. I earnestly request, therefore, that if any adverse judgments on the landlords be quoted, this, too, may not be omitted. No man can doubt for a moment that in many cases the Irish landlords have been treated with harshness and apparent injustice, not only by illegal and unreasonable societies, but by the State. Whether the State can allege necessity as an excuse for such action or not, the facts remain. Under these circumstances, there is the greatest possible justification to stand clear of a public action, and endeavour to show, as is consequently the legal justice or weakness of recent legislation. In this connection, many Irish landlords have been led away, or imagine themselves misled, by a policy of passive

isolation. This suicidal policy ought at once to be abandoned. I believe there are in every county—indeed, I myself know in many counties—men of education and intelligence who can lead them. If the rest are not ignorant, or selfish, or addicted to hunting only, let them falsify the impression now growing up against them, by prompt and combined action. But if they fail to do this, they must be prepared for many hard words, and the hardest from their truest and sincerest friends.

Their case is, we all know, a difficult one. They have been led on from month to month, hoping for a change. There are to be found among them splendid examples of forbearance, and of generosity in the face of base ingratitude. Many of them have been grossly misrepresented, as was the case with a bold and fearless hunting man in Kilkenny, who was reported to have said exactly what he did not say. But all this isolated virtue is of no avail without public spirit. It will only make the fall of the landlords more tragic, their ruin a deeper historical lesson.

J. P. MAHAFY.

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION.

THE pending discussion on agricultural questions has produced at least two publications which in different ways are of exceptional value. One of these is the address of Mr. Caird, in November, 1881, to the Statistical Society; the other is the essay on "Profitable Clay Farming," by Mr. John Prout. The last of these was the first published, but I put it in the second place here because the paper of Mr. Caird establishes certain general facts which enable us to estimate better the value of the more detailed and particular facts which are vouched for by Mr. Prout. Mr. Caird points out, upon indisputable evidence, that whatever may be the cause of agricultural depression in Great Britain, that cause certainly is not any general fall in the prices of agricultural produce; whilst Mr. Prout proves, or endeavours to prove, that even as regards the one great leading article of that produce which has fallen in price—namely, wheat—it can still be made the subject of very highly profitable farming.

Upon these two facts, and upon the evidence by which they are supported, we can take our stand in the Babel of tongues around us, as upon some morsel of solid ground in the middle of an Irish bog. It is wonderful what a wide horizon opens around us when we can get our heads a little above the dead levels of panic and declamation. Let us look a little more closely at the facts and the evidence thus put before us.

Taking, then, the twenty years from 1860 to 1880, Mr. Caird shows us that during the last five years of that period, as compared with the first five years, there are only three out of twelve great articles of foreign import, competing with the same or similar articles of home agricultural produce, which have shown any diminution in price. These three articles are wheat, and wool, and bacon. Of these, the heaviest fall has been in

wool, amounting to 10 per cent. The fall in bacon has been 7 per cent.; whilst on wheat, of which we hear so much, it has only been 4 per cent. On the other hand, the remaining nine articles of imported produce which compete with our own have, every one of them, largely increased instead of showing any—even the least—diminution in price. According to Mr. Caird's table, live cattle have increased in value by 16 per cent.; sheep by 15 per cent.; dead meat by 13 per cent. The two great articles of dairy produce—butter and cheese—have increased in price respectively 16 and 8 per cent. In like manner, the two great cereals, which are the staple crops of very large areas of the arable land in all the Three Kingdoms, and are almost the only cereals produced in two of them—oats and barley—have increased in price by 14 and 10 per cent., whilst potatoes have also risen 10 per cent. in value.

Remarkable as this great rise of price is in all the largest items of agricultural produce except wheat and wool, it is much more remarkable when we observe that it has been a rise in price attained in spite of an increase of importation so enormous as to appear almost incredible. Comparing again the same two quinquennial periods, 1860–1864 and 1875–1879, the quantity of live cattle imported has increased 90 per cent.; of sheep, 150 per cent.; of dead meat, 220 per cent.; of cheese, 135 per cent.; of butter, 75 per cent.; and so on. But this increase, when estimated by percentages, does not come home to us so well as when it is given in the actual figures of the increase. For example, during the first five years the number of sheep imported into this country fell considerably short of two millions; the number imported during the last five years is nearly four and three-quarters millions. In like manner the live cattle rose from 692,185 to 1,237,683; the dead meat from 2,222,089 cwt. to 7,226,621 cwt. In wheat the increase of importation has been about 126,000,000 cwt., or 75 per cent., although, as already mentioned, the corresponding fall in price has been only 4 per cent. And then, besides all this enormous increase in the import of articles which we produce at home, there has been also a prodigious increase in the import of an article which, indeed, cannot be produced at home, but which indirectly competes with home cereals in being used as a substitute—and that is maize, or Indian corn. The import of this article has risen in the last five years, as compared with the first, from 52,000,000 cwt. to 170,000,000 cwt.—an increase of 225 per cent.—and this rate of importation is rising every year. In 1880, which is not included in Mr. Caird's table, the import of Indian corn and meal has been thirty-seven and a quarter millions of cwts., a rate of import which would be the amount for five years from 170,000,000 to more than 189,000,000 cwt. Of wheat and wheat-flour the import during the last year, 1880, been about sixty-five and three-quarters millions of cwts., representing a value of above thirty-nine and a quarter millions of pounds sterling; whilst of oats and barley the import has been above twenty-

five and a half millions of cwts., representing a value of nearly £10,000,000.*

These are amazing figures. They strike me all the more from some circumstances of personal experience. It is now thirty-five years ago since I was obliged to devote close attention to the management and improvement of land. The potato failure had produced severe distress in some parts of the West Highlands, as well as in Ireland. The abolition of the duties on foreign corn spread discouragement and alarm among those who had been accustomed to rely on the protection they afforded. I was myself convinced of the justice and necessity of the measures of Sir Robert Peel. I had, however, a friend and adviser who was a strong Protectionist, but who was also a man of exceptional ability and knowledge in agricultural matters, and of exceptional energy in adopting every new resource which skill and science could suggest. He was at that time convinced that unrestricted imports from all foreign countries would prove to be incompatible with the maintenance of prices remunerative to the British farmer. Over and over again he told me then, and at intervals in later years, that the value of land in this country must come down. But the speculations of the Politician were always overborne by the instincts of the Improver. The ruin of agriculture was always in the future; a fair return for outlay was always in immediate prospect. On his own property, and on mine, which was under his management, he adopted and advised large and systematic expenditure on building and on drainage. Four, five, and, in some cases, more than six years' rental of a farm was spent on these improvements at the beginning of every new lease. An intelligent body of tenantry, recruited under perfect freedom of contract and of competition, asked what they wanted, counted on what they asked, and offered on these data what they calculated they could afford. New blood was thus often introduced, whilst old blood was kept and strengthened in the bracing air of a healthy freedom. Men whose families have been where they now are for 250 years, work side by side with men who were strangers yesterday. During thirty years of steady perseverance in this course of management, my friend saw the whole face of an extensive district changed. He lived to enlarge greatly his own fortune by the sagacious purchase and improvement of land. He introduced the most successful dairy farming in an island where no such enterprise had been thought of before. The ruling passion was strong even at the gates of death, and he left his body to be buried by the side of a moss which he had reclaimed.

And now, looking back to the fears which he never wholly lost, but under which he never for a moment stopped his work, I can see that he was right in one thing, and wrong in another. He was right in his predictions of enormous imports. He was right in his estimate of the increasing proportion in which the population of this country would

* Agricultural Returns Board of Trade, for 1881.

become "dependent on the foreigner." But he was wrong in his prediction of the fall in values, which he assumed to be an inevitable consequence. To the last, like other Protectionists, he ascribed the postponement of these consequences to any cause except the true one—and especially to the increased production of gold from California and Australia. The real cause we can now clearly see: it is the enormously increased consumption which has run parallel with the stimulus given to industry, and with a corresponding growth of population. It is the old story—old as the human race, but only recognized in recent times as a principle which accounts for many curious facts. It is an exemplification of the great law proclaimed by Malthus, that population is always pressing on the limits of subsistence. Enlarge these means and there will inevitably be a corresponding enlargement of the population, and a more than corresponding increase of consumption. This increase of consumption will arise both from there being more people to feed, and from the same number of people eating more and better food, or from a combination of both these causes. Where a very low standard of living has been long established, and when the abundance of food is of a corresponding character, as where millions depended on the potato, the mere multiplication of numbers may be the only cause of the increased consumption. But when the standard of living has never been so low, and where the food which becomes abundant is of high and various quality, then the increase in consuming power is a real indication of the increase of wealth and of the growth of comfort. This is our case. There has been a great increase of population during the last thirty years, an increase of nearly eight and a half millions since 1851; but it has been an increase in the number of people who are accustomed to a higher standard of living, and who every year, with, perhaps, a few intervals of depression, are able to consume more and more of all the products of agriculture, which are the necessities or the luxuries of life.

This is the secret, and the only secret of the fact, that in the face of such an enormous importation of foreign produce as that which we have noted, every single article of that produce, except three, has not only been maintained but has actually increased in price. And yet we hear of nothing but agricultural depression. I am afraid that if my old friend were alive now, he would say that at last his predictions are being fulfilled. But not the less, I feel sure, he would have been as busy as ever building byres and cutting drains; whilst, for my own part, I am as faithful as ever to his advice, and even more unbelieving than ever in his prophecies. The facts and figures we have seen, prove conclusively that the present depression, of which we hear so much, has been due to nothing but exceptionally bad seasons. Even as regards the few articles of production which have fallen seriously in value, that fall will not account for the suffering which is complained of. Wool is the worst case. It has fallen chiefly from a change in fashion, and even this article has not fallen below the range of prices which were common

some thirty years ago. The lowest quality of British wool, which is that of the Blackfaced Highland sheep, was worth at that time, very commonly from 10s. to 12s. the stone. Even 8s. was considered a price which needed no abatement of rent; but in some leases at that time there was a provision for an abatement if the price of wool fell below that point. The much higher prices which have prevailed since that time, rising in very recent years to as high as 19s. 20s. the stone for the same inferior class of wools—have, no doubt, led sheep farmers to count on values which could not be permanent, and those who took leases at rents calculated on such prices for this particular article may have lost heavily upon it. But it is to be remembered that no similar fall in value has affected the wool-producing animal itself, whilst at the present moment wool of the class to which I now refer, the produce of good stocks, is selling as high as from 10s. to 12s. per stone. For sheep at the last sales at Perth the prices have been excellent. For beasts the average price in the Metropolitan Cattle Market has risen steadily during the twenty years from 1837 to 1856—that price having been 1s. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (per stone of 8lb.) in the first of the years, and 5s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in the last. Neither has there been any fall in the value of the great staple articles of food and clothing—wheat, the various crops occupy by far the largest area of the whole arable land in England, and all but a mere fraction of the arable are of wheat and seed of wheat; the depression of agriculture cannot be traced in the depreciation of the two largest staples of our production. If you compare the prices as high as they have ever been, of butter, cheese, and mutton, and of beef, on the one hand, and of corn, on the other, you will find that both in England and Scotland the former have advanced more than shows an increase of value, while the latter have fallen considerably. I have before me a list of the prices of butter, cheese, and mutton, years from 1837 to 1856, and you will see that the prices of butter and cheese have advanced, while those of mutton and beef have fallen. But as regards the value of the various sorts of corn, I find that the price of wheat has fallen very little, and that of barley and oats has fallen considerably. During the war the price of wheat rose to 10s. 6d. the quarter, and that of barley and oats to 5s. 6d. and 4s. 6d. respectively. Since the year 1815 the price of wheat has not gone above 7s. 6d. the quarter, and that of barley and oats to 4s. 6d. and 3s. 6d. respectively.

go to the American Continent in May of that year, and one of the first things I saw on arriving at Niagara was the report of a meeting of Dairy Farmers in the State of New York, at which it was resolved that the price of cheese had fallen so low in the English market as to be wholly unremunerative to them, and that they must turn their attention to other products. When I returned to England in the end of July, I found that the price of cheese had already risen in the Liverpool market 90 per cent. from the lowest point of the depression, and during the years 1879, 1880, and 1881, it has stood at a fair average of the prices which had prevailed before. At the time at which I write, cheese, of the same class and of good quality, is worth from 60s. to 65s. per cwt.

It is clear, then, that the agricultural depression which has been so severe, has not been due to any general fall in the value of agricultural produce, but simply from an extraordinary succession of cold and wet seasons. It has been, as Mr. Bright said, the want of sunshine, and nothing else. And if this be true, the conclusion is, that there can be no reasonable ground for the gloomy views so prevalent on the prospects of British agriculture. On one supposition only could those fears be justified—and that is the supposition that the climate of the British islands is undergoing a permanent change, and that the absence of sunlight and the excess of rain which prevailed, for example, in 1877 and 1879, and in 1880, are likely to mark the average of all the years to come. But the circumstances do not justify any such alarm. The badness of these past seasons has, after all, been only a partial and local badness. Both in 1880 and in 1881 there has been a splendid harvest over almost the whole of Ireland, whilst no inconsiderable part of the west of Scotland has shared in these better seasons. The rains which destroyed the crops in many places in the Lothians, and severely damaged them in other parts of Scotland, were to a great extent local and partial rains affecting particular districts only, but affecting them at critical and fatal moments. In other parts of Scotland I have seen very heavy crops secured in excellent condition. The potato harvest of 1880 was one of the largest ever known. Potatoes were so abundant that they were largely used for the feeding of cattle. All these circumstances taken together do not point to any probability that the climate of these islands is permanently changing for the worse. We are not even in a cycle which has been at all uniformly bad. There is nothing, therefore, really to neutralize the encouragement which we may well derive from the enormous increase in the consuming power of the population which we have to assist in feeding, and from the fact that in the face of a gigantic importation every year increasing, the articles we produce, with a few exceptions, have either kept up, or have steadily advanced in price.

So much for the class of facts which have been brought before us by Mr Caird, and which the Tables of the Board of Trade, together

ordinary tillage would have done, had the land been in good order from the first. A farther sum of £1,200 is stated to have been spent in "ameliorations," a vague term, but which is assumed to represent some kinds of outlay not included in the ordinary tillage operations of a farmer. These two sums taken together make up a total of £2,700, which are not strictly of the class of permanent improvements, and which Mr. Prout reckons as outlay or capital spent by him rather in his capacity of Farmer than in his capacity of Owner.

So far as the permanent improvements are concerned, draining, re-enclosing, and reclaiming, there is nothing peculiar in the operations of Mr. Prout. He has only done systematically, quickly, and on a limited area of ground, what other owners of landed property have been doing more gradually over millions of acres both in England and in Scotland. Not the less they are operations which need to be indefinitely extended. When they have been completed we shall lose much of the beauty of England. Its old, easy, and lazy agriculture, with its endless hedge-rows, its small divisions, its over-shadowing timber, its broad margins of grass, and its wandering watercourses, will give place to monstrous rectangles of corn and turnips. England will almost cease to be the England that we love—with the Blackcap and the Whitethroat warbling in tangled thickets by the side of every lane, and the "mellow Blackbird fluting in the elm." But all this is sentiment, and Mr. Prout has taught us nothing new when we gather from his facts that steam culture and high farming will give us a dull and ugly landscape.

But now we come upon the peculiar idea of Mr. Prout—not that he was the originator of it, but that he has been one of the first to carry it into practice. That idea was the possibility of raising continuous crops of corn every year upon the same acres, without any of the rotation or change of crops which is the accepted rule of good husbandry in this country. The theory is a very simple one. It is, that if we restore to the soil every year, in the form of certain artificial manures, all the chemical elements which have been removed in any given crop, it is possible to grow that crop over and over again, without deterioration of produce, and without any exhaustion of the soil.

Now the particular crop to which this theory was applied by Mr. Prout is wheat, without any use of green crops, and alternating only to a certain extent with the other cereals of oats and barley. Mr. Prout gives us the result of this experiment for the whole period between 1862 and 1878. But as four years of that time were occupied in the preliminary occupations which have been described, the results can only be judged of quite clearly by taking them for the thirteen years, from 1866 to 1878, both inclusive. Nothing can be more satisfactory than these results. During the thirteen years beginning with 1866 the total nett profit on the farm amounted to £12,857, being an average profit of £989 a year, which, as Mr. Prout tells us, was nearly 11 per cent. on the whole capital which he calculates he employed in his capacity

with personal information, may enable all of us to confirm and to supplement. And now we come to the more special facts which have been recorded by Mr. Prout. I look upon these facts as of the highest interest in their bearing on many questions,—and first of all, on one which stands in close connection with the prospects of wheat-farming in England. Many persons have been coming to the conclusion—and I confess I have been under this impression—that in competition with the wheat of more favoured regions, this particular product is not likely to maintain a price at which it can be grown with profit in our climate. Even if this were true it would not be fatal—it might not be even seriously damaging—to British agriculture. There are very few soils in England which are so specially or exclusively adapted to the growth of wheat as to be incapable of being profitably occupied by some other crop. In my own recollection, the growth of wheat has been entirely abandoned in some districts of Scotland where it was formerly often grown. But the value of land has not in consequence declined. On the contrary, it has gone on increasing. Other crops, for which the climate is better adapted, have been substituted for wheat, not only without loss but with immense advantage. Even, therefore, if the same results were to follow in the best wheat districts of England, it would not follow that in them a highly profitable agriculture is impossible. But Mr. Prout's book proves, among other things, that no such fear need be entertained. Let us look at the facts he gives us. In outline they can be very shortly told.

In 1861 Mr. Prout bought two farms, in Hertfordshire, containing 450 acres of heavy clay land, which were then rented at 25s. per acre. The land was in a wet and foul condition. It had been some time in the market, and was bought at a little under twenty-eight years' purchase, or (with some incidental expenses) for a total sum of £16,000. Mr. Prout appears to have invested in this purchase, besides his money, that which is much more valuable—an idea. He had in his head a definite scheme of improvement and of tillage. That idea was to throw these two farms into one, and to fit it by costly improvements for steam cultivation and very high farming. In pursuance of this idea he abolished fences, cut down hedgerows, removed crooked banks, filled up straggling ditches, converted fifty-one enclosures into nine large principal fields, made roads, constructed tanks and reservoirs, cut deep out-falls, and drained the whole thoroughly,—the whole operations lasting four years, and costing after all only the very moderate sum of £10 per acre, or a total of £4,500. Adding the cost of these permanent improvements to the cost of purchase, the outlay on the estate amounted to £20,500, or at the rate of about £45 10s. per acre.

Concurrently with these operations Mr. Prout was working the land deeply with steam ploughs. Cleaning, fallowing, deep tilling, and subsoiling by steam power is calculated to have cost £1,500 more than

non-resident Owner or Farmer, though a bailiff. It is merely a great corn factory, employing, after the first outlay, the minimum of labour, and involving the minimum of risk. But this does not detract from the value of the results. It has been the heavy clays of England which have suffered most in the late depression, yet it is a heavy clay that Mr. Prout has cultivated with such success. The effect of local circumstances must of course be taken into account. I observe that the cost of drainage was unusually low. I have drained a great deal of land; but I have never known of stiff clay soil being drained so cheaply as at the rate of £6 per acre. The subsoil is described as "drift clay and cretaceous gravel." If there was much of this last material, it may account for the effectiveness of drains which, I should say, were too shallow and too far apart. But Mr. Prout's farm lay south of the great "glacial drift" of geologists, and the stiff clays of Scotland and of the north of England are much more intractable material. Again, I observe that the system of selling the crops by auction, as they stood in the field, is a system saving a great amount of labour and a great amount of risk, but which may not be available with equal advantage in localities farther removed from the great central market of London than Sawbridgeworth, in the county of Herts. But there is a large margin of good profit in the returns of this farm, to admit of variations without materially affecting the general conclusion. Mr. Prout has proved, as I venture to think, beyond the reach of controversy, that it will be possible to cultivate wheat and the other cereals in this country at a good profit, even although the prices should remain lower than they were in 1878.

But now we come to the bearing of these instructive facts upon pending questions of legislation. Mr. Prout, unlike other men, has been stimulated to condemn existing laws not by failure, but by success. That success has been so great and so unquestionable that he cannot conceive why his example has not been more generally followed. This thing, he says, has not been done in a corner. Great publicity has been given to it. Farmers have come to see it; Chemists have analyzed the soil; Lecturers have lectured upon it. And nevertheless, what Mr. Prout has done is done by few or none besides. In what other branch of industry, he asks, could such success as his, during nineteen years, be left with so few imitators? The answer, he says, is plain. Englishmen are not stupid. His "brother farmers" are not unintelligent. There must be some desperate impediment in their way. What can it be? It can be nothing but the Land Laws; or, as Mr. Prout expresses it, the "ill condition of land tenancy in its laws and customs."

It has been said that "thinking men always doubt;" and certainly there is room, at least for hesitation, in this solution of the difficulty. Before we accept it let us look a little nearer at the facts.

In the first place it is remarkable that Mr. Prout's success has been attained under the existing land laws. One of the incidents of these laws, as they now stand, is that men like Mr. Prout can purchase land

by the payment of its price to the Owner alone. They have not to deal with a separate shareholder in the ownership with indefinite and complicated claims which might require to be separately paid for. In like manner Mr. Prout bought his land with the knowledge that under existing law it would be in every sense his own—that after he had improved it as he liked, he could also let it as he liked; that the existing law assumed his "brother farmers" to be what Mr. Prout takes them to be—intelligent men—able to make their own bargains, and left him and them absolutely free, the one to let, and the other to hire, on whatever terms they might agree upon. All these circumstances were probably reckoned upon by Mr. Prout, consciously or unconsciously, as encouragements to invest his capital in the purchase of land. And even if Mr. Prout did not think much about them, because he intended to farm his own land himself, it is quite certain that capitalists generally do think very much about them, and regard them as conditions essential to the conduct of agriculture as a business. But as the laws affecting property in land, as well as the laws affecting property in other things, have hitherto respected these conditions of freedom, there has certainly been nothing to prevent other men in great numbers buying land and following the example of Mr. Prout. There may be, and there certainly would be, more land in the market if the power of entailing were abolished. But there is more than enough land in the market, and there is more than enough land bought every year to put many men in the happy position of Mr. Prout when he bought his two farms of 450 acres. The puzzle remains, therefore, why have they not done as he has done? As regards the proprietary class, there has certainly been no impediment in the way. Mr. Prout's operations prove, or seem to prove, that even if he had determined not to farm the land himself, but to let it to a tenant, he would have derived easily 5 per cent. interest from his outlay in building, clearing, fencing, and draining. But in this case there would have been nothing very peculiar in Mr. Prout's operations. The only peculiarity in his case is that he has both improved and has farmed—that he is both Owner and Occupier. Landowners do lay out on permanent improvements enormous sums every year, and have done so for many generations. The public generally, and many writers on the land laws, are profoundly ignorant on the extent of this outlay. It escapes their observation because it is for the most part hidden underground. It goes on bit by bit, farm by farm, field by field, from year to year, perpetually and continually, and often, as I know by experience, at a much higher rate of outlay per acre than the outlay of Mr. Prout. Of course, still more might be done, and more will be done, under the stimulus of necessity. Every example like that of Mr. Prout is a good one in respect to his systematic permanent improvements. Moreover, the special peculiarity of his case—namely, that he farmed as well as improved—furnishes an example that might well be more extensively followed. Many Owners have duties and avocations which prevent that continued residence in the country which is generally requisite

to the business of farming. But there are multitudes who have not, and I have often wondered that an occupation so interesting should be so seldom pursued by the proprietary class. But it is quite certain that the conditions of the law place no impediment in their way.

And this brings us to see more clearly what it is that excites Mr. Prout's astonishment. It is not that Owners, but that tenants should so seldom follow his example. Now before we join him in this wonder, and before we ascribe it to impediments in the law, let us remember what that example is. It is an example involving an outlay on permanent improvements to the extent of £16 per acre. Of this Mr. Prout himself admits that the larger part, or £10 per acre, represents improvements of a nature which ought, and indeed can, only be executed by the Owner. Mr. Prout laid out in drainage, clearing, and reclamation, &c., a total sum of £4,500; and besides this, he laid out £2,700 in expenses of tillage, which were extraordinary, and which may be said to belong really to the permanent class. These two sums make up a total expenditure of £7,200 on 450 acres, which is at the rate of £16 per acre. And I must add that this seems to me a very low estimate—indeed an altogether inadequate estimate—of the cost of similar works in other parts of the United Kingdom. In particular, as I have already pointed out, the cost of drainage is put very low. I suspect I have drained many times more acres than Mr. Prout, and I have never known it to cost so little as £6 per acre. I have been draining lately clay land at the rate of £16 per acre, including the cost of outfalls; and in some cases where boulder stones had to be removed, the total work of reclamation has cost as much as £37 per acre. But let us take the very low figure given by Mr. Prout, that of £16 per acre for all the heavy works enumerated by him. Is there not an excellent reason, apart from any impediment in the law, why such outlay should not be undertaken by tenants? How many of the tenant class are there in this country who have such a command of capital as to afford a preliminary outlay of this amount in addition to that which they require for the ordinary stocking and tillage of their farms? Is it not notorious that tenant farmers as a class have barely sufficient capital for their common yearly operations? It has been given in evidence before the Royal Commission now sitting, that as regards a vast number of tenant farmers, £5 per acre would be a full estimate of the capital they possess. It is not too much to say that if the whole work of permanent improvements—or even the work of drainage and reclamation alone without buildings—is to be expected from, or to be thrown upon, the Occupier rather than upon the Owner of land, it will be necessary to sweep from off the board nine-tenths of the existing tenant farmers, both of England and of Scotland. It is quite true that in some parts of Scotland, and I suppose in some parts of England, tenants have done most important work in the reclamation of land. But in almost all cases it has been done, not as Mr. Prout has done it, by a large and rapid operation involving a considerable capital, but slowly and

gradually by labour bestowed under the protection of Leases, which in substance if not in form were Improvement Leases—that is to say, leases during the currency of which the tenant could safely calculate on being paid—and generally has been paid—by the increased produce of the soil. Mr. Prout's method is admirably adapted to his own locality, to his means, and to his special purpose. But to wonder why such operations are not more largely imitated by the tenant class in England or elsewhere, is simply to wonder why tenant farmers should be what they generally are, and why an entirely new class of men should not supersede them in their business. There may be a large number of Owners who have insufficient means for the improvement of their estates. But there is a very much larger proportion of tenants who have not a shilling more than enough for stocking and ordinary tillage, and who have nothing to meet in addition to the great cost requisite for permanent improvements. At the present moment they are certainly not richer than they were. I am afraid their capital has been even diminished. Nothing can be more certain, therefore, than that any legislation which and at the transference of this work, and of this duty, from the owning to the occupying class, must have the most disastrous effect on the prospects and business of agriculture.

But there is another reason why Mr. Prout's wonder is itself very wonderful. It is very true, as he says, that Englishmen are not stupid, and that tenant farmers are not unintelligent. But it is equally true that both Englishmen in general, and tenant farmers in particular, are very slow in accepting a new idea. Mr. Prout's hobby of continuous corn cropping is essentially a new idea, confessedly practicable only on peculiar soils and under peculiar conditions of culture. Some inactivity of mind may and does enter into the slowness of our countrymen in all classes to adopt an entirely new practice in any profession. But there are other and special difficulties in the way of farmers doing so which have nothing whatever to do with any law. There are many kinds of farming, and the mere expense of changing from one kind of it to another is often very great. Take the simplest of all kinds of farming—that of pasturing sheep or cattle. The cost and the risk of changing even from one kind of stock to another is often quite enough to deter many farmers from attempting it. I have known cases where a change apparently so simple and so easy as the change from a stock of Blackfaced to a stock of Cheviot sheep, or *vice versa*, although recommended by the clearest evidence, has been regarded by tenant farmers as an insuperable difficulty. Even such a change as this is a costly operation. The expense and the danger of loss will not be faced. It is postponed from year to year, in hopes of "better times." And when we pass from changes so simple as this to greater changes in the methods of cultivating farms, there are other obstacles than mere cost which stop the way. Men accustomed to one kind of farming may be, and generally are, absolutely ignorant of another kind. The differences between different kinds of farming are as wide, often, as the differences between separate professions.

Mill-owning and ship-owning are hardly more different from each other than corn or potato growing is different from the making of good butter or cheese. Possibly even Mr. Prout himself would make a very bad hand of it if he tried to convert his manufacture of corn into a manufacture of Cheddar or of Stilton. Routine and habit are powerful factors in all occupations; but they are, perhaps, more powerful in farming than in any other business, because the operations of farming are necessarily slow, and essentially depend on averages ranging over considerable periods of time. Mr. Prout came to his farm, so far as can be gathered from his book, unembarrassed by previous habit, armed with that which is richer than any soil—namely, a clear and definite idea in his head, and apparently ample means to try an experiment in which he had implicit faith, and which he had the knowledge and the energy to conduct under strictly scientific conditions. His astonishment that he has not crowds of imitators among his brother farmers in a costly experiment of this kind, and his notion that their slowness in following his example can be due to nothing but external impediments in the condition of the law, is an astonishment which is astonishing indeed.

Mr. Prout, however, is too practical a man to be satisfied with general wonderings of this kind, and they are indeed no otherwise important than as showing how little he has kept before him all the conditions of the problem. But, fortunately, he enters upon details; and in the view he takes of these we shall find other evidence of the overleaping eagerness of his enthusiasm. It is perhaps hardly worth while to notice, that he says he never could have done his work had he been obliged to consult anybody but himself on anything he did. That is to say, that if he had been not the Owner, but only the tenant of his farm, he must have had perfect liberty to deal as he chose with another man's estate—to cut down his timber, to remove his fences, to fill up his watercourses, and erect what buildings he pleased without consent asked or given. It is not worth while to notice this, because it only shows—what indeed Mr. Prout elsewhere admits—that such improvements as these must be done by the Owner and not by the Occupier of land. But such incidents in the business of agriculture ought not to be mentioned at all, unless Mr. Prout seriously proposes that by law all the powers and all the incidents of ownership should attach to occupancy. It is, however, more relevant to observe that Mr. Prout denounces as an impediment all restrictions on complete freedom of cropping. This is a point of great importance, and Mr. Prout's treatment of it shows that he thinks of nothing but his own case. Under the existing law the cropping of land is entirely regulated by agreement between the man who lends and the man who borrows it. The Owner, who is the lender, has no other object in view than to secure that the borrower, who is the farmer, should not exhaust or deteriorate the soil. For this purpose the general covenant, in all leases, is to the effect that the tenant shall

cultivate according to the "rules of good husbandry." But most leases proceed to specify in considerable detail what is the course of cropping and of manuring, and of the disposal of produce, which "good husbandry" demands. Now it is quite obvious that all such detail is very apt to become antiquated. As science advances, and especially the science of Organic Chemistry, discoveries are made by which the elements removed in any given crop can be restored to it by an adequate supply of particular manures. In this way rules which were considered to be essential to "good husbandry" a few years ago, may no longer be so considered now; and rules which are still so considered at the present moment may be superseded in the course of a few years. Nothing therefore can be more useful, both to Owners and Occupiers of land, than to point out any cases in which the old rules of cropping, and the old conditions as to the disposal of produce, may be altered or dispensed with. It is easy to see the particular rule common in leases, which excites the impatience of Mr. Prout. If there is one canon of "good husbandry" which hitherto has been more universally acknowledged than another, it was the rule that, except in very peculiar circumstances, it was bad husbandry to take from the soil two "white crops" in succession. But continuous corn cropping is the *idée dominante* of Mr. Prout. He produces the high authority of Dr. Voelcker to prove that he has not exhausted his land by many years of successive white crops—and that provided such land as that farmed by Mr. Prout is supplied annually with the manures which Mr. Prout does supply, the process may apparently go on for ever without injury to the soil. This may be all perfectly true—but it does not in the least support or justify the conclusion to which Mr. Prout points—that all farmers should have by law absolute freedom in respect to cropping. If every tenant farmer was like Mr. Prout, it may be freely conceded that cropping clauses would be needless. But the progress of Organic Chemistry has not shown that the soil is incapable of exhaustion by miscropping. On the contrary, it has proved more clearly than was ever known before that it can be exhausted, and that easily. Nay more, it has proved that not a few of the newest artificial manures are in themselves mere stimulants—adding nothing to the fertility of the soil,—but, on the contrary, drawing upon that fertility without any compensation. Moreover the authority of Dr. Voelcker, as quoted by Mr. Prout himself, although favourable to the course pursued by him, is favourable to it only under the precise conditions of his particular case. Continuous corn cropping is safe with his soil, and with the particular application of manures which he applies. But under all other conditions, Dr. Voelcker expressly upholds the old canon of "good husbandry," which Mr. Prout treats as an intolerable restraint. "The system," says Dr. Voelcker, "of growing wheat after wheat, and wheat and barley on the same fields for a number of years in succession, practised with remarkable success by Mr. Prout, is not suitable for light soils or land naturally

poor in the mineral elements of fertility, but only for clay soils, and strong loams, abounding in all the mineral food constituents which enter into the composition of corn crops." He goes on to explain that in less fertile soils the elements of plant-food can only be preserved from exhaustion by the application of a variety of manures which "necessitate the adoption of a suitable rotation of crops," and, as a rule, he lays it down that "it is not profitable to grow on such soils two white crops in succession."

Neither the special experience of Mr. Prout, therefore, nor the general conclusions of modern science, give the slightest support to the contention that soils cannot be exhausted by continuous corn-cropping. Landowners are perfectly right in stipulating with those who hire their land, that it shall be cropped according to the rules of "good husbandry;" and any legislation which would interfere with perfect freedom of contract upon this subject would be eminently absurd and not more unjust to the Owners of land than eminently injurious to the public interests. The Owner of land has no interest in preventing his tenant from raising any kind of crop, provided it is raised under conditions which do not exhaust the soil. On the contrary, it is the direct interest of the Owner to encourage the growth of the most valuable produce which his soil is capable of producing but always under the one condition of a corresponding and adapted system of manuring. It may be quite true that the cropping clauses in old forms of lease require revision. But these clauses are not now, and never have been, rigidly or pedantically enforced. They represent, in general, the condition of knowledge and of actual practice which has prevailed among the class of tenants quite as much as they represent the standard of knowledge or the interests of the class of Owners. The farmers who have been sufferers in the late depression have not suffered because they were prohibited from growing anything which they had skill and knowledge to grow. They have simply continued the course of husbandry to which they were accustomed, on which they had calculated, and which hitherto had paid them fairly well. New methods of husbandry—perhaps even continuous corn-cropping in some cases may be invented, and may in future do them good. But we may depend upon it, that for these new courses of husbandry tenants require quite as much change in their own skill and capital as in the conditions of the leases under which they hold. When the value and success of such new courses of husbandry have been established by experience, there will not be the least difficulty in getting from landowners the same freedom to pursue them that farmers now have to pursue the courses of culture which were considered to be "good husbandry" in former days. This is a matter which will be adjusted, and can only be adjusted, by the mutual interest of the parties concerned in each case. It will scarcely be contended that Owners of land have not a good right and a duty to protect themselves against the abuse and deterioration of the soil. No man

it be contended by any one who knows anything of agriculture, that this protection can possibly be regulated by an Act of Parliament. The common proverb which applies to the stomachs of men applies with equal force to the stomach of soils—"What is one man's meat is another man's poison." Courses of husbandry and of tillage, which would be profitable to all parties concerned on one kind of soil would be ruinous on another. In some parts of England, for example, the breaking up of old pasture is the greatest injury which can be done to land. In many parts of Scotland it is the first condition of improvement. No rule which is universally applicable can possibly be devised. The best security is in the character of the tenant, and in covenants which make legitimate interests as nearly as possible coincident with honest husbandry. But for these purposes it is absolutely necessary that the Owners of land should be left the most complete power in the selection of those to whom their land is to be let on hire, and the most perfect freedom of contract in adapting their agreements as to cropping, to the varieties of soil, of climate, and of geographical position.

I shall not dwell on the objections indicated by Mr. Prout to the preferential security for rent which is given by the law of Distress to the Owners of land in England. The corresponding provision of the law in Scotland, which went under the name of Hypothec, has been abolished, and it is very probable that the English form of it will be abolished too. Mr. Prout puts the objection to that preferential right upon the most reasonable plea when he says, that in modern husbandry the dealings of a farmer with manure merchants, manufacturers, growers of seed-corn, and others, often exceed in amount the amount due for rent, and that in those dealings he may sometimes be placed at a disadvantage by the Owners' preferential right. I strongly suspect, however, that although the preferential security of the Owner may sometimes operate hardly upon other creditors, it has had a favourable side as regards the immediate interest of the farmer. It is notorious that, under the shelter of this preferential right, Owners have habitually allowed long postponements of rent, which were in fact sums of corresponding amount lent without interest to the tenant. It is curious to observe that the truth of this is implied in most of the arguments which were used against the continuance of Hypothec in Scotland; because one of the most common of those arguments was that, under the protection of Hypothec, Owners were so encouraged to this sort of lenient dealing with tenants as to be even rendered careless in admitting tenants with insufficient capital. It was argued that such tenants, and only such, could need such postponements in the payments of rent. My own experience and observation has been, that no such consideration has ever weighed with landowners in the selection of tenants. But it is quite clear that in whatever proportion the law of Hypothec has had this effect, in the same proportion must there be a number of the existing body of tenants who never would have been able to maintain their position but for

the loans which they enjoyed under this system. To this portion of the tenant class, be it large or small, the law of Hypothec was, therefore, by confession, favourable and not injurious. Another argument points in the same direction. It was, and still is, reiterated in Scotland, that one of the indirect effects of the landlords' preferential claim was to raise artificially the scale of rents. That is to say, that men were willing to pay more for land under the system of Hypothec than they could have afforded without it. When was it ever heard of that men will pay more for any article under a law which injures them in respect to it, than under a law which is favourable? The real truth I believe to be that the law has had much less effect one way or another than is generally supposed. In Scotland, as it seems to me, tenants are beginning already to discover that the abandonment of Hypothec is not likely to have any appreciable effect on rents, one way or another. The abolition of it may be advantageous to the other creditors with whom farmers deal, and the more punctual payments which Owners will require, may operate in the selection of tenants with larger capital. But as regards a very large number of the men who are now tenants, the effect was certainly favourable rather than injurious. Here, again, however, we come in sight of one conclusion, which is indisputable—that if Owners of land are to have no preference over other creditors in respect to their own share of the produce of their own land, it is all the more absolutely necessary that they should have that other and better security, which consists in the power and in the duty of selecting those in whose personal character or skill they think they can safely trust. The theory and the origin of the preferential security of the Owner was founded on a principle of obvious justice. Rent was originally, and in some places it is still, simply a definite portion of the produce. That portion was set aside and separately stored in the Owners' barns. Under such conditions and forms of payment nobody would think it just that the Owner's share of the produce should be liable for the tenant's debt to other men. It makes no difference in the equity of the principle that rent is no longer paid in this way—that no portion of the crop is separated from the rest and ear-marked as the property of the landlord. But although the preferential security of the landlord was thus not unjust in principle, and although it operated largely in favour of existing tenants, the abolition of it may be harmless, and may be even useful in removing an incident in the law which has an invidious aspect—in causing the gradual elimination of tenants with insufficient capital—and in compelling landlords to take other measures in order to secure the solvency of those who hire their land.

In the next paper I shall pass to the much more important subject on which Mr. Prout principally dwells, and that is the bearing of our existing laws on the security possessed by farmers for the capital they may invest in the conduct of their business.

ARGYLE.

THE FUNCTIONS OF WEALTH.

NOT long since, in a prominent London newspaper there occurred the following observation:—"This," said the writer, "is, no doubt, the thing that lies at the root of all democratic institutions: The will of the people for the time being, formed upon each particular question as it arises, and with direct reference to the particular circumstances, is the only ultimate rule of human conduct."* Accurate general statements are rare in ephemeral articles, and it is in the nature of things they should be. But the sentence I have just quoted is so exceptional in its truth and acuteness that it will well bear being examined and having its meaning pressed. There is much more in it than appears at first sight, and I shall dwell a little on each of its several phrases. It will form an excellent introduction to the subject I am about to deal with.

"The will of the people for the time being, formed upon each particular question as it arises, and with direct reference to the particular circumstances, is the only ultimate rule of human conduct." This is what is said to be the foundation of the creed of the modern democrat: and the democrat, no doubt, will at once admit that it is such. Of course, the will of the people is the ultimate rule of conduct: what else, he will ask, should be? And when we speak of conduct, what is it that we can mean by it? It is, of course, conduct as to each particular question as it arises, and with direct reference to the particular circumstances.

Really, however, there is no *of course* in the matter. There is a difficulty involved in it which democrats have never yet reckoned with, and which hardly as yet, I think, has been seen clearly by their adversaries. Let us examine the sentence in question, and we shall find we are soon led to it.

* *St. James's Gazette*, Friday, Nov. 18, 1881.

We will begin with the following phrase:—"The will of the people . . . is the ultimate rule of conduct." Now, let us inquire exactly what we should here understand by "*is*"? The word is continually used thus in the statement of various doctrines; but, simple as it seems, it is in the highest degree ambiguous. It is the source of endless confusion both to those who use and who hear it. Thus, in the present case, in what way must we take it? Does it affirm an actual fact—a fact that has any existence at present in any part of the universe? Is it meant that the will of the people is omnipotent at this moment, and that Governments, as a fact, do nothing that is not in complete harmony with it? That cannot be meant, clearly. It is a grotesque and obvious falsehood; and democrats would be the last people to pretend that it was a truth. It is clear, therefore, that in this connection the word "*is*" conveys no historical statement. It has no literal application to the world existing round us.* Indeed, were it meant to have that, the democrat would be obliged to reverse his statement. He would say not The will of the people *is* the rule of conduct; but The will of the people *is not* the rule of conduct; and in this fact lies my *raison d'être* as a reformer. In saying "*is*," then, what does he really mean by it? He uses the word in a peculiar sense, very different from the common one. It is simply a short substitute for three other expressions—*ought to be*, *can be*, and *will be*. The democrat's formula is a prophecy, not a history; and its true content is this: The will of the people ought to be the rule of conduct; if they take proper means they can make it the rule; the means are being taken, and before long it will have been made the rule. When the proposition is thus stated, it is possible to discuss the truth of it. With one part, however, we need have nothing at all to do. We need not ask whether the fact predicted *ought* to be accomplished; we will touch only on the grounds for saying it *can*, and *will* be.

At first sight those grounds seem of the strongest; and they consist certainly of wide and undoubted facts. The people are the mass of mankind; those who are not the people form but a mere handful. The people plainly are the possessors of overwhelming physical strength, or they would be if they could only use it. To use it, they only need to be conscious of it; and they are growing more and more conscious of it every day. Day by day, therefore, the time is getting nearer when they actually shall use it, and when their will shall be the rule of everything.

It is in this way that all democrats argue. Strength growing conscious of itself is the idea they all repose on; and the particular strength they contemplate seems to them to be irresistible. For this view of the

* The above use of the word "*is*" is a source of the greatest confusion in many places. It is specially characteristic of Positivist writers in their treatment of ethics. Thus, statements such as this are of very frequent occurrence with them: "The good of society, not the salvation of self, is the object of moral conduct," whereas really it is one of their chief complaints that of the mass of men at present the very reverse holds good. The legitimate warning of such writers can be only this: That the good of society will, as an object of action, take the place that has been occupied hitherto by the salvation of self, and produce many of the same results, as regards outward conduct.

matter, there is, of course, much to be said, just as there is for every view that has ever widely spread itself; but there are difficulties in it, even near the surface, which have often been pointed out. Thus, except as in opposition to the minority now governing, how can we attribute to the people any corporate will at all? In will is implied some special matter to be willed about; and the people's will, according to the democratic theory, is to have for its objects each question of government—"each particular question as it arises, and with direct reference to the particular circumstances." What, then, is to be looked for? Are we to suppose that in a whole nation, amongst millions and millions of men, there will never arise any doubt or discussion as to the many various courses that each crisis will suggest to them? It would be idle to look for that. What, then, is the alternative? Instead of a single will we shall find in the people several; and at once arises the knotty question, Which of these wills is the true one? Which is the people's will, *par excellence*?—the will that is to override everything—to which opposition would be at once madness and iniquity? To this the democratic theory will admit but of one answer—the will of the numerical majority; and this at once suggests a long string of perplexities. The majority, for instance, may not be a large majority, or it may be faced by a coalition of opponents, who are agreed only in opposing it. There are a hundred ways in which its supposed force might be neutralized; but we will not speak of these. We will ignore them; we will suppose the whole path clear; we will suppose the people to be all united and unanimous—unanimous, that is, upon each public question as it arises, and all resolved to legislate in exactly the same way. It is an impossible supposition; but still we will suppose it.

What then? Is the will of the people, even in that case, the ultimate rule of conduct? Can they do what they like? Can they pass what laws they like? Can they make and unmake rights? Can they re-distribute property? In a certain sense it is of course true they can; for *ex hypothesi*, there is no external opposition to them. But their power and their freedom would be complete only in appearance, even with the conditions thus ideally favourable. The people's will would be indeed strong; but it would be fettered by something far stronger. It would be like an animal held by a string, which left it perfect liberty within a certain circle, but which pulled it back whenever it went too far. Thus on each occasion, as it arose, and with direct reference to the particular circumstances, the people would be free, no doubt, to do exactly what they willed; but if it was their will to transgress certain limits, they would very soon find their will reversed for them, and themselves being driven back again into the enclosure they tried to escape from. And what is the power that would thus hamper and repulse them, and which, with all their energy, they would never be able to conquer? It is no external power; and it is a

power they cannot elude; for it is seated in themselves. It is the power of human character. Within limits that character can be changed; beyond those limits it cannot. There are some features in it that can be effaced altogether; there are others that can be changed to some degree; and again there are others that cannot be permanently effaced or changed at all. In opposition to these last the people's will is powerless.

Let us take the question of property. The extreme democratic view of the matter is that property exists because the people will that it should exist, or because the Government wills it, which theoretically represents the people. At all events, it has no higher sanction than the State, at any given time, provides for it; and thus having originated from the State, the State, if it thought fit, might resume it. Now a part of this argument contains a certain half-truth in it. The immediate sanctions of the rights of property are of course those provided by the State; of immediate sanctions there are none other: and, therefore, property may be said certainly, in one way, to be the creature of Government. But there is this point to be noted. It is the creature of government in general; it is not the creature of any Government in particular.

Between these two there is the profoundest difference. By government in general is meant those points of conduct on which; in the long run, all Governments have been found to agree, and on which disagreement has never been more than temporary. "That there are permanent forms of conduct," says Mr. Herbert Spencer, "no one can deny who compares the law-books of all races which have outgrown the purely-predatory life. . . . Just as fast as the peaceful activities become more dominant, just so fast do the conditions under which the peaceful activities are to be harmoniously carried on become more imperative, just so fast do the corresponding ideas become clear and the corresponding sentiments strong. And these ideas and sentiments must eventually grow uniform and permanent, for the reason that the conditions to complete social life are uniform and permanent." I mean, then, by government in general those permanent features to which Mr. Spencer alludes, and which all particular Governments are, in the long run, found to embody. Mr. Spencer explains this fact by saying that "the conditions of social life are uniform and permanent." I prefer to explain it in a somewhat different form, by saying that the limits of the variation of human character are uniform and permanent; and that government in general, according to this view of it, represents the average human character as it really is.

But particular Governments, on any given occasion, represent something quite different. They represent not the facts of human character, but a certain view or a certain theory of those facts; and on any given occasion it is quite possible that such a theory may be false.

What follows is this: if the theory in question be false, or in so far as it is false, any legislation based upon it is sure to prove impracticable, no matter how unanimously the people may at the time have willed it; and by-and-by it will have to be rescinded. The reason of this is plain. The people will cease to will it. Their own character, which they possess as normal human beings, and which they can no more substantially change than the leopard can change his spots, will be having its revenge on them, and will break restraints which it speedily finds intolerable. The laws and proceedings which the people willed in one decade, they will have reason to hate in the next; and their repentant Government will perforce re-conform itself to the general type it had departed from. Meanwhile, there will have been confusion and misery, in exact proportion to the abnormal action of the Government. The human character, automatically and irresistibly, will have been avenging the outrage done it.

Here, then, we see the error that underlies the democratic formula; and it is an error, not of absolute untruth, but of incompleteness. The ideal government, says the democrat, is the expression of what the people will; and that, so far as it goes, we are allowing to pass unquestioned. The point is, that it goes only a very little way, and that the real heart of the matter is left out of sight completely. The ideal government must be the expression not only of what the people *will*, it must be the expression also of what the people *are*. Thus that omnipotent popular will, which we now hear so much about, is in no sense the ultimate sanction of rights, or the ultimate rule of conduct. In a secondary way it may be this; but in a secondary way only. The ultimate sanction, and the ultimate rule, is the common character of man, and the misery, the anarchy, the retrogression which follow upon it being disregarded.

This is the point that the democrat overlooks. What we *are* conditions what we *will*. Of course, as questions arise, there may be open to any government any number of alternative courses; but the only courses from which it can rightly choose are within certain fixed limits. There are certain desires that men always will gratify, there are certain forms of activity that they always will manifest; and if the people, through their government, try to eradicate these, what they are really cutting at is a pound of their own flesh. When they feel the torture, the suicidal operation ceases. Here is a simple instance—the act of eating. Does any democrat imagine that a government could abolish eating, no matter how many constituencies issued “a mandate” that it should do so? When hunger began, the laws would be of little avail. The people’s legislation would be at once wrecked by themselves. This particular case is, of course, an impossible one; but it is impossible only for an accidental reason. The practice of eating is so manifestly irrepressible and necessary, that we cannot conceive a people mad enough to even dream of checking it. There are other things,

whose necessity is equally great, or which are, at least, equally inevitable, but this fact with regard to them is not nearly so manifest; on the contrary, it may be obscure, and need much penetration to arrive at it. In such cases there is an ignorance quite conceivable, as profound, though not as palpable, as that implied in the case we have been just now figuring.

I say an ignorance of this kind is a quite conceivable fact. But it is more than that. At this very moment it is an actual, an existing fact. Under various names, often under various disguises, there are schemes at this moment in the minds of many men for effecting by law a permanent redistribution of property. The chief exponents of these are the Continental Socialists; and in their completed form they are not popular in this country. But the spirit and the premisses of Socialism find favour with numbers, who have a right, if not a reasonable horror of its conclusions. And this is not unnatural. All causes and all systems have some grain of truth in them; nor is Socialism any exception. What the socialist hates is inequality in wealth; and this inequality produces many miseries, or at least it has hitherto been constantly the outer sign of them. The perception of this fact is by no means confined to the poor. The rich are often conscious of it to a painful degree. Indeed, by imaginatively attributing to the poor their own tastes and feelings, they often think of the situation as even more piteous than it is. They look on the poor, in fact, as rich people ruined, and conceive of them as missing comforts that they have never even coveted. The most obvious issue of this train of reflections is a wish that in its meaning seems distinctly Socialistic. It is a wish that the good things of life were distributed equally, or at least in some proportion to the moral deserts of individuals. That a wish of this kind should be strong amongst thoughtful men who are in misery, is, of course, natural; but it is wrong to think that it is by any means confined to the miserable. It represents, essentially, no class aspirations, though it may often do so accidentally. Essentially it springs from a feeling common to all classes—a dislike of the thought of suffering, a dislike of the thought of injustice, and a consequent desire that they should both be done away with. And thus this wish, that is apparently so Socialistic, is essentially, and in its origin, but an expression of human nature; and the man is exceptional and eccentric who does not in some sort share in it.

It is this natural, this most sincere wish, that I am now about to consider; and I shall, first, try to make clear about it the following important point: that in the form that in these days it almost invariably takes, it is not a single wish but a double one; and that of the two parts composing it, the one is right and rational, the other completely mad and irrational. My meaning is briefly this: the first part of the wish is one of pure benevolence or pity: it is a wish that misery might be alleviated. But owing to the present conditions of

thought there is added to the wish for this end a second wish, as to the special means for reaching it—there is added the wish for equality; and these two so instantly coalesce that, in the popular mind, it is very difficult to distinguish them. Hence comes endless confusion and falsehood. It is possible to give effect to benevolence; it is not possible to produce equality; and the identification of benevolence with what is, at least, incipient Socialism, can only paralyze the former on the one hand, or rouse it into a fantastic or ruinous activity on the other.

What is needed now before all things, in the political world, is the rupture of the above false alliance. In aiming at doing good to society, in aiming at doing good to ourselves, the important point is not that the good in question should be complete, but that it should be attainable. We have not to do with dreams, but with realities. We have to deal with human character as it is, and as it probably always will be; with the various occupations and labours that will probably be always necessary; and with the various physical and mental conditions that in each state of life are productive of pain or happiness. And if we regard the matter in this sober and practical light one thing will be at once plain to us. Equality, as such, has nothing to do with happiness. The happiness of each man, such as it is, is of course dependent on his social status and his means; but it is not *proportionate* to them. Let us take a few typical characters out of fiction, and we shall at once see this. Byron's Manfred was a powerful noble: Scott's Dandy Dinmont was a tenant farmer. Was Dandy Dinmont an unhappier man than Manfred? Hamlet was a prince: Sam Weller was a servant. To which of these two was life most full of sunshine? Who found existence most tolerable, Mrs. Gamp or Ophelia? In all these cases the answer is quite plain; and these examples taken out of fiction do but represent what is notoriously true in fact. What, then, are we to say when wretched cases reach us of destitution and hunger, and squalor, and pain from cold? What we are to say is obvious. We shall say that these evils are caused by want, not that they are caused by inequality. We shall say that misery is miserable, not that inequality is miserable. The sufferings of the poor are not caused by their having little as compared with the rich, but of their having little as compared with the simplest demands of human nature. It is in no way a sad thing that one man should be dining off turtle and ortolans, and another man off a plate of beans and bacon; what is a sad thing is, that one man should be dining off turtle and ortolans, and another man have next to no dinner at all.

Let me suppose that this much is assented to. Let me suppose that equality as a thing in itself desirable, or having any essential connection with healthy action or happiness, is dismissed from our minds as an idle and mischievous dream. What happens then? It is dismissed in one shape; but it only comes back in another. Equality is not

essential to happiness, we grant that; but may not inequality be *accidentally* the cause of unhappiness? May not the riches of the few be the cause of the absolute want of many? That is the main question that I am here proposing to examine. Is extreme want really the result of extreme luxury? That, when one begins to think about the matter at all, is the view that first strikes one; and for the rich even more than for the poor, a most painful view it is.

Let a man, on his way, we will say, to some November shooting-party, be hurried, in the railway, through some midland manufacturing town. The sights that his eyes rest on are at once strange and familiar. The tall chimneys, like ghosts in the hazy air, the livid river with the black barges lying on it, the gleam of squalid pavements, and the endless squalid roofs of the low brick houses—these form a scene in which countless human beings live and die, and find their only chances of happiness; and as our traveller drifts by them they may well suggest thoughts to him, which will be still in his memory when he reaches his journey's end. He is driven through the quiet park; the only sounds are from rooks cawing in the elm trees. Lights from the house glance and glitter. He finds himself in a fire-lit circle of happy friends and acquaintances. What a contrast is this reality to the memory he is carrying with him! At dinner the thought of it comes yet more home to him. Then he thinks of food—that first necessity, and the want of it felt by many; and he feels a kind of shame as he glances down the *menu*. The reflection is for ever rising up in him, and troubling him,—“My luxuries are extorted out of other men's necessities: if I and my friends lived more plainly, others would live with a nearer approach to comfort.” So he reflects; but are his reflections true? If the lady at his side had not those diamonds in her hair, would some row of cottages have less broken glass in its windows? If he and his friends were to eat no truffles or oysters, would some labourer's family have more bread and bacon? To this question imagination and impulse at once answer, Yes. But even whilst they do so there is a certain misgiving felt. Such a solution seems too simple. There must be more in the background, or else surely the matter would have been settled long ago. So urges, more or less vaguely, our inherited common-sense—the prudential side of conscience, which has hoarded up in its murmurs the experience of all history.

And common-sense, indeed, speaks the truth here, and impulse and imagination are altogether in the wrong. They are not wrong in so far as they tend to stimulate action, but they are altogether wrong in the way in which they would naturally direct it. Wealth is not the cause of poverty; nor would the distribution of existing wealth produce, even for a single week, a diffusion of competence. In every great and in every progressive society, wealth has always been present. It has been present at every step by which we

have risen out of barbarism—by which we have risen to knowledge, to a higher standard of life, and to a conception of rational freedom. And it has been present for this reason—that it has been an essential part of the process. We should never have reached the point we have, but for its agency. But for its agency we should at this moment slide back again. That wealth which is envied by so many, and which is looked on doubtfully by so many more, so far from being the cause of want amongst thousands, is at this moment the cause of the non-starvation of millions; and, as though by a viewless magnetism, is holding together the whole body of civilization. It is like an enormous electric battery, generating the vital current.

It is one thing to assert this thesis: it is another thing to explain it. I shall now proceed to explain it. I have already prepared the ground for doing so, both by the remarks I have just been making, and by others which I made two months ago in this Review.* As I have urged over and over again, the key to the whole question is the recognition at the outset of one hitherto unrecognized truth—that no understanding of society or civilization will be possible, until it is based on a study of the average human character, and until it deals with action primarily in terms of motive. I have thus said that civilization, if we go to the bottom of it, is really the *organization of motive*.

Let me put the matter more clearly. We will suppose a race of unwarlike savages, living on an island where loaves and roast-mutton grew upon all the trees, and where the climate was so delightful that there was need for neither roof nor clothing. Under such conditions civilization would be impossible. Conditions somewhat similar actually do exist, and under these civilization is impossible. The reason is plain. We have said that the people are savages—that is, they are motivated by those wants only which are inseparable from all animal life. They are motivated by the want to eat, and the want to reproduce their species. Both these they can satisfy with next to no labour: at all events there is no place for effort; and thus most of their life consists of a painless leisure. Nevertheless they do not employ this leisure in producing luxuries that shall supplement their necessities. Labour is impossible to them. They are no more capable of producing wealth than they would be had they neither hands nor muscles. Their island is rich, we will suppose, in coal and in all metals; but they sink no shafts, build no furnaces, smelt no iron. And why? There is no want to compel them to do so. A man who is always sure of sufficient to eat and suffers nothing from want of either shelter or clothing, who has never seen nor heard of wealth, nor dreamed of the attractions it might hold out to him—such a man will be incapable of any painful exertion, he will be incapable of raising himself, and so win a nation of such men.

Let us suppose, however, that a stranger arrives to our island, who contrives by some means or other to possess himself of all the bread

* "A History of the People of England," vol. i. ch. x. p. 105.

and of all the legs of mutton, and withdrawing them for a single day, makes the people feel the pangs of hunger. In a single day energy is created. The thing that was not, is. Now we have arms and hands and intelligence, endowed on a sudden with power and activity, and ready to be guided and partly informed by the intelligence of him who can give or withhold food. Now the helpless, indolent, nerveless savages become strong, industrious men. They have been transfigured, and made different beings, by this one agency—the agency of want, with the prospect of having their want satisfied. Thus they are perfectly pliant to their despot's will—the will of the man who is the irresponsible dispenser of food. He sets them first to one labour, then to another; he teaches them various arts. Metals are worked, roads are made, a palace is built for him, and filled with furniture and all manner of luxuries; his food is served up to him in new and delicate ways; he is waited upon by a retinue of servants. What then has happened to the community during this process? It has one very rich man in it: all the rest are poor. But is it poorer than it was originally? In no way. The people originally had as much food as they could eat. That was their only riches. They have as much food now. The only difference is, that before they receive it, they are forced to employ the time they once wasted.

I say that is the only difference: and so it would be upon our supposition. It would be the only difference, supposing the labour thus developed were all of it unskilled, and that the labourers acquired no taste themselves for any part of the comforts which they found themselves producing. But this supposition is practically an impossible one. They do acquire such a taste. Their despot has endowed each one of them with new wants, with new ideals of life; and these wants are at least partially satisfied. They are satisfied not out of the despot's benevolence, but out of the necessities of the case. The social machine would not work otherwise. The despot, by merely withdrawing and bestowing food, has created a certain amount of manufacturing energy; but it is energy only of the lowest and simplest kind. He has himself at starting to direct the whole of it; and so long as this is the case its results are very rude and imperfect. But even these rude results, these first beginnings of wealth, have a magical effect. Just as the desire and the hope of food withheld was the source of energy, so the desire and the hope of wealth withheld is the source of talent. It makes potential talent actual. First one man, and then another, has his imagination stirred by the sight of what he has been forced to accomplish. He has never seen a house till his despot made him build one. Having once seen it, he sees its advantages; he longs to form one himself; his ingenuity is exercised as to how to improve its construction. Such a mental development is general in the community; but it is general in very different degrees. Some men have more imagination, more intelligence, more activity than others. They

desire more, they can do more, and they acquire more. This last fact must be noted especially. They acquire more—and for what reason? Desire is not enough to produce activity; talent is not enough to produce activity. The first would be crushed, the second would never be developed, were it not for the hope and prospect that the first would be in some degree satisfied. A human being may be looked upon as a kind of magnetic engine, worked by desire and hope, which last is maintained by its own periodical fulfilment; and the strength of the engine, and the amount of the work that can be done by it, is proportionate to the desire and hope with which its magnets can be charged. The despot, therefore, if he would make the community do its utmost for him, is compelled in various degrees to satisfy those new wants, which under his own orders have been developed in it. And these various degrees are settled by the gradations in human character. Some men are machines for performing mere unreasoning labour—labour that could be performed by anybody; some men are machines for performing what we call skilled labour; other men again are inventing-machines, and others directing-machines; and each of these must be fed with a given amount of fuel, consisting either of food, or of food with luxuries added to it. The amount in each case is that which makes the machine work at its best. If too little fuel is supplied, the machine goes slowly and feebly; if too much is supplied, it stops for the time altogether. Thus our despot, even supposing him to have no other object than gratifying his own tastes or appetites, can only do this to the full by gratifying in some degree the tastes or appetites of others. Of these others, some will be manifestly better off than they were in their savage state. They will be rich men, in the enjoyment of many luxuries; and even the very poorest will be better off, though in a less degree. They will have as much food as they ever had; and in addition to this, they will have houses to live in, beds to lie on, roads to travel by. Accordingly, so far as riches go, what has happened to the island is this. Its food-supply—originally its only wealth—still remains what it was. Everything else is something added to this.

Now how does this fancied civilization differ in its condition from the actual civilization of the progressive communities of the world? It differs mainly in the following points, that the food-supply is conceived of as coming naturally, and without labour; and the climate is conceived of as such, that neither clothes nor houses are needed to secure a painless existence. Thus in the absence of any external pressure, our imaginary islanders would be under no necessity of doing any work at all. But this difference, though it makes the case simpler, does not make it, as an illustration, any the less forcible. Instead of our imaginary islanders, let us take the Irish peasantry. They have to work, it is true; but why? Putting aside altogether the question of rent to be paid, they have to work to get clothes, and potatoes, and cottages for themselves and for the pig; for without these, existence

would not be possible. They can and they do produce this much; and in this way they rise to a level a little below that of our supposed savages. Beyond that level they cannot rise. And why cannot they? Because they have no distinct desire to rise above it. They have no desire for a clean cottage with four or five rooms in it; they prefer a smoky hut. They have no desire for a house to put the pig in; they had far sooner that it kept the family company. Not only have they no desire for such improvement; they resent it, if it is thrust upon them. Give them a clean cottage, they will instantly make it dirty. Put the pig in the pig-house, they will instantly have it back in the kitchen. What they want is not riches: it is simply a leisurely poverty. Now such a peasantry is the type of the average of mankind in general, when its necessary wants are satisfied and it is uninfluenced by the desire for wealth.

Let us consider this matter further. The desire for wealth is popularly considered to be the most common and natural of all desires. No supposition really could be more far from the truth. In the advanced stages of civilization a vague desire for wealth in the abstract, is no doubt universal. But it is a vague desire only, and it is only for wealth in the abstract. The poor man who desires wealth, does not feel the need of any one of the special luxuries which wealth would give him. They are all massed together into a mysterious symbol of some unknown and unimagined pleasure. This, however, at present is somewhat beside the point; for we are not considering here the advanced stages of civilization, in which realized wealth is present; we are considering man in a stage at which wealth has not yet been produced; and if we start from the rude beginning, we shall see that in the up-hill journey towards civilization and culture, the real difficulty lies not in the production of wealth, but in the production of the desire for wealth. To desire wealth, before wealth is actually in being, is a special gift; it is a true attribute of genius, and it belongs only to the few. It implies an act of strong imaginative creation. Under these conditions another gift goes with it, with which it is very closely connected; and that is, the power of attaining wealth. In our imaginary island, we conceived of our despot as holding his supremacy by force; and wealth amongst such savages could be produced by external force alone. Their food-supply had to be violently taken away from them. But in such climates as ours the case is different. The barest necessities of life, with us, require much toil to produce, and there are constant chances of suffering from cold or famine. Here then is the opening for the men of ambition, skill, and ingenuity. These men see their way to facilitating the production of the necessities which the whole community needs. One such man, by virtue of his superior powers, can be of benefit to countless others; and from each one of these others whom he benefits, he receives something in return. He has helped the food-producers to produce more food than they can eat from day to day, and a part of

this food they give him; or he has helped them to produce warm clothes, or to make more water-tight houses, and they give him food and clothing for this reason. At any rate, he acquires a store of the primary necessities of life—a greater store than he can ever make use of himself. Here is the beginning of riches: here is power stored up over human labour; and in this stored-up power is the beginning of civilization. It is the beginning of civilization in this way: its possessor by its means can withdraw men from the production of their own necessities, and set them to producing things that shall give himself pleasure. And he can thus bind them to his service, in the absence of physical compulsion, only because he can make it to their advantage to be so bound. He finds them originally working to supply themselves with the means of life. He sets them to a different work; but, so far as they are concerned, the result is similar, only it is fuller and more certain. He is thus practically in the position of our imaginary despot; and the presence of his wealth produces civilization in exactly the same way. It diffuses gradually new wants through the community; and each new want produced, each new luxury needed, is a new magnet—a new power added to the productive engine.* The presence of wealth in a community is like a developing solution poured over a photograph. It develops human nature; it develops all the sleeping talents, energies, ambitions, ingenuities by which man is distinguished from the animals, and by the degrees of which men are distinguished from each other. It seems to be producing inequalities, but it is really only revealing them.

Wealth, then, begins civilization by creating and by satisfying a want. It springs from labour, which is not only motivated by the want of food; for all labour is motivated by that, primarily: but *it springs from labour which is motivated by the want of food in such a way, and under such conditions, that it does more than satisfy the wants by which it is motivated.* The majority of mankind, in the absence of wealth, desire nothing but the bare necessities of life; and desiring these only, they can produce these only. The desire of wealth, in starting, is the exclusive gift of a few exceptional characters; and, as I have said before, they can realize this desire only by making it to the advantage of others to labour for them.

Further, to all this we must add the following important corollary. The condition of the labouring classes is, within certain limits, proportionate to their faculty of desire. If they are poor, squalid, and dependent, it is because they have no efficient desire to be anything else. As has been already said, they may be vaguely discontented with their

* When I treat, as I hope to do, more fully of these subjects, the above remark will have to be qualified. To continue the same image, an increasing desire for wealth, increases the power of the productive engine only in so far as the strength of the machinery is proportionate to the power moving it; else the machinery, instead of doing more work, will be broken. In other words, if more luxuries are desired by a community than can possibly be produced by it the result is some disastrous social crisis by which all will be affected.

condition, at times they may be even exasperated by it. But exasperation at poverty is not an efficient desire for a competence. To be efficient, such a desire must have an object that is, in the first place, attainable, and in the second place definite. There are many workmen who live in squalid homes, and who yet find money to spare for drink and coarse debauchery. Now such men, no doubt, have a vague desire for riches; but their desire is not efficient, because its object is not distinct. They desire to have more comforts than they possess; but they do not fix their desires on any special attainable comforts. They do not long to have their rooms and their beds clean. The dirty staircase, the broken window, is not in itself intolerable to them. They long in the abstract to have a great hoard of money, but they do not long to save so many shillings a week. That they do not long to do so, is proved by the fact that they do not do so, but that they waste their surplus in the way above mentioned. Many a collier, when times were good, was in receipt of a better income than is many a curate: but let us conceive a cluster of poor curates' dwellings, and contrast it with a pit village. In the former we should find every modest improvement that was possible. We should find such riches as there were made the most of. In the latter we should find dirt and disorder; we should find every symptom of outward penury; and yet all the while, as it were, there would be money spilling itself in the gutter. The reason is, that the riches of the colliers would be in excess of their desires. They would have the power to get many luxuries; but they would be unable to conceive what luxuries to get. They would throw part of their money away on objects that gave them no pleasure when they had got them; another part they would squander in excessive eating and drinking. They would have what, in their own language, is called "a spend-out." In this way they would again reduce themselves to that degree of want, which would once more set them to work. Their earnings would once more be in excess of their desires; there would be another "spend-out;" there would be another return to a state of physical want; then their desires once more would become efficient, work would be again produced; and the former process would be repeated. We have here no imaginary case. The above are actual facts of contemporary industrial life.

They are well worth considering; for if we only read them aright they will teach us that fundamental truth, which at first sight seems a paradox, that an efficient desire for wealth, so far from being a desire natural to the average man, is a desire that it is extremely difficult to produce, and extremely difficult to maintain. It exists in every degree, and the degree is probably not the same in any two people, or in any two classes. It depends on numerous complex causes, and complex conditions. It depends on habit, on education, on imagination, and on strength of will. But through all these causes there is one common cause working, and that is the wealth that is already in existence. This is the one-motive power that produces all

civilizing industry. It is the great electro-magnet that moves the whole intricate machinery. Remove it, and what happens? The machine does not stop, but it ceases to do any work. It does nothing but keep itself barely going. In other words, if the few possessed no luxuries, nobody would possess more than the barest necessities. Human life would be occupied, not in advancing and raising itself, but simply and solely in sustaining itself. Men's physical strength, their skill, their imagination, their ingenuity, then would have no further object to excite them; they would be all undeveloped; to all intents and purposes they would be absolutely non-existent. As it is, even in the lowest class, they have been developed somewhat. The commonest labourer desires more, and gets more, than he would in a savage state. He does something more than a bare subsistence; and thus, though he is in the extreme of poverty when compared with the extreme riches of some, he is, or he might be, in the extreme of riches, when compared with what, but for the riches of those others, he would have been.

Let us return to the two pictures we were just now considering: the picture of the squalid manufacturing town, and the strong contrast to it in the picture of the large country-house. Destroy or distribute the luxury existing in the latter, make the life that is now lived there impossible; and the dwellers in the former, so far from being benefited, are made more squalid still. The magnificence of the castle does not come from the plunder of the alley, but it is the cause of the alley existing, where otherwise there would be no shelter at all.

To the Radical philanthropist, and, indeed, to many others besides, this, no doubt, will seem a hard saying, but that is because hitherto, in the study of economic questions, the most important factor involved has been utterly passed over. No account whatever has been taken of motive. Men have contemplated the wheels of the machine revolving, but they have never studied the invisible force that drives them, and to the constant action of which every visible motion is due. It would be a most wholesome exercise for students of social questions, and speculators on social progress, if they would consent for a time to say nothing about human action at all, and to talk and think of it only in terms of motive, or, in other words, of efficient desire. Instead of talking of the distribution of wealth, let them talk about the distribution of an efficient desire for wealth, and let them remember the conditions required to give the desire its efficiency. Let them remember that it must be more than a vague wish: it must be desire for a definite object, and also for an attainable object; and let them meditate on all that is involved in these two necessary requirements.

And now let me suppose that, alien as such a conception is, the reader has consented to entertain it, and has assented in a general way to the truth of the foregoing arguments. He admits, we will say, that in the initiation of material progress the unequal distribution of wealth has played an important part. He admits that the present com-

merce of the world, the thousand useful and ornamental arts now in existence, the railways, the telegraphs, the cotton mills, have all been produced by the enterprise of certain exceptionally gifted and exceptionally enterprising individuals, and that their talents and their enterprise would have lain dormant but for what we may conveniently symbolize as certain immense golden magnets. He admits all this, we will say, but the question thus far is only half disposed of. It is still open to him to urge the following arguments: He may say, in the first place, that even if exceptional wealth be requisite to produce inventors, merchants, manufacturers, or any other organizers of labour, and even if in this way it be of general use to the world, yet it is certainly not necessary, and is of no use whatever when it is possessed by the entirely idle; when it is possessed by sleeping partners, for instance, or by a landed aristocracy. Or he may say something, in the second place, of even wider scope than this. He may say that though in the earlier stages of progress inequality has been necessary, yet that these stages are now passed, and it is necessary no longer. The wealthy classes once had a function, but they have it no longer, just as Comte thought with regard to the Church of Rome. This is, in fact, what practically the Socialists do say, and not the Socialists only, but men of a much more moderate school, such as Mr. Boyd Kinnear and Professor Goldwin Smith.

We will deal with these two objections in order, beginning with the last. This last objection is based upon two entirely false conceptions, or else it implies a third. Probably all three are concerned in it. There are, firstly, a false conception as to what existing wealth is; secondly, a consequent false conception as to the possibility of dividing it; and thirdly, a false conception, or, perhaps, the absence of any conception at all, as to what is permanent and what is changeable in human character. The question is, Does wealth still fulfil in society any necessary function? If it does not, it can be divided with general advantage to the community; and, conversely, if it can be so divided, the case of the objector is proved, and the function it once fulfilled it fulfils no longer. Let us see if this really be so. To this end our first inquiry must be, What is wealth? When we hear of a man rolling in riches, or being nursed in the lap of luxury, and so on, what do we really mean? It seems to me that no economists have ever answered this question fully. They have certainly not done so with any practical efficiency; for one can hardly open the pages of any philanthropic writer, without seeing that he is inflamed by a wholly false idea. I took up the other day a recent volume on Italy—the work of a man of very considerable eminence; and amongst the general reflections with which it closes, there occurs the following phrase: “The vast amount of wealth accumulated in individual hoards, and the poverty and the starvation lying at the very doors of the rich.” The words are well worth quoting, not because there is anything special in them, but because, on the contrary, they are so singularly commonplace.

Not only one writer has used them, but hundreds of writers. They show the common, the almost universal, way in which the contrasts in men's conditions present themselves. Now, the contrast is a real contrast—there is no doubt about that; but in this presentation of it there is as much falsehood as truth. The falsehood lies in the conception of great riches as a "hoard." This is simply a survival from the dark ages of economic superstition, when as yet economic science was not. It is a survival from the days when wealth was identified with the precious metals, and when that nation was held the richest that could lock up most gold in its coffers. Men, it is true, no longer believe that; but though they have cast off the body of the belief, they are still misled by the spirit of it. Perhaps this is hardly strange; for the most inveterate and most mischievous fallacies are often those that are so transparent that it has never been thought worth while to explode them. Let us try to explode this one: it should not be a hard task.

We will take the case of a great landed proprietor, with all the usual signs of a large inherited income. He has several country-places, and also a house in London. He has stables, horses, carriages, grape-houses, conservatories, and a yacht. He has a cellar of priceless wines; he has a fine collection of pictures, of china, of plate, and of bric-a-brac. He has abundance of house-furniture generally. Now, of all these objects, whatever are movable, whatever could be conceivably housed in some Pantechnicon, might, no doubt, be called "an individual hoard." One might even call a big house, and a large collection of acres, by the same name, without introducing any radically false idea. All these are physical objects, got together, and capable of redistribution, or (in the case of the house) of partition. But these are the only parts of wealth to which the above phrase will apply; and most of them intrinsically are not wealth at all. They are ciphers, of no value except as following some other numeral. Let us take, for instance, a large and beautiful cabinet, for which a rich man of taste pays two thousand pounds. The cabinet is of value to him, for reasons we will consider presently: as possessed by him it constitutes a portion of his wealth. But how could such a piece of wealth be distributed? It is either a "hoard" in itself, or else it is nothing. Not only is it incapable of physical partition and distribution, but if taken from the rich man and given to the poor man, the latter is not the least enriched by it. Put a priceless buhl cabinet into an Irish labourer's cottage, and it will probably only add to his discomforts; or if he finds it useful, it will only be because he keeps the pig in it. A picture by Titian, again, may be worth thousands, but it is worth thousands only to the man who can enjoy it. A bottle of fine wine may be worth a guinea to an epicure, but to a thirsty labourer it would be worth no more than a quart of beer.

The inventory of the rich man's hoard will contain three classes of objects. The first will comprise works of art or of

magnificence, which have no *raison d'être* or no value at all, except as possessed by men of wealth and cultivation. The second will comprise objects such as rare wines, which have, indeed, some value as enjoyed by any one, but no exceptional value. They are not made worthless by distribution, they are only depreciated. The wine that was worth a guinea a bottle is reduced in its worth to fourpence. Finally, the third class of objects will comprise the commonest things of life, which are needed for comfort by rich and by poor alike, such as sheets, blankets, kitchen utensils, coal, and so forth; and these, no doubt, could be distributed without their existing value diminishing in the process; indeed, in some cases, it might slightly increase. But as to this class of objects there are two things to remember. In the first place, the thriving poor are already fairly well supplied with them; and, in the second place, at no given moment have the rich any enormous hoard of them. A rich man accumulates works of art, and he accumulates wine; but he does not accumulate kitchen chairs, or coals, or blankets.

We are talking, let us remember, of such wealth as can, with any propriety, be figured as so many *individual hoards*; and we mean by that, wealth actually now existing—wealth which would be found in the great houses of England to-day, at this moment, if all work were suddenly suspended and stock taken of the objects in each one of them. We mean this, and we mean this only. We emphatically do not mean prospective wealth. We do not mean articles of daily consumption which are consumed in the evening and supplied again next morning. Of the vast individual hoards, then, of which we hear so much, by far the most precious portion is physically incapable of any but the most partial subdivision. As has been said above, we cannot cut up and distribute a cabinet. Such an object is an indivisible hoard in itself, and it is further a hoard only as connected with other similar hoards. It represents to the rich man, we will say, two thousand pounds; but all this treasure, if taken from its present owner, could be transferred to only one poor man; and when the poor man got it he would find it was worth nothing. The material wealth actually now existing, splendid and coveted as it is, is splendid and coveted only so long as it is undistributed. It sparkles, and shines, and glows with every imaginable colour, but it could be no more divided than a shining and iridescent soap-bubble.

This, however, is only half the case. The value of each separate object that makes up accumulation of treasure depends, we have said, on its being part of an accumulation. But it does not depend upon this only. Take the most splendid palace in Europe, give it, as a home, to a working chimney-sweep, and he will find it, not a palace, but a wilderness. To make *hoarded* wealth an object of desire, or a source of any pleasure, two things are needed which are in no sense *hoards*, and which are utterly misconceived if they are metaphorically represented as such. These two things are, firstly, taste—which may be either true

taste or merely some form of pride; and, secondly, income. Now, as for taste, though we talk of it as a self-existent thing, what we really mean by it is tasteful men; and just as it is absurd to talk of distributing tasteful men, so is it equally absurd to talk of distributing taste. All that can be meant by such, or by a similar phrase, is the making men tasteful who are not tasteful at present; and in so far as taste is a constituent of wealth, this process is not a distribution of old wealth, but a creation of new. We cannot pause to dwell longer on this matter here. We will pass on at once to the more prominent question of income.

Let us take again, then, the most splendid palace in Europe, and put in it, not as we did just now, a chimney-sweep, but a man of taste, born and bred in splendour: let us give him, however, no income beyond what suffices to feed and clothe him. Will that man be rich? Will he not, on the contrary, be miserably poor, and will not all the splendour about him simply add to his poverty? The countless empty bed-rooms and offices, which no servants occupy, the great chambers in which he can receive no guests—what are these to him more than so many caves would be on a neighbouring mountain side? Nor is this all. Not only is his palace empty, cold, and desolate, but he cannot keep it in repair. There are no fires lit; the roof by-and-by leaks; the rooms grow damp; the pictures are slowly ruined; and the curtains and the hangings are eaten by the moths. To a man situated as our imagined possessor of the palace, not only is enjoyment of it, or of the works of art contained in it, impossible, but if his unhappy position still leaves his artistic taste keen enough, the contemplation of his pictures, so far from being a pleasure to him, will only be a pain, because he sees them going to ruin. What, then, is wanted to make the palace rich, to him what a palace is commonly supposed to be—so much it would be a sign of wealth and a part of it? What is wanted is income.

And what is income? In the case of an enormously rich man it may be said to be five hundred, or, perhaps, a thousand pounds a day. Such, at least, would be the common way of stating it. But such a statement of it is a symbolical statement merely. It symbolizes the truth, but it does not in any way directly express it. Let us suppose now that our possessor of the palace has an income of this magnitude given to him. What does this mean? It does not mean that so many pounds come into his hands every day, put into a bag or box, and that a horse of them is then duly accumulating. In that case the man would be a fool, that is, he would be. What income really means is not an accumulation of any kind. It really means a command over labour. It means the possession of private servants and the partial possession of public servants. It means that the possessor has power to make other men do; to house a troop, to buy the pictures, the plate and the furniture, to grow cotton, to grow corn for the grates and light him, to feed his private retinue, to buy and cook it delicately, and leave and carry for the convenience of him-

self and of his friends. It means the power, also, to make men provide post-horses, or accommodation in railway trains or in hotels. It means all this, and numberless other like things. In other words, to have a large income is to have power to make a number of other men do an immense number of things for one.

It is a common saying that Wealth is power; but people quote these words little thinking how literally true they are. That Knowledge is power, is a common saying also; and in its own way it is, perhaps, equally true; but it is not true in the same way as the other. To say that knowledge is power means that knowledge of a certain kind enables a man to acquire power, and this practically conveys a truth in a curt and incisive manner; but literally it is not true at all. On the other hand, to say that wealth is power, is true literally. It is, indeed, little more than an identical proposition, or the definition of the meaning of a word. A large income, which is the kind of wealth we are considering, is not the means to power, but it is power itself. Money is not it, but the symbol of it. Suppose I give a workman sixpence, and say, "There is something to drink for you." Now in that case, when I say that sixpence is something to drink, I am no doubt conveying a truth, but I am only conveying it figuratively. But when I say of sixpence, not that it is something to drink, but that it is a silver coin of a certain value, I am using language in an entirely different way. I am using no figure of speech; I am insinuating, I am implying nothing. I am directly stating a bald literal fact. And it is this that I am doing when I say that wealth is power. I am stating something definite about a thing already known, but known only indefinitely, just as if I was to say "That dim patch in the fog is the dome of St. Paul's Cathedral." We have already dwelt upon the wealth of possessions—the wealth that consists of a hoard of individual objects—but these, as we have seen, are not wealth of themselves. In themselves, indeed, they are little more than lumber. They are wealth only when possessed by a man with an income, and, therefore, this latter form of wealth may in all social questions be taken for wealth in general. When we speak of the rich we convey to the popular mind not the idea of a man with a picture gallery, or a collection of ivories, but of a man with an income; and a man with a large income is a man who from day to day can make others exert their powers in obedience to his wishes.

And now comes the further question. How does the man with an income make men do this? He does not physically coerce them, but he acts upon them through their own wills. And he thus acts upon them, and he thus can act upon them only in one way, *namely, by first withholding, and then giving to them the necessaries or the luxuries of existence, as the case may be.* What follows from this, then? How will the above considerations affect our idea of the rich man? It will show that the popular conception of him, or, rather, the universally current *image* of him, is an entirely false one. It will show us that the rich man is rich, not

because he is the possessor of a vast "individual hoard," but for a very different reason. He is rich not because he is a *hoarder* of the splendours of life, but because he is a perpetual distributor of its necessities. To say he is rich means nothing but that he is able to distribute these. To say he is spending his riches means nothing but that he does distribute them.

This, then, is what we have to realize with regard to wealth: it is not a physical accumulation to any important extent. What it is, is a power of direction, or of organization. It is a power of distributing and of applying motive. The existing wealth of the world is the existing organization of production; and the organization of production is the counterpart of the organization of motive. Wealth is a living, not a dead thing. Its body is not the same for two days together. It is for ever being destroyed, and for ever renewing itself; and this life is the result of countless complex processes, which depend, one and all of them, on various gradations of desire, and various gradations of capacity which such desire develops. This being so, our modern material progress, so far from rendering equalization easy, is daily rendering it more difficult. More and more does the wealth of the world become dependent on scientific knowledge, on technical skill, and that peculiar form of genius by which such knowledge and skill is applied to common industry, and by which industry is directed. And all these qualifications are things that need constant fresh development. A man is not born a chemist, an engineer, an electrician, or the director of a great fleet of merchant vessels; nor does his knowledge or capacity in any of these posts descend ready-made to his children. All our existing knowledge, all available genius, has to be daily re-created in the brain of maturing human beings. It has to be re-created with pain and labour; and this labour is motivated by the desire for wealth, as an electro-magnetic engine is moved by its magnets, and it points to wealth as the needle points to the pole.

With regard to the poorer classes, and the misery that no doubt exists in the world, the above conclusions may seem disheartening. But they are not so. They should teach us a lesson very different from despair; and in this way. The first thing they should teach us is, that whatever may be the cause of the misery of many, the wealth of some few is certainly not the cause of it. Poverty is not the economic antithesis of wealth; its economic antithesis is *competence*. A man is starved in a garret, not because great wealth is being created round him, but because he himself is taking no share in creating it. It is true that many men work who are underpaid, and who are consequently miserable; but their misery is not due to the fact that others possess luxuries, but that they themselves do not possess necessities. Those who have at heart the welfare of their fellows will never be on the right track till they recognize this fact. Throughout the whole of the present century the school that calls itself liberal, has been led astray, and is still being led astray, by not recognizing it. The instincts of

that school are in many points sound. It errs by a wrong diagnosis of its own instincts. It has one lesson to learn, which, though it seems small, is yet of infinite importance; and that is, that the desire to raise the poor, and to alleviate misery, has only an accidental and superficial connection with the desire for equality.

The desire to alleviate misery, to make misery, as far as may be, impossible—the desire to create for the people bright and happy homes, where now there are only dismal and dirty dens—this is the desire of every true philanthropist, Christian or non-Christian; it is a desire also that is worthy of a practical man. But the desire for equality, though it may in some cases be inspired by philanthropy, is a desire only fit for a dreamer. What the true reformer should aim at, is not to do away with inequality, but to do away with the injustices of inequality. Whilst seeing that the thing has its abuse, he should not lose sight of its necessity. It is said continually by the more moderate Radicals, that absolute equality will never be realized; it is a thing to which we can only make constant approaches. What they must learn to say, is something profoundly different. They must learn to see in it not an abuse that can never be quite done away with, but a necessity of civilization which must be guarded and cherished; which must indeed be pruned, but pruned for its own maintenance. The aim of social reformers, the aim of the friends of the poor, must be not to impoverish the rich, but to get justice done by the rich. With regard to the working man, they must aim not at making him more than a working man, but as much as a prosperous working man. The watchword of the philanthropist, let me once again repeat it, must be no longer equality, but equitable inequality; and he must measure the condition of the people not by their distance from the splendours of the rich, but by their distance from want and cold and squalor, and, above all, anxiety. He must measure it not by their approach to splendour, but by their approach to happiness.

To do this is not to abandon the cause of progress; it is only to abandon dreams of impossible progress. Within the limits of the possible there is ample room for exertion, and ample room for hope. If we attempt to pass those limits there is nothing but destruction and barbarism. Democrats, communists, and the more violent English Radicals, when dealing with the social aspect of things, are never weary of dwelling on the miseries of the poor; and so far they do well. But they have one lesson to learn, which they have certainly not learnt yet, that, though the misery of the poor is the disease of the body politic, yet inequality is the life of the body politic.

I have spoken of wealth and its functions thus far, as the reward of the trader and the manufacturer—as directly connected with the organization of labour. I have not yet touched upon the wealth of the idle, or of those whose income does not depend on their industry. It remains to consider what are the functions of these.

The most prominent members of the above class are, of course, the

landlords. The uses and the duties of these have been discussed so often, that little need be here said of them. I may, however, make, in passing, the following brief observations. One of the chief bugbears of the English Radical is that vague thing which he commonly calls Feudalism. Now, what does the English Radical mean by Feudalism? He explains himself variously and always inaccurately. He never expresses what he really has in his mind. Consequently, a complete verbal answer cannot always be given to him. In its strict sense Feudalism is a thing of the past. The Conservative press has often told him that; and if he really meant what he said, his grievance could be proved to be imaginary. He, however, will not be convinced of this; and rightly. What he calls Feudalism does still exist; only it is not the body of the institution, but the spirit of it. This spirit undoubtedly does survive. Let us ask in what way, and in what degree? We can answer the question by a very apt analogy, namely, the case of chivalry. Just as the modern conception of a gentleman is the outcome of mediæval chivalry, so is the modern conception of a landlord the outcome of mediæval feudalism. The body is dead, but a certain definite portion of the spirit has survived. And in the case of Feudalism what is that definite portion? It can be very briefly stated: it consists of this one idea, the duty of the rich to the poor. That idea did not begin with Feudalism; it did not even begin with Christianity; but through Christian Feudalism, for the first time in the world's history, it became an integral part of the political structure of society: just as, through chivalry, the reverence of man for woman became an integral part of the moral structure of society. Ideas are often clear in the minds of individual thinkers, principles are often put into practice by individual men, long before they are embodied in the actual order of things, and before they become the common heritage of men in general. To amalgamate them in this way with the conscience of the civilized man, is a long and gradual process, and the ideas or the principles in question are often half hidden from sight for a time by the very institutions which are the first means of their diffusion. This, no doubt, was the case with Feudalism; but now that the institution is dead, the idea it has bequeathed to us has become visible. It seemed originally to be merely a military organization: but the military element is gone, and there has emerged from it a moral organization. Feudalism found property with rights, it has left property with duties and it has done this in the most comprehensive way possible: for, under the influence of subsequent thought, it has extended the conception of the term property, and included in it knowledge and all intellectual power.* Let any man be in any way superior to his fellows: that superiority has made him their lord.

Such is the moral doctrine which we call Feudalism. What this is meant in these days by the term Feudalism. The Feudalism of

* Plato's idea of a hereditary government, and Aristotle's of a government of the few, are both Feudalisms.

this century is not a dead institution, but a living idea—an idea that still influences every section of society. It may be no longer embodied in the laws of the community, but it is embodied instead in its consciousness, and it is asserting its power around us every moment of our lives, in habits of thought and feeling, in the operations of conscience, in ways of life, in styles of architecture, and in the manner of class to class. A high position gives power, because a high position imposes duties: that is the great idea which is at the bottom of all this, and that is the great idea with which the English Radical is at war. He hates an aristocracy not because it has no functions, but because it has them and has to fulfil them.

Let us pass, however, from a landed aristocracy to a class of men who, though poorer, perhaps, so far as nominal wealth goes, are yet probably far richer practically, in the sense that they have more to spend on their own personal pleasures. I am referring to that class of *rentiers*, whose wealth conveys to them no obvious quasi-feudal duties, and who have nothing to do, or who at any rate find nothing to do, but amuse and pamper themselves from one year's end to another. The *mere man of pleasure*—it is a proverbial type. It is a type that all grave thinkers speak of with contempt, and a contempt that is not unmerited. What shall we say of a man of this kind? What social function does he perform? And would not society be sounder and healthier, were the existence of such drones made impossible? The answer to these questions, however, is not so obvious as it may seem to be. If we are judging the man of pleasure with regard to his own character only, and with regard to his own intentions, it may certainly be contended that he does perform no function, and we may condemn him accordingly, not only as useless to society, but as absolutely hurtful to it. Against his own will, however, and even without his own knowledge, he does perform a social function none the less. Any rich man, as we have said already, is in the main a distributor of the means of life, not an inordinate consumer of them; and in so far as he is a mere distributor, whether he injures or improves himself by the distribution, is a matter that is of little moment to any besides himself. I observe this by the way: it is not the special point I am aiming at. The primary function of wealth in the production and the maintenance of civilization consists in its being an object of desire: and it is an object of desire for various reasons. It represents the gratification of pride, of the desire for power, of the desire for leisure, of the desire for pleasure. This being the case, the life of the mere idle voluptuary represents the possibility of a life which, free from all external claims, can be spent entirely according to the will of the individual. The voluptuary himself wastes and mispends his life; but this is due not to the fact that he is a *rentier*, but that he is a wrong-thinking *rentier*. He chooses the life he has, because the moral condition of his age allows such a life to be pleasurable to him; and other

men envy his position for exactly similar reasons. The fact that he does exist is the social, though not the personal justification of his existence. If the life he leads were utterly unattractive, not only would it represent to the community no desirable possibility, but he himself would no longer lead it. He violates *moral* laws, but he does not violate *economic* laws; and he is a moral, not an *economic* evil.

In other words, the rich, as a body, are fulfilling a distinct function by the mere enjoyment of their riches. We have seen what part in action the desire for riches plays: men only desire them because they are seen to be desirable; and they are only seen to be desirable when their possessors are seen enjoying them.

This, however, is by no means the whole of the matter. I have said that the rich, by the mere enjoyment of their riches, are fulfilling a distinct function even when that enjoyment is of an idle or a depraved kind. But they are fulfilling one function only. They are indirectly and unintentionally keeping human labour in motion, and developing human ingenuity. They are supplying to the industrial machine the magnetism which moves it; but they are not directing the machine, or else they are misdirecting it. Wealth, primarily, is of social value because it is an object of desire; but we require of it more than this: we require that it should be an object of right desire. And in so far as civilization has progressed, this is what it has been. It has enabled, amongst the classes possessing it, a certain type of life to develop itself, which has had a functional relationship to all other classes. It has enabled art, manners, science, and every form of wide knowledge and thought, to exist. Artists, men of science, philosophers, and discoverers, have themselves, no doubt, been very often poor men, but had it not been for the existence of rich men, their genius would never have discovered itself: it would have found no sphere of action. They have either exercised their talents to obtain the recognition of the wealthy, or they have exercised them to gain wealth for themselves. Of the latter case I have said enough already. I am approaching the matter now under a different aspect. I am considering, not the material side of wealth, but its general effects on the tastes and consciousness of the wealthy; and the more we consider the matter, the more clearly shall we see that in the tastes and consciousness of this class are to be found the models and the originals of whatever is civilized in the other parts of the community.

I have space at present to touch on only one instance of this: but the instance is comprehensive. The instance does not lie, as it has been often imagined, in the growth or retardation of any of the arts or of industry. Now this sense a limited value, the arts and industry, the literary, the moral, scientific, and geographic knowledge, the artistic and scientific release from all local restrictions, the knowledge of the world, with distant places and people, and the knowledge of the world. They are obtained in the first place from the books, and from the communications of men of the highest intellect, and from the communications of men of the highest intellect.

These, however, supply us not with the sense in question, but only with the raw material out of which that sense is manufactured. The common sailor sees more of the world than any other man in the same grade of life; yet, of all the poorer classes, sailors are the least democratic, and cobblers and tailors are the most. It can be thus shown clearly, I think, that there is no direct connection between the cosmopolitan experience of the industrial classes and the cosmopolitan sentiments which the modern democrat detects in them. The sense of the unity of mankind, of the connected history and the connected interests of nations, is a sense that forms itself primarily in the wealthy class, and in the wealthy class alone. It is only the rich who can be practically cosmopolitans, who can feel themselves free to come and go as they please over the earth's surface, and who are equally at home in London and New York, in Cairo, Calcutta, and St. Petersburg. Each rich man need not personally be a wanderer: all that is needed is that he should be conscious of the power to wander. The wealthier classes, in this way, are a visible symbol to all the rest of the world of the extent of human achievement: and, indirectly, the rest of the world receives from them a sense of power and a breadth of view which could never else be possible to it. The wealthier classes need not be the most learned nor the most philosophic, but, in so far as knowledge and discoveries bear practical fruits, it is in the wealthy classes that these are first exhibited. It is the merchant prince, the general, the sportsman, the yachtsman, or the scientific or antiquarian traveller—each looking on the world from a certain social elevation—it is such men who are the sources of the cosmopolitan idea. They become cosmopolitan unintentionally, and by a natural process. The rest of the world sees their proceedings and becomes familiar with them. It becomes familiar, too, with their habits of thought, and receives, through literature, the fruits of their experience. It becomes cosmopolitan at second-hand. A remarkable instance of this is to be found in the accounts published, during the past year, of the life of Most, the Socialist editor of the *Freiheit*. Most's revolutionary opinions seem to have been shaped in a great degree by the study of one thinker, and that thinker was Buckle. Now Buckle's work was a work possible only as the work of a rich man. It was the fruit of wealth, leisure, and freedom. Democratic as were Buckle's views, they were views that could have originated only amongst an aristocratic class—using the word aristocratic in its broadest sense; and Most, in so far as he held these views valuable, was paying an unintentional tribute to that very inequality which it was his dream to destroy. And so it is with that whole movement which is called the democratic. The wealthy classes are a kind of elevated reflector, which receives all the scattered knowledge, experiences, and thoughts of all the classes beneath them, and returns their various rays, woven together into a growing, or, at all events, a changing, intellectual daylight.

W. H. MALLOCK.

FREE THOUGHT—FRENCH AND ENGLISH.

ONE of the most striking of contemporary facts in France, and in the nations of Continental Europe most directly and largely influenced by French thought, is the sharp division of opinion into two camps. Minor sections there are, of course; but all converge to the two great parties, one of which is known as Liberal, Radical, Progressist, or Freethinking; and the other as Conservative, Catholic, Clerical, or Ultramontane. It cannot be doubted that the sympathies of the great mass of Englishmen are with the former of these two great parties. Nor are the reasons why this is so far to seek. Falstaff was not in error in estimating highly the value of "a commodity of good names." Epithets, shibboleths, and watchwords are a great power in the world. They label things for us, and in the vast majority of cases we accept the things upon the faith of the labels. It is as Goethe says:—

"Wo die Begriffe fehlen
Da stellt ein Wort zur rechten Zeit sich ein"

Now there can be no doubt that the word Liberal appeals very strongly to the average Englishman. Even if he happens to class himself in respect of our insular party politics as a Conservative, he regards his Conservatism as a distinctively British product not suitable for exportation, and by no means adapted to the requirements of foreigners, whom he is apt to consider as standing more or less in need, in many particulars, of radical reform. The Continental politicians who profess their cause to be the cause of liberty thereby establish in advance a claim upon our sympathies. By the very profession they create what is, in the strictest sense of the word, a prejudice in their favour, among a people whose special glory it is to have been for a thousand years the soldiers and servants of freedom; and few of us possess either the leisure or the discipline of mind requisite for examining critically into the real worth of it. The late Mr. Mill, in one

of the most valuable of his essays, notes, as the prime fault of a school of writers of history now, it may be hoped, extinct, their habit of ignoring the alteration effected in the connotation of names by the evolution of social ideas. "They assume," he points out, "that words mean the same thing to a monkish chronicler as to a modern member of Parliament. If they find the term *rex* as applied to Clovis or Clotaire, they already talk of 'the French monarchy' or 'the kingdom of France.' If, among a tribe of savages newly escaped from the woods, they find mention of a council of leading men, or an assembled multitude giving its sanction to some matter of general concernment, their imagination jumps to a system of free institutions and a wise contrivance of constitutional balances and checks. If, at other times, they find a chief killing and plundering without this sanction, they just as promptly figure to themselves an acknowledged despotism."* What these writers did, as regards the past, is done daily, as regards the present, by the great bulk of Englishmen. They survey the affairs of the rest of the world from their own private insular standpoint of to-day, and do not reflect that freedom, progress, reform may mean very different things in the mouths of different people, in different races, and in different political and social conditions; that the brand-new *liberté* now so extensively advertised in France in company with *égalité* and *fraternité* may resemble "the liberty of the subject," which is our immemorial heritage, as little as a French *juge de paix* resembles an English justice of the peace, or as little as the *maire* of the twentieth Parisian *arrondissement* resembles the Mayor of Southwark. Nor do the public prints of this country, from which most of us derive, almost exclusively, our information about Continental affairs, do much, as a rule, to promote such reflections. "Our Special Correspondent," in the majority of cases, is, in fact, closely connected with the party whose special interest it is not to promote them.

But this is not all. While such causes as these create in the English mind a prejudice in favour of the Continental party known as Liberal, Radical, Progressist, or Freethinking, there are other causes of a like kind which operate as strongly in creating a prejudice against the party opposed to it. I am well aware that the No-Popery cry in this country is not what it was. The true-blue Protestants—the late Mr. Whalley was an admirable type of them—who saw "Catholics and Jesuits in everything, in every failure of the potato crop, every strike of the operatives, and every mercantile stoppage," are diminished from among the children of men. Nevertheless, a strong anti-Catholic feeling yet exists, and influences deeply, if less grotesquely, the popular mind. Many a Little Bethel or Ebenezer throughout the land still resounds from week to week with the invectives of "the heated pulpiteer"

"Against the scarlet woman and her creed."

And the same themes are discoursed upon occasionally in nobler temples and from more polished lips. I myself remember to have

* "Dissertations and Discussions," vol. ii. p. 126.

listened, not many years ago, to a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey by an accomplished and excellent divine, Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, now Bishop of Lincoln, in which he laboured with much learning and eloquence to prove that the late Pontiff of holy memory, Pius IX., was "that Man of Sin" spoken of by St. Paul. And, if I am not in error, the same thesis has been maintained by him in works published, or republished, quite recently. Indeed, Cardinal Newman has told us how, in his Anglican days, he regarded some such view as "an integral portion of the controversial basis of the Church of England." "I adopted," he goes on to say, "the argument of Bernard Gilpin, that Protestants were *not able* to give any *firm and solid* reason of the separation besides this: to wit, that the Pope is Antichrist."* And there can be no doubt that a feeling which has very much in common with this, largely influences many of us who would not clothe it in theological language. Hatred and distrust of Rome have been stamped deeply into the popular mind by the tradition of centuries. Hence, the epithet Catholic is an ill recommendation of any party to Englishmen in general, nor is the matter mended if the party be styled "Ultramontane," a nickname of portentous and ill-ascertained significance, which, upon the principle, "*omne ignotum pro horribili*," usually arouses in the British breast an aversion in exact proportion to its vagueness and unintelligibility. But our national dislike of Catholicism is quite as much political as religious. To most people the word is the symbol of all that presents itself to them as most detestable in modern history, most inimical to civil and religious liberty. The Inquisition, the fires of Smithfield, Guy Fawkes, the Spanish Armada, James the Second and Judge Jeffries, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—such are the personages and events primarily associated with it from the days of the nursery. It is a first principle in the English mind that Catholicism is the standing foe of human liberty. Nor does even a high degree of intellectual cultivation always avail to produce a juster estimate of this religion. Thus, Mr. Gladstone, who of course cannot be ignorant that the Catholic Church is (in the happy phrase which Mr. Mill quotes from Guizot) "the parent of liberty of conscience,"† has laid it down dogmatically, in a recent work, that Catholicism, being a religion of authority, is incompatible with freedom of thought,‡ a statement which is interesting and notable,

* "Apologia," p. 35.

† "The beneficial consequences which M. Guizot ascribes to the power of the Church is really of especial notice—the separation, unknown to antiquity, between temporal and spiritual authority. He, in common with the best thinkers of our time, attributes to this fact the happiest influence on European civilization. It was the parent, he says, of liberty of conscience. The separation of temporal and spiritual is founded on the idea that external force has no right, no hold, over the mind, over conviction, over truth. Enormous as has been the sin of the Catholic Church in the way of religious intolerance her assertion of this principle has done more for human freedom than all the fires she ever kindled availed to destroy it." Mill, *Liberty, Equality and Disfranchisement*, vol. ii, p. 243.

‡ "Cardinal Newman: 'The Infallibility of the Church is a supply for a need, and it does not go beyond that need. Its object is, and its effect also, not to enfeeble the freedom or vigour of human thought in religious speculation, but to resist and control its extravagance.'"—*Apologia*, p. 253.

as serving to show how, in intellects far above the vulgar level of cultivation and conscientiousness, personal prejudice or polemical passion may obliterate patent facts. The general impression upon the British mind undoubtedly is, that the dominant motive of the party in Continental Europe, known as Conservative and Catholic, is an inveterate hostility to constitutional government, a rooted preference for arbitrary rule, a burning desire to "induce a time"

"When single thought is civil crime,
And individual freedom mute."

And it cannot in candour be denied that active and zealous members of this party, especially in France, have done their best to confirm such impression by the language which they have habitually used. Nor, perhaps, have English Catholics contributed so much as might have been expected towards its correction. It was pointed out by Montalembert, soon after the Tractarian movement had reached its logical conclusion, what was the true course of action upon the part of those whom it had conducted to Rome; how the policy, at once most loyal, most adroit, and easiest, would be for them to appeal to the traditions of the thousand years in which Catholicism was the religion of England: years in which the foundations of English freedom and English greatness were laid; to which we owe those institutions by which English freedom and English greatness still subsist. In words of burning eloquence he warned them against an affectation of indifference to, or estrangement from, the great principles of liberty which are the very life of England, which were born of the Constitution wrought by Catholics of the mediæval time, and which bestow on Catholics of this age the only force wherewith they can resist successful Protestantism. "I tremble," he added, "lest the ideas in vogue for the last four years among certain Catholics of the Continent should infect the contemporary generation of our brethren on the other side of the Channel. By learning the lessons and imitating the examples of the arrogant and fanatic school which has placed the Duke of Alva among its heroes, and has gone about to rehabilitate the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, English Catholics would renounce the most precious, the sole invincible weapon of our days—liberty of conscience before human law."* It would be pleasant to be able to believe that these misgivings have been wholly falsified by the event.

So much may suffice to explain why it is that popular sentiment in this country is strongly predisposed towards sympathy with the party in Continental Europe which professes itself Liberal and anti-Catholic. And the average Englishman, as he is little solicitous to inquire into the precise meaning which the word liberty bears in the mouths of these politicians, so is he incurious as to the real ground upon which they war against the Catholic Church. He agrees with Mr. Gladstone that Catholicism is the foe of freedom of thought: and upon freedom of

* "L'Avenir Politique de l'Angleterre," 4me é.d., p. 194.

thought he rightly sets a high value. Hence he wishes well to the party which advocates *la libre pensée*, and which aims at converting the Catholic populations, or such portions of the populations as remain Catholic, into *Libres-Penseurs*. What *la libre pensée* is, when you get it, and how far it merits the sympathy and good wishes of Englishmen, are questions upon which he very rarely enters. These are precisely the questions which I propose to examine in this paper.

II.

It has been said, and truly, that the two great Continental parties of which I have been speaking are not parties in the sense which the word bears in English public life. They are rather sects. The real issue between them is not political but religious; and the terms Liberal and Conservative, as applied to them, are absolutely misleading to English ears. M. Gambetta, who may for the moment be taken as a fair representative of Continental Liberalism, spoke the simple truth when he denounced Catholicism—he preferred, for obvious reasons, to call it Clericalism—as the enemy against which he and his followers are fighting. And the allegation sometimes made that their hostility is merely political is the flimsiest of pretexts. It is a pretext to which colour has indeed been lent by the endeavour of certain fanatics of Absolutism to link a living church to a dead despotism: a Mezentian union which, happily for the world's future, is as impossible as it would be horrible. But to one who has any real acquaintance with the theology of the Catholic Church can doubt that, in the words of the Archbishop of Albi and his suffragan prelates,* she is “a stranger by her Divine constitution to the varying forms of political institutions.” No honest student of history can ignore the patent fact that “she accepts them all without dissatisfaction.” When it is said that the Church is “the enemy of the Republic,” what is really meant is that the Republic, as it at present exists in France, is the enemy of the Church. The “strife” between them is of the nature of that which the beaten slave in the play describes: “ubi tu pulsas, ego capulo tantum.” The Third Republic has now become the embodiment of a movement which, as M. Scherer allows, is “in reality a movement against Catholicism,” a movement which, as he goes on to tell us, aims at abrogating the Concordat, suppressing the salaries of the clergy, and reducing France, in matters of religion, to the position in which the First Napoleon found her in 1801. Such is the account given by M. Scherer† of the ends of the movement to the defence of which he has thought well to devote his accomplished pen. And no one who will take the trouble to read the

* “The Church, we do not hesitate to affirm, has no fear of a Christian democracy. A completely her Divine constitution to the varying forms of political institutions, she accepts all without dissatisfaction, so long as they respect the sacred rights she has received from her Divine Founder, and are favourable to the happiness of the people.”—*Letter from the Archbishop of Albi and his Suffragans to the Senators and Deputies of France*, April, 1879.

† See his article on “The French Republic and the Catholic Church,” in the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* for June, 1880.

ournals which are the accredited organs of that movement can doubt that this account is true, as far as it goes. He will as little doubt that it does not go far enough. Nor, indeed, is it matter for surprise that M. Scherer, in writing for English readers upon such a subject, should seek to minimize. If there is any meaning in the words habitually used in speech and in writing by the so-called Liberals of France, their object is to eradicate from that country the Catholic Church—I speak of France only, but my words apply equally to the rest of the Continent—and to substitute for her teachings, as to God and Man, doctrines radically opposed to them. The Liberalism of Continental Europe is merely the objectivation of the movement, the first expression of which in the public order was the French Revolution. And the French Revolution has been well designated by a great writer*—whose judgment here at least is unmarred by his favourite paradoxes—"a religion." "At the heart of it," as an eminent author of another school admirably observes, "is a new way of understanding life."† It is this religion which is called by its votaries, *la libre pensée*.

This, then, is the first fact about *la libre pensée*—that it is a religion. I go on to inquire what its doctrines are. And here one is at once confronted with the difficulty arising from the number of the Scriptures received by it as canonical,‡ and from the discrepancies of the positive teachings found in them—discrepancies which would baffle the skill of the cleverest maker of "harmonies." This has been well stated by a writer who has a peculiar claim to be heard upon such a subject. "There is no given set of practical maxims agreed to by all members of the revolutionary schools," Mr. John Morley tells us, "any more than there is one set of doctrines and one kind of discipline accepted by all Protestants. Voltaire was a revolutionist in one sense, Diderot in another, and Rousseau in a third, just as, in the practical order, Lafayette, Danton, Robespierre represented three different aspirations, and as many methods."§ This is unquestionably true. No given set of practical maxims, nor of speculative opinions, can be attributed to all these apostles and evangelists of the new religion. Yet no one will doubt that in them all there worketh one and the selfsame spirit. It will be found, indeed, that the points in which they agree are almost entirely negative; and here their agreement is wonderful. This by the way—for it is not, in truth, to the primitive apostles and

* De Maistre.

† Morley's "Rousseau," chap. i.

‡ "Received as canonical." I mean generally current and accepted as such. Dean Plumptre asserts of the Sacred Scriptures of Christians, "The work of settling what books were entitled to canonical authority, what text of those books was authentic, was left in earlier as in later times to private judgment working on the data supplied by history and criticism. Councils followed in the wake of scholars, and confirmed their decisions."—*Movements of Religious Thought*, p. 26. Of course, we have as yet no authoritative Councils of *Libre Pensée* to do for the documents of their creed a work similar to that done for Christianity by the Council of Laodicea and the Third Council of Carthage. But it must be remembered that Christianity had been in the world for three and a half centuries before those assemblies were held. The corresponding stage in the *Libre Pensée* Church is not yet come.

§ "Life of Rousseau," chap. i.

evangelists of a religion that a practical man will resort for a knowledge of the dogmatic teaching whereby it lives and works in the world. All denominations of Christians, of course, appeal, more or less directly, to the Bible. But the appeal is, in most cases, somewhat perfunctory and unreal. It is, as the old distich says :—

"Hic liber est in quo querit sua dogmata quisque
Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua."

It is to the symbolic writings of the different Confessions that we must go for a real account of their authoritative doctrines. We must examine the horubooks and manuals, in which those symbolic writings are reduced to their simplest elements, and set forth for general use, if we would discover how they are apprehended and assimilated by the popular mind—how they live and work in human society. "If Protestants wish to know what is our teaching," observes Cardinal Newman, "let them look at our Catechisms"—the most authoritative of which is, of course, that set forth by the desire of the Council of Trent. "I rarely preach a sermon," the Cardinal adds, "but that I go to this beautiful and complete Catechism to get both my matter and my doctrine."* So the Shorter Catechism, prepared by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, provides the best summary of the dogmas held by Presbyterianism and its kindred sects; while, if we want to know the secret of the wholesome influence exercised by Anglicanism upon the general mind of this country for generations, we shall find it in those pages of the Book of Common Prayer which put before us "a Catechism, that is to say, an Instruction, to be learnt by every person before he be brought to be confirmed by the Bishop:" that beautiful document, in which the primary verities of Christian faith and morals are impressed upon the tender mind in language at once simple and stately as that of the English Bible. And let no man suppose that the age of Catechisms is past. The *Libres-Penseurs* know better. They have discerned, rightly, that the catechetical form is unique in its adaptation to the wants of the masses; and have displayed much practical wisdom in availing themselves of it. Three works lie before me, which have of late years been given to the world by able and zealous Frenchmen, in order to the rearing of the youth of their country in the tenets which they desire to substitute for the old doctrines of religion and morality. The smallest of these works—I will take them in order of size—is a duodecimo of eight pages, entitled, "*Le Petit Catéchisme du Libre-Penseur.*" It is authorized, I observe, "pour le colportage"—a fact worth noting—and has been very widely disseminated since it was published, about a year ago. The "*Catéchisme Populaire Républicain*"—a somewhat larger treatise—was given to the world some twenty years since, and has had a large sale (the edition before me is the twenty-sixth), although it is now, perhaps, a little out of date: events have moved fast during the past two decades. But both these

* "*Apologia*," p. 280.

compilations are as the Catholic "Penny Catechism" is to the "Catechism of the Council of Trent," in respect of M. Edgar Monteil's "*Catéchisme du Libre-Penseur*"—a work which, upon several accounts, merits special attention. In the first place the author seems to be a pillar in the *Libre Pensée* Church. By verse, by romantic fiction, by pamphlets, by newspaper articles, he has approved himself as its zealous minister; and although he has not, it is true, attained the crown of martyrdom, still he is radiant with a kind of halo of confessorship. One of his works, his "*Histoire d'un Frère Ignorantin*," has earned the distinction of formal ecclesiastical condemnation, and is advertised, with a sort of proud humility, as "*ouvrage condamné*." Another, "*Le Veto sur le Ruy Blas de Victor Hugo*," is recommended to the devotion of faithful *Libres-Penseurs* as "*brochure saisie*." Many a Masonic lodge has resounded to the eloquence of M. Monteil, and his Catechism is dedicated "*A la Franc-Maçonnerie Universelle comme à l'association internationale et fraternelle, à la force organisée, qui doit marcher à la tête de la Libre-Pensée*."* Add to this that he is the tried friend and true yoke-fellow of M. Gambetta, and that (as we shall see presently) it is his special happiness "*laudari a laudato viro*," to be bepraised by the vast man whom France for the moment delights to honour, or at all events by that powerful person's journalists, who, we may be assured, do but fulfil herein their master's will. Such are some of M. Monteil's titles to public confidence, and his modesty is, at the least, as notable as his greatness. In his preface to his Catechism he disclaims all intention to pose as a *savant* or to address men of science. He has been content to labour in the foundations, and to devote his shining abilities to the production of what he describes as a "*condensed book, within the grasp of the ignorant, intelligible to everybody*." The studies of which his Catechism is a *résumé*, would have filled folios, he tells us. It would have cost him less pains, he asseverates, to have presented in ten volumes what he has here compressed into three hundred pages: three hundred pages, so to speak, of the essence of *la libre pensée*. But his object was to be a connecting link (*trait d'union*) between *savants* and the populace; to put before the world "*un livre destiné à porter au milieu des masses la vérité sur des matières que la crédulité humaine maintient fort enracinées, à pénétrer dans les couches de la société moderne exploitées par la superstition*." It will be seen that M. Monteil has well grasped the true conception of what a Catechism ought to be. It is clear, too, that in executing his arduous labour he was cheered and sustained by the true spirit of religious faith. "*Quant à nous*," he

* There can be no question that throughout the Continent of Europe, Freemasonry is the centre of the *Libre Pensée* movement. On this subject see Pachtler's "*Stille Krieg gegen Thron und Altar*." Reference may also be made to papers in the *Revue Catholique des Institutions et du Droit*, vol. xvn. (Oct. 1881), by M. de Robinet and M. Jannet. In England and the United States it is otherwise. As the last mentioned writer observes: "*C'est un fait constant que la Maçonnerie ne présente pas le même caractère antireligieux et antisocial en Angleterre et aux États-Unis que sur le Continent Européen et dans l'Amérique du Sud. La grande majorité de ses membres ne voit en elle qu'une occasion de réunions amicales et une institution d'appui mutuel*" (p. 217).

writes, "notre récompense se trouvera en nous-mêmes si par la publication de ce Catéchisme nous pourrions inciter les auteurs à renouveler par des livres conformés aux idées modernes, les livres qui corrompent l'homme dès l'enfance, et si par-dessus tout nous avons contribué, encore plus que par nos œuvres antérieures, à extirper l'erreur et à faire triompher la vertu." Such were the beautiful aspirations with which M. Monteil betook himself to the composition of this Catechism. Regarding the probabilities of its achieving the success which he desiderates in extirpating error and promoting the triumph of virtue, my readers will be better able to judge by-and-by. Meanwhile let me observe that the author already has his reward, to some extent, not only in the wide circulation of his work among an appreciative public, but in the plaudits of his fellow *Libres-Penseurs*. From all the synagogues of *la libre pensée*, masonic lodge or journalistic office, there has arisen "a tumult of acclaim" in recognition of M. Monteil's missionary labours, from which it may fairly be inferred that his book possesses all the authority possible in the present somewhat inorganic condition of the *Libre Pensée* Church. Among other testimonies of great weight is that of the *République Française*, which solemnly blesses it, and pronounces it to be the best and most meritorious composition of its kind extant. And now, having thus surveyed the work from the outside, let us look a little at its contents, and learn from it what *la libre pensée* is, illustrating M. Monteil's teaching, where necessary, from the smaller compilations of which mention has been made and from other approved documents of the new religion.

III.

One indubitable merit of M. Monteil's book is its admirable arrangement. He begins at the beginning and does not leave off until he has conducted us to the logical conclusion. As he well observes in his Preface, "Il fallait être systématique, absolu, pour que ce livre fut à son adresse." "Systématique" and "absolu" he accordingly is. His work is divided into three sections. The first treats of God; the second of Religion; the last of Morals. And in following this order M. Monteil has evidently had in mind the maxim, "Pars ab hoste doceri." The religion which he seeks to replace rests upon the idea of God. Thus, the Church Catechism leads the child from his own name and the manner of its imposition to the conception of a Divine paternity; and thence to the duties—religious and ethical—which flow from his relationship to the Ineffable Being whom he has learnt to call "Our Father." M. Monteil must, then, I think, be credited with much astuteness in beginning with the primary tenet of all Theism, and so going to the root of the matter. Here are the four questions and answers wherewith he initiates his work. I reproduce his typography:—

"Q. What is God?

"A. God is an expression.

"Q. What is the exact value of this expression?

"A. The exact value of the word NATURE.

"Q. What is Nature?

"A. The totality of all we know to exist in the infinite Universe.

"Q. What other definition can you give of Nature?

"A. It is the material world, and ALL is matter" (p. 14).

The "Petit-Catéchisme" gives to its teaching upon this high theme a political turn so deliciously grotesque that I must here quote it, although at the sacrifice of laying aside M. Monteil's work for a moment. "Do you believe in a Supreme Being?" this manual inquires of the neophyte. And the reply which it puts into his mouth is as follows:—"I only believe what my reason permits me to believe, and my reason refuses to admit the principle of the 'Government of Nature' by any being whatsoever. I am persuaded that Nature always has been, is, and always will be, republican, and consequently fitted to govern herself" (p. 19).

Verily, to speak in the gorgeous language of Oriental metaphor, which alone is adequate here, this author has strung a pearl of the first water upon the chaplet of *libre pensée*.

But to return to our "Catéchisme du Libre-Penseur." "The learned, then, have not found out God?" it goes on to ask. The answer is "No, they are all agreed in denying His existence;" a somewhat sweeping proposition, it must be confessed, but M. Monteil's experience as a journalist in the *République Française* and other newspaper organs of the new religion has doubtless taught him the value of a slashing style. Nor, indeed, is there wanting high authority by which he might vindicate his contempt for exact accuracy. Thus he might appeal to the doctrine of the Patriarch of Ferney, so faithfully carried out by that great man upon many occasions:—"Mentez, mes amis. Il faut mentir comme un diable, non pas timidement, non pour un temps, mais hardiment et toujours. Le mensonge n'est un vice que quand il fait du mal." Any stick Voltaire considered was good enough to beat l'Infâme; and doubtless M. Monteil thinks so too: "the disciple is not above his master." The "Catéchisme du Libre-Penseur," however, goes on to anticipate and dispose of the familiar argument, old as the days of the Hebrew Psalmist, and probably as the infancy of the human race: "Cœli enarrant;" the testimony of "the spacious firmament" and "shining heavens" to "their great Original," who, "in the beginning created the heavens and the earth."

"Q. If there is no God, who then created the heaven and the earth?

"A. Neither the Heaven, or Infinity, nor the Earth has been created.

* Compare the "Catéchisme Populaire Républicain":—"Ceux qui prétendent que Dieu a créé l'homme afin d'être connu, aimé et servi par lui n'exigent pas autre chose de l'homme que de recourir à sa raison, à son intelligence, à sa liberté morale, de se par soi-même et de s'aider en face d'une puissance absolue dont il ne lui est accordé de comprendre ni la nature ni la justice" (p. 19).

"Q. Who created man and woman?"

"A. Neither man nor woman has been created.

"Q. There is no First Cause, then?"

"A. No; for all that we cannot prove scientifically has no existence and denies itself until proof of the contrary (*et se nie jusqu'à preuve du contraire*, p. 16).

This last sentence leads us to fear that, in the vast range of M. Monteil's studies, dialectics must have been overlooked. On the next page he proceeds to another objection which, as he sagaciously discerns, will present itself to the inquiring minds that he desires to form.

"Q. How is it, then, that there are Gods?"

"A. Because man has invented them" (p. 18).

And so the "Petit Catéchisme": "God is a spectre invented by priests to frighten timid minds (*les faibles d'esprit*) in order that these latter may cast themselves into their arms and endure more easily their domination." The "Catéchisme du Libre-Penseur" goes on to press the argument from the presence of evil in this imperfect world. It concludes from this that "the divine individuality is a lie," that "we ought not to believe in the existence of the individual named God that most religions have presented to us" (p. 24). "Such a God has no existence, and it is not to an independent and creative Will that we can attribute this universal harmony" (p. 26), M. Monteil insists, with an assurance which makes one think of Dale the Quaker's caution to his son-in-law, Robert Owen: "Thee should be very right, Robert, for thee's very positive." It will be remembered, however, that at the opening of the "Catéchisme du Libre-Penseur" the value of the expression God was stated to be the exact value of the word Nature; and now after thus accomplishing the purely iconoclastic part of his work, M. Monteil takes up this theme. Pantheism, he tells us, is the true faith. And, by way of definition of Pantheism, he gives us the following question and answer:—

"Q. What do you mean in the present day by Pantheism?"

"A. There is an all (*un tout*)—the all of forces, the all of beings, the all of forms—which is God. He gives not, he receives not, he constitutes not, he is constituted (*il ne constitue pas, il est constitué*). He is neither a force nor a form; by himself he is nothing at all (*par lui-même il n'est que néant*). He is no more one thing than another, but the whole (*l'ensemble*) of the objects and the worlds in infinity" (p. 32).

M. Monteil's Pantheism, it will be seen, is of the lower kind. It is the Materialism of Holbach and La Mettrie (both of whom he cites approvingly in his notes), decked out in Pantheistic verbiage. Obviously his new deity (to quote one of Lord Beaconsfield's happy phrases) is merely "Atheism in Domino." But let us follow our author as, with his usual prevision, he proceeds to anticipate and answer the gainsayer:—

"Q. Is Pantheism consistent with our scientific knowledge?"

"A. Yes.

"Q. And yet it is not admitted by our two principal philosophic sects—that of the Positivists and that of the Materialists?"

"A. True; but this is by reason of sectarian exclusiveness (*par l'exclusivisme de secte*).

"Q. Explain yourself."

M. Monteil then proceeds to explain himself at some length, and establishes, to his own entire satisfaction, that the difference between the Positivists and Materialists is unessential; that it is more a question of terminology than anything else. The Positivist, he remarks, objects to the dogmatic Atheism of the Materialist; and, instead of asserting that God does not exist, thinks it enough to say that we know nothing about the matter. But Positivist and Materialist are at one in holding that human knowledge is absolutely restricted to the forces which belong to matter, and to the conditions or laws which govern those forces. They agree that a will external to Nature (*en dehors de la Nature*) would be enough to trouble the universe, and to change its harmony. Positivists and Materialists alike, as M. Monteil points out, recognize physical science as the supreme law. So, he goes on to observe, does Pantheism; and in Pantheism he finds the reconciliation of these two sects of "modern thought." Here are the two questions and answers in which he disposes of this subject:—

"Q. How does the Pantheist reconcile the Positivist and Materialist?"

"A. By arguing to them thus: 'Your supreme law is science?'* 'Yes.' 'Do you either find or place science outside Nature?' 'No.' 'It is then in Nature?' 'Yes.' 'It is, therefore, incorporate with Nature?' (*Elle fait en conséquence corps avec la nature?*) 'Yes.' 'It proves to you the existence of natural things?' 'Yes.' 'Do you know of anything that is, or can be outside Nature?' 'No.' 'Then, if that is so, everything may be summed up in the term *Nature*, and you are at one with the Pantheists.'

"Q. Can they, then, admit that Nature is God?"

"A. Doubtless, for it is then no more than a matter of expression. It is enough that they should be so obliging as to use the term *God* as well as *Nature*, admitting the two terms to be absolutely synonymous" (p. 35).

Pantheistic Materialism, or Materialistic Pantheism, with a tendency to a generous minimism which shall embrace Positivism, is, according to M. Monteil, the true solution of the great enigma; and in professing it the votaries of this new religion may dwell together in unity, reserving to themselves full liberty "*abundare in sensu suo*." And now, having thus emancipated the neophyte from the old superstition about God, and reduced Him to something which is not either a force or a form; and which, taken by Himself, is nothing, the "*Catéchisme du Libre-Penseur*" proceeds to deal with that part of man hitherto popularly supposed to be immortal. It is related of Tom Moore, the poet, that upon

* It is hardly necessary to remark that by "*science*" M. Monteil means physics. Neither he nor his Positivist and Materialistic friends recognize any sciences except the physical.

one occasion, when plied with atheistic discourse by Sir Charles Morgan, he remonstrated, "Pray, my dear Morgan, consider my immortal soul." To whom the irascible surgeon: "Damn your immortal soul, sir; listen to my arguments." The adjuration was more vigorous than timely, and failed to reassure the trembling bard. M. Monteil is more considerate. The student of *la libre pensée* may listen to his arguments without any terror, and may take his word for it that the soul is even a more absolute nonentity than the Pantheistic deity to whom we have been introduced. In the following trenchant manner does he dispose of this subject:—

"Q. What is the soul?

"A. Nothing.

"Q. It is not a thing then, existent in Nature?

"A. No.

"Q. What is the distinction between soul and body?

"A. The distinction between soul and body is a simple analytical process (*un simple procédé analytique*).

"Q. What is generally understood by the word *soul*?

"A. Thought independent of matter is what is generally understood by it.

"Q. Can such independence exist?

"A. No: since everything belongs to the material order.

"Q. The soul, then, does not return to God who is all?

"A. No: For God is formed of that which exists, and the soul does not exist" (p. 36).

Such is the simple syllogism wherewith M. Monteil reassures us upon this grave matter. The "Petit Catéchisme," providing, so to speak, "milk for babes," expresses itself even more bluntly, as follows:—

"Q. What is man?

"A. Man is one of the most favoured products of the earth; but Nature makes no more account of him than of the smallest insect. In consequence of his material conformation, he possesses a stronger dose of intelligence (*une plus forte dose d'intelligence*) than any other animal. But it is no less a fact that he exists by virtue of the same principle as the most vulgar companion of St. Anthony."

The world has travelled far since the question, What is man? was asked by the royal poet of the Hebrews. "Quid est homo, quod memor es ejus? aut filius hominis, quod visitas eum?"—man, made a little lower than the angels, and crowned with glory and worship. How are the mighty fallen! A few words of *la libre pensée*, and, as by a touch of Circe's wand, the glory and worship die away, and we are reduced to our proper rank among the swine. It was a right apprehension of "the spirit of the years to come," a true prescience of the impending needs of the world, which led the late Mr. Carlyle to embody, in the "Latter-Day Pamphlets," his invaluable "Pig Propositions."

So, then, according to the gospel of *libre pensée*, there is no soul in

man; and, if no soul in him, then no future life for him. But M. Monteil, with his usual care to be thorough, is explicit upon this latter point:—

“Q. The materiality of the soul, then, involving its negation, there is no future life?”

“A. No: as the soul no longer constitutes for us an independent and imperishable individuality, there is no future life” (p. 38).

M. Monteil here favours us with an elaborate note to prove that the immediate consequence of belief in a future life is suicide. It is true that the facts do not bear him out, such belief having been pretty general in the world for a good many ages, and not having resulted in universal *felo de se*. But so much the worse for the facts, which, it must be allowed, have a most coarse, unphilosophic way of deranging the neatest arguments of a *Libre-Penseur*. It is not M. Monteil's fault if people were too stupid to follow out their own principles. He returns, however, to his point:—

“Q. There is, then, no future life?”

“A. No: there is no future life; unless, indeed, it be that we continue to live on by our works. What we leave behind us of our labour, what we bequeath of our thought, what we sow of our body, what is incarnate in our children, after having been incarnate in us—that is the only future life” (p. 40).

M. Monteil's practical conclusion is: “We must apply to the real world, to the Earth, which we see, and which we enjoy, the belief in eternity which in Theism is applied to a fiction” (p. 55). He ends his First Part with a Profession of Faith, which, I presume, is designed to replace the Apostles' Creed:—

“I believe in the infinite Universe, in the eternal Earth, in Nature, all-powerful; I believe that all that which is, always has been, and always will be, and that life is eternal, in its numberless variations. I believe that All is God. *Aditi*” (p. 55).

The reader will probably ask, What is *Aditi*? M. Monteil tells us, in a note; “*Aditi* is the pantheistic formula *par excellence*: and the only one “qui puisse s'appliquer à la donnée Magouannique du Grand Architecte de l'Univers”—which is interesting and instructive. He adds that “what we say of Pantheism can alone give an idea of the value of this vocable;” and that it is “exactly untranslatable.” It appears to be in the assemblies of *la libre pensée* pretty much what that “blessed word Mesopotamia” or the not less blessed word “Selah,” is in Little Bethel or Ebenezer.

IV.

It is of faith, then, in the religion of *la libre pensée*, that there is no soul in man and no “Our Father” in heaven; although the faithful, holding fast to the prime verity of Materialism, which is the real “root of the matter,” may, without rebuke, profess indifferently Atheism,

Agnosticism, Positivism, or the Lower Pantheism, all these being permitted opinions, comparable to the differences which, without prejudice to orthodoxy, divide the varying schools of theology in the Catholic Church. Pass we now to Part II. of the "*Catéchisme du Libre-Penseur*," in which M. Monteil devotes some hundred and fifty pages to the subject of religion. He divides this portion of his work into three sections. In the first he deals with the theology of the Christian Church; in the second, with its morals; in the third he is at the pains to summarize in a sort of discourse or homily the opinions exposed in the two preceding sections. It might at first seem, to shallow judgments, as though his labour in this part of his work were superfluous: that, if there be no undying soul in man, and no God to whom we shall give account for the deeds done in the body, it is but lost labour to attack Christian theology, which is the science of God, or Christian morals, which are based upon His existence and His attributes. But, as I have said, one great characteristic of M. Monteil's work is its thoroughness; and in a note (p. 69) he tells us, "The object of this part of the Catechism is to establish the historic truth about the Christian religion, and to show that a system at once philosophic, and moral, and rational may be substituted for it." According to M. Monteil, then, Christianity, like other religions, has proceeded (*découlé*) from the foolish Deistic hypothesis. It is a purely human work. It has brought into the world no new truth. Considered as a fiction, it is but a pantheistic theory. Considered as a social religion, its results have been disastrous indeed, for it has retarded civilization by fifteen hundred years; meanwhile conducting men to a brutality, to a prostrate degradation, of the most revolting immorality. Nor let any one say, our teacher protests, that this is the work of its ministers; that it is a good religion in itself, but that it has been spoilt by priestcraft. No; M. Monteil is indeed anticlerical to the very marrow of his bones, as becomes the follower of M. Gambetta, the friend and brother in journalism of M. Paul Bert. But he allows that the priests—so much the worse for them—are "*dans la logique de la religion*." "It is the religion itself," he urges; "it is the Old, it is the New Testament, as well as the Popes and Councils, that have accomplished the fine work" above-mentioned. "It is the religion itself which is baneful, deadly; in Jehovah as in Jesus, in the Pentateuch as in the Gospels."^{*}

^{*} It may be well to subjoin the text of the passages I am quoting, "*La Terre avait peuplé le Ciel, elle se dit que c'était le Ciel qui l'avait peuplée. De l'hypothèse deistic ont découlé les religions, et le christianisme n'a été, comme les autres inventions, qu'œuvre humaine, seulement il n'a apporté dans le monde, en religion comme en morale, aucune vérité nouvelle. Considéré comme une fiction, le christianisme n'est qu'une théorie panthéistique; considéré à la lettre c'est un monothéisme devenu un polythéisme anthropomorphe. . . . Si l'on considère le christianisme comme religion sociale, on doit admettre que ses résultats ont été désastreux, qu'ils ont reculé la civilisation de près de quinze siècles. . . . En effet, ce n'est pas le clergé uniquement qu'il faut accuser de conduire l'homme à une bestialité à un anéantissement de la plus révoltante immoralité, c'est la religion elle-même, c'est l'Ancien, c'est le Nouveau-Testament, ce sont les pères de l'Eglise tout autant que les Papes et les Conciles qui ont accompli cette belle œuvre. Ne tenons donc jamais ce langage; la religion est une bonne chose en elle-même, ce sont les*

Such is the succinct view of the Christian religion put before the neophyte of *la libre pensée* by his father in the faith. Let us glance at the pages in which it is worked out in detail. Those which deal with the Founder of Christianity I prefer to pass over. But I must note the apology with which we are presented for the persecution of His primitive followers. These martyrs and confessors, M. Monteil would have us know, "professed sentiments of revolt against classes of society other than their own, and practised a communism which was the very negation of the domestic hearth, so honoured at Rome," while "their common meals or *agapes* soon degenerated into shameful concubinage;" they "turned everything into ridicule, broke the laws, and despised all that attaches one to life;" thereby justly incurring both the imputation of *odium humani generis*, fastened upon them by the philanthropic pagans of the decadent empire, and the severities which followed. And such conduct, M. Monteil points out, was quite congruous with the "*exitiabilis superstitio*" as which he paints their religion. The following cullings from his Catechism—constituting a sort of garland of *libre pensée*—may serve to indicate the outlines of his picture:—

"Q. Is the Christian religion the source of all morals?"

"A. No; for it does not contain a single trait of morality which is peculiar to it, and which is not derived from the religions or the philosophies which preceded or accompanied it.

"Q. Is not, then, that which is peculiar to the Christian religion moral?"

"A. For the most part, no.

"Q. Does the Church regard men as of an elevated nature or a high morality?"

"A. No. From Genesis onward the Lord proclaims: 'The spirit of man and all the thoughts of his heart are inclined to evil from his youth upward.'"

"Q. How does the Church regard woman?"

"A. The Church hates, execrates, abominates woman" (p. 155).

"Q. What is this first result of this hatred of woman?"

"A. The first result of this abasement of woman is to favour concubinage.

"Q. Does not the Church prohibit concubinage?"

"A. No.

"Q. Does the Church admit marriage?"

"A. She admits it, but she detests it" (p. 158).

perthes qui la gâtent. Non, les prêtres sont dans la logique de la religion. Tout ce qu'on peut exiger des prêtres, c'est un compte sévère de leurs plus minces actions. . . . Mais on ne saurait empêcher leur action dissolvante et pernicieuse sur les consciences, c'est-à-dire véritablement anéantir les prêtres, qu'en les frappant dans leur succédané même, c'est-à-dire en frappant la religion, car c'est la religion qui est nuisible, funeste, dans Jehovah comme dans Jésus, dans le Pentateuque comme dans les Évangiles. Il faut prendre le mal dans sa racine et couper la racine. Le clergé forme les branches et les feuilles chargées de répandre le poison contenu dans le tronc, que le tronc s'abatte donc, et les branches et les feuilles se dessècheront. Toute tentative de conciliation est désormais impossible" (pp. 198-203).

* M. Monteil is by way of quoting the Vulgate, Gen. viii. 21: "Sensus enim et cogitatio humani cordis in malum prona sunt ab adolescentia sua."

"Q. Has not the Church blessed incestuous marriages?

"A. Yes; the Church has gone so far as to bless marriages between brothers and sisters.

"Q. Does the Christian religion inspire a child with respect and love for his parents?

"A. No. The ancient Law said, 'Honour thy father and mother so as to live long upon earth.'* But since the coming of Christ, one must no more live long (*il ne faut plus vivre longuement*). The anticipation of death is a happiness, and the titles of father, mother, brother, sister, given by Nature, count for little. Jesus said, 'Call no one on earth your father, for you have only one Father who is in Heaven.† St. Paul says "Obey your parents, but only according to the law of the Lord."

"Q. The Church, debasing man and woman and detesting marriage, is evidently contrary to the spirit of the family (*l'esprit de famille*)?

"A. Yes: and this is how the Son of God has come to consolidate the family, and to bring peace into the world, 'Think ye that I have come to bring peace upon earth? No, I tell you, but divisions. . . . The father shall be divided against the son, and the son against the father; the mother against the daughter, and the daughter against the mother; the mother-in-law against her daughter-in-law, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law. The brother shall deliver his brother to death, and the children shall rise up against their fathers, and cause them to be put to death.'

"Q. Has the Church established equality among men and destroyed slavery?

"A. No. Those are two profound errors. The Church has never established equality among men, either in this world or the other, and nothing is more false than to attribute to Christianity the abolition of slavery. . . . 'Christ,' says J. J. Rousseau, 'preaches nothing but servitude and dependence. His spirit (*esprit*) is too favourable to tyranny that it should not always profit thereby. True Christians are made to be slaves' (p. 163).

"Q. Does the Church honour labour?

"A. No.

"Q. Does the Church allow of property?

"A. No; the Church does not allow of property.

"Q. Why?

"A. Because Christianity is eminently communistic.

"Q. On what words do you found this assertion?

"A. Christ knows of nothing but misery and bareness. Many times did he repeat that the rich should not enter into the kingdom of heaven. He says, 'Whosoever does not renounce all that he possesses cannot

* "U't sis longevus super terram."—*Fulgate*.

† "Vous n'avez qu'un père qui est dans le ciel." Unus est enim Pater vester, qui in celis est.

be my disciple. Sell all that you have.' There is no greater negation of property than Christianity. The first disciples of Jesus bring to the feet of the apostles all that they possess. . . . There are sects of Christians who, founding themselves on certain verses of the Gospels, have carried—nay, still carry—communism so far as to apply it to women. Common possession (*la communauté*) administered by the priest is the only true way of living Christianly. Every Christian who is a proprietor is no Christian at all; and 'a camel should sooner pass through the eye of a needle than a rich man should enter into the kingdom of heaven'" (p. 168).

It must be owned that M. Monteil has here displayed the wisdom of the serpent. The peasant proprietors of France, among whom his Catechism has been largely circulated, however little they may make of much of it, can hardly fail to be touched closely by this part, or to turn the eye of distrust upon M. le Curé, as the minister of a religion which proscribes equality, and is incompatible with property. And, like a skilful general, the preacher of *la libre pensée* follows up his advantage. "All kinds of violence," he asseverates, "hatred, vengeance, murder, incest, joined to avarice (that characteristic vice of the clergy) are the special endowments of the clerical body" (p. 174). "Pleasures, fortune, rule—such are their morality." His practical conclusion is that the world must break off for good and all from the Christian faith (p. 203). "Let us abandon," he pleads; "let us abandon religion completely, and take refuge in PHILOSOPHY—the product of all reason, and the source of all morality" (p. 207).

v.

And now let us glance at the philosophy of *la libre pensée*: the source of all its morality. "Philosophy," M. Monteil postulates, "must not be separated from human nature." Few will refuse to go this mile with him. But he would have them go twain; and his next, to feebler spirits, will appear a long mile. "Don't let us believe," he urges, "that people can't be wise unless they are ascetic or live without passions. No: the passions of man are his surest and most faithful guide." And of these passions, M. Monteil regards what he calls *l'amour* (meaning the sexual instinct*) as the chief, and as of right predominant. Upon this theme he rises to lyric enthusiasm. "C'est par l'amour qu'il peut sentir, comprendre: c'est par l'amour qu'il étend son individu à l'humanité toute entière." In the passions, then, as the budding *Libre-Penseur* learns, he will find the source of true philosophy: "they open to the reason all the gates of morality, of ice, of beauty, and of love"† Thus does *la libre pensée* justify

* *L'amour est une inclination réciproque de l'homme et de la femme, dont tous les sens se réunissent pour former l'attachement le plus puissant.* &c. (p. 219).

† *C'est ce point la philosophie de la nature humaine, et n'allons pas croire qu'on ne s'aperçoive que si l'on vit sans passions, dans l'incertitude. Les passions sont le guide le plus sûr et le plus fidèle, c'est par elles qu'il apprend à se*

its name and prove itself a true emancipating agency. The old repressive morality, acknowledged throughout Europe for so long, rested on conscience as "the Voice of God in the nature and heart of man;" the Divine Law, which is identical with the Supreme Being Himself, implanted in the intelligence of all His rational creatures. "The Divine Law," says Cardinal Gousset, "is the supreme rule of actions: our thoughts, desires, words, acts, all that man is, is subject to the domain of the law of God, and this law is the rule of our conduct by means of conscience. Hence, it is never lawful to go against our conscience; as the Fourth Lateran Council says, 'Quidquid fit contra conscientiam, redificat ad gehennam.'"^{*} M. Monteil makes as short work of conscience† as he does of gehenna. In its place, as the rule of life, *la libre pensée* enthrones concupiscence.‡ The criterion of right and wrong is thus succinctly laid down for the catechumen: "All that man desires and seeks out of self-love (*par amour de lui-même*) is good; and evil all that is contrary to his nature" (p. 238). Good, in fact, is what we like; evil what we dislike. In the following three questions and answers this matter is very clearly put:—

"Q. What is good?

"A. Good is the development of the faculties of man in conformity with his nature. 'Good,' says Jean Reynaud, 'is the sole principle of which our nature does not weary, and, sooner or later, evil, with the consequences of various kinds which it engenders, fatigues or repels Nature.'

"Q. How do we discover the principles of good?

"A. In the study of Nature.

"Q. What is the good given to man?

"A. Laromiguière tells us: 'Pleasures of the senses, pleasures of the intellect (*de l'esprit*), pleasures of the heart—these, if we knew how to use them, are the good things scattered in profusion across the path of life' " (p. 241).

Such is the glorious liberty of the *Libres-Penseurs*. In them a great work has been wrought, exactly the contrary of that spoken of by St. Paul. Being made "*liberi justitiæ*," free from the bugbear called righteousness, and the rule of "the individual named God," they have their fruit unto gratification of the passions, and the end—why that is in itself the end.

"O pleasure you're indeed a pleasant thing,
Although one must be damned for you, no doubt,"

sighed Lord Byron, haunted by dim reminiscences of "creeds that refuse

servir de toutes les richesses de son cœur et à répandre les lumières de sa raison. "C'est par l'amour qu'il peut sentir, comprendre c'est sur l'amour qu'il doit méditer, c'est par l'amour qu'il étend son individu à l'humanité toute entière. Que la raison tempère la violence de la nature, rien de mieux, si la nature est violente, mais que les passions ouvrent à la raison toutes les portes de la morale, de la science, de la beauté et de l'amour" (p. 208, note).

^{*} Quoted by Cardinal Newman in his "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," § 5.

† I am aware that he uses the word once or twice; but he uses it in an entirely different sense from the theological, as will be seen hereafter.

‡ I use the word in its proper theological sense—"Sciendum est concupiscentiam esse commotionem quandam, ac vim animi, qua impulsus homines quas non habent, res jucundas appetunt."—*Cat. Concil. Trident.*, pars. iii. c. x.

and restrain." But only let *la libre pensée* have her perfect work, and the instinct of retributive justice, however "deep-seated in our mystic frame," shall be eradicated, and the bold human appetite shall be freed from its last restraints. Does any colder and more cautious spirit shrink from the probable consequences to society of this consummation? Let him be of good cheer: let him know that human nature is essentially good (p. 215), that man, unspoilt by religion, is just, loving, and lovable, whatever the phenomena of life may seem to teach to the contrary. Let him leave the beggarly elements of concrete fact, and betake himself to "the high *priori* road;" let him enter into his chamber and be still, and then, shutting out the world and opening his Rousseau, reassure himself, if not by the example, at all events by the rhetoric, of that evangelist from whom M. Monteil cites an appropriate text (p. 216).

Man, then, according to *la libre pensée*, is naturally good: the passions are the true guides of human life: their gratification is the true end of human life: and other life there is none. This being so, morality, duty, and law are very simple matters, and soon disposed of. Morality—with which, as M. Monteil tells us, conscience is one (*la morale et la conscience ne font qu'un*, p. 242)—is "the sentiment which prescribes to us prudent conduct" (*une sage conduite*),* and is "determined by the reason" (p. 242), which, apparently, is nothing but phosphorus (p. 212, note). "Duty consists in rendering us devoted (*dévotés*) to our affections, and to the laws to which we have consented, and rebellious against oppression" (p. 244). "The law is a natural verity, which people formulate, and to which they consent to conform their conduct" (p. 245). It is "based on right;" and the principal rights of man are those proclaimed in the "Declaration" of "the immortal French Revolution, to which the inhabitants of the whole world (previously slaves) owe it that they are citizens" (p. 246). M. Monteil then proceeds to set forth the first eleven Articles of that famous document, upon which I need not linger, as I have considered it at some length in a previous number of this Review.†

VI.

My account of M. Monteil's book is longer than I could have desired; but, in dealing with a work which, as we are informed, is the fruit of so much labour, and which, as I have shown, possesses such peculiar claims upon our confidence as an exposition *ad populum* of the system which it unfolds, it seemed fair, both to the author and to my readers, that I should be as thorough as I could be, within the limits to which I am, of necessity, restricted. It will have been seen as M. Monteil tells us, over and over again, that this system is incompatible,

* Compare the sixth of the "Pig Propositions": "The pig knows the weather; he ought to look out what kind of weather it will be."

† In an article on "The Principles of '59," which appeared in June, 1881.

not merely with Catholicism, but with Christianity in any shape, even the most shadowy—in any form, even the most attenuated; nay, with any kind of Theism or spiritualism, with anything which the world has hitherto known and revered as religion. Any one who will take the trouble to look into the authoritative authors or accredited journals of *la libre pensée* may satisfy himself, *ad nauseam*, that M. Monteil does but express here the general sentiment of his sect. Only the crassest ignorance or the most invincible bad faith can deny it. I have said that "the enemy" denounced by M. Gambetta as Clericalism is rightly named Catholicism. But to say that is to say too little. It is Christianity, it is Theism, against which the *Libres-Penseurs* have declared war à outrance, which they seek to root out among men by any available means, from libel to proscription, from the crowbar to the guillotine. M. Louis Blanc (than whom none has a better right to speak with authority upon this matter) expressly tells us:—"Nous entendons par le Cléricalisme non seulement le Catholicisme, mais toute religion et toute religiosité quelle qu'elle soit." And this is the burden of *la libre pensée* press day after day, delivered in every variety of key, from the filthy ribaldry of Thersites to the dire vaticinations of Cassandra, heralding the approaching extinction, in fire and bloodshed, of the divine city. From a mass of extracts lying before me I select the following, as being one of the few that are neither obscene nor blasphemous. It is from the *Mot d'Ordre* of the 16th of April last, and may serve to show that religious Protestants are held in no less abhorrence than Catholics by *la libre pensée*, nay, apparently, in more. The immediate occasion at the outburst was the observance of Good Friday:—

"Cette anomalie a une explication assez naturelle, c'est que ce deuil laïque et obligatoire n'est point particulier aux catholiques, et qu'il répond aussi aux exigences de la bigoterie protestante, qui est plus intolérable, plus insupportable que la bigoterie cléricale. Il n'est pas de Jésuite, pas de Prémontré, pas de Mariste, qui ne soit cent fois moins intolérant et moins hypocrite que le premier venu des ministres de la religion dite réformée, ou de l'église évangélique.

The war in which the *Libres-Penseurs* are engaged is primarily a war against the name and idea of God; its political ends are merely secondary. And it is simply because the Catholic Church is the only exponent of that idea worth considering in France, in Belgium, in Italy (for, speaking generally, whatever she loses there is gained by Atheism), that she finds herself "in the fore-front of the hottest battle." I do not know who has better and more clearly stated this truth than M. Andrieux, a *Libre-Penseur* of much authority in his sect, and a person of great political influence just now in France. The following is the text of a resolution adopted by acclamation, upon his proposition, at the Anti-Council held at Naples, in 1869:—

"Considérant que l'idée de Dieu est la source et le soutien de tout despotisme et de toute iniquité, considérant que la religion Catholique est la plus complète

et la plus terrible personification de cette idée, que l'ensemble de ses dogmes est la négation même de la société, les *Libres-Penseurs* assument l'obligation de travailler à l'abolition radicale du Catholicisme et son anéantissement par tous les moyens, y compris la force révolutionnaire."

As a pendant to this, take the following extract from a speech delivered not very long ago at a Masonic re-union at Antwerp, by M. Van Humbeck, the present Minister of Public Instruction in Belgium:—

"Un cadavre est sur le monde, il barre la route du progrès. Ce cadavre du passé, pour l'appeler par son nom, carrément, sans périphrases, c'est le catholicisme. . . . C'est ce cadavre, mes Frères que nous avons aujourd'hui regardé en face, et si nous ne l'avons pas jeté dans la fosse, nous l'avons soulevé du moins de manière à l'en rapprocher de quelques pas.

"C'est un grand résultat. Nous le devons à nos Frères d'Anvers. Nous les en remercions chaleureusement, inépuissamment.

But I need not multiply extracts, and I gladly refrain from doing so. The whole matter was summed up years ago in the famous declaration of M. Gustave Flourens: "Our enemy is God. Hatred of God is the beginning of wisdom. If man would make true progress, it must be upon the basis of Atheism." "The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," is the dictum upon which the Catholic Church, like every denomination and sect of Christians, acts in basing its education upon Christianity. Man is a religious animal. A religion of some sort he must have, even if it be a mere anti-religion; a religion without God, without future life; a religion which, to borrow a phrase from Aristotle, obliterates the higher self, the self of the reason and moral nature, and recognizes only the lower self of the appetites and passions. Such an anti-religion does *la libre pensée* provide, founded upon the hatred of God. That is the beginning of the new wisdom, as M. Flourens truly teaches; and rightly does the present Minister of Public Instruction and Public Worship in France discern that the schools of that country are the great battle-field between it and the religion of Jesus Christ. Thus is he reported to have discoursed, a few months ago, amid the enthusiastic plaudits of his fellow *Libres-Penseurs*, at a crowded meeting, presided over by M. Gambetta:—

"Je puis vous dire ce qui c'est de l'enseignement religieux (et personne ne me démentira) qu'il est l'école de l'imbecillité, qu'il est l'école du fanatisme, qu'il est l'école de l'antipatriotisme, qu'il est l'école de l'immoralité."

Such a book, therefore, as that of M. Monteil supplies a want; and, now that the orator whom I have just cited is in power, we may reasonably expect soon to see it introduced and taught by authority in the schools of the French Republic. Meanwhile, its special value is what I have claimed for it—namely, that it presents to us, in their clearest and simplest rudiments, those doctrines as to God, the soul, religion, and morals, which the *Libres-Penseurs* desire to substitute for the doctrines of Christianity.

So much, then, as to the first question which I have set myself to

examine in this paper—What *la libre pensée* really is. I now proceed to my second question: Does it merit the sympathy and good wishes of Englishmen? And upon this a very few words will suffice. If any one fact more than another is clear about the English character, that fact is its deep religiousness. I do not think we are at all essentially changed in this respect since Milton wrote, two centuries and a half ago:—"The Englishman, of many other nations is least Atheistical, and has a natural disposition of much reverence and awe towards the Deity."* There can be no room for dubiety that if the famous interrogatory of Strauss, "Are we Christians?" could be proposed to the people of this country, the answer of the vast majority would be an honest and emphatic Yes. I am far from wishing to maximize upon this matter. I do not attribute to Englishmen generally any clear comprehension of theological dogma, nor any firm hold upon it. I believe that Cardinal Newman is absolutely right when he asserts that the doctrine of God's Providence is nearly the only doctrine held with a real assent—that is, as a thing and not a notion—by the great mass of them. "Bible religion," as he observes, "is both the recognized title and the best description of English religion; . . . it consists, not in rites and creeds, but in having the Bible read in Church, in the family, and in private," and, as might have been expected from his largeness of conception and breadth of sympathy, he "is far from undervaluing the mere knowledge of Scripture which is imparted to the population thus promiscuously." He recognizes it as "a vast benefit to our people," especially as "impressing upon them the series of Divine Providences in behalf of man from his creation to his end, and, above all, the words, deeds, and sacred sufferings of Him in whom all the Providences of God centre."† Such, in the judgment of this dispassionate and profound observer, than whom no man living knows his countrymen better, is the religion of Englishmen generally; and this view, as I remember, received emphatic confirmation from a writer of a different school, whose "old experience" lent much weight to his testimony—the late Earl Russell. The vast majority of our people, Churchmen or Dissenters, Liberals or Conservatives, Radicals or Tories, firmly hold a Theism grounded, more or less directly, upon the Sacred Scriptures of Christianity. No fact, as I have said, seems to me more certain than this; and no fact is more astonishing to the Continental Liberal or *Libre-Penseur*. If I wanted an instance in proof of what I am asserting, current history supplies a notable one. The outcry which followed the election to Parliament of Mr. Bradlaugh was confined to no one religious denomination, to no one political section; it was general, and it was powerful enough to break down the Parliamentary discipline of the Liberal party, and to place so strong a Government as the present in a dilemma from which it has by no means, as yet, escaped. There can be no question that a large majority of the members

* "Reason of Church Government," book i c. 7.

† "Grammar of Assent," p. 50, 4th ed.

of the House of Commons are deeply convinced that any Theistic test, such as that afforded by the existing Parliamentary Oath, is as indefensible in principle as it is worthless in practice; and that, while few of them have an atom of sympathy for Mr. Bradlaugh, they believe the persecution directed against that singular confessor to be little likely, in the long run, to advance the cause of religion or the cause of Parliamentary government. There can be as little question that this conviction has not been allowed logical effect by many who most firmly hold it, in deference to the strong feeling of a majority of their constituents that Mr. Bradlaugh should be hindered *per fas et nefas* from taking his seat. On the other hand, to the ablest and best informed journalists of Continental Liberalism such a feeling has seemed monstrously absurd. They have accounted it either superstitious or hypocritical; and for a long time have found in it a subject for highly seasoned jibes, much relished by their readers. To most foreign Liberals or *Libres-Penseurs*, the opinions on religion and morals professed by Mr. Bradlaugh and Mrs. Besant are prime verities which no sensible man would for a moment dispute. They are openly avowed by those who constitute the majority of the Chambers in France, in Italy, in Belgium, and avowed in a far more emphatic and aggressive form than would be tolerated among us. There is not a single member of the present French Government who would dare to controvert them; to do so would be as much as his place is worth. It has recently been observed, with simple truth, that M. Paul Bert is "a bitter and blasphemous Atheist, in comparison of whom Mr. Bradlaugh is tolerant and reverent." And M. Paul Bert has been specially chosen by the Liberals of France, as the man, of all others, qualified to direct the departments of Public Instruction and Public Worship, while the Government of this country, with an overwhelming majority behind them, are at their wits' end to know how to enable Mr. Bradlaugh to take a seat, to which he has been twice duly elected. Here is the measure of the difference between the religious sentiments of the people of England and those of the *Libres-Penseurs* of the Continent.

I think, then, that, as to the mass of our people, the account given by Burke, a hundred years ago, still holds good: "We know, and what is better we feel inwardly, that religion is the basis of civil society, and the source of all good and of all comfort."* Of course there is a minority, more considerable, perhaps, as yet, from intellectual cultivation, social position, and high character than from numbers, whose attitude towards Christianity is very different from that of the great bulk of the population. We have our Free-thinkers—our Pantheists, our Positivists, our Agnostics—and doubtless the tendency of the modern spirit is to bear away thinking men more and more from the standards of religious orthodoxy long

* "Reflections on the French Revolution," Works, vol. iv. p. 224.

received and accredited in this country." But our Freethinkers, whether known by any of these names, or by no specific name, differ from the *Libres-Penseurs* of the Continent in this, that they do not form a sect or party burning to impose their unbelief on others. Their attitude towards what they deem "a creed outworn" is seldom other than respectful; is often wistfully regretful. Take, for example, Mr. Mill, gladly, through the clouds and darkness which environed him, discerning a ray of light "in the possibility that Christ actually was . . . charged by God with a special, express, and unique commission to lead mankind to truth and virtue," rejoicing "in the great and salutary hold which the idea of the God Incarnate has taken upon the human mind, by holding up in a divine person a standard of excellence and a model for imitation." Consider Mr. Carlyle, personally unable to find rest unto his soul in any ecclesiastical organization, yet with Goethe recognizing in Christianity "a height to which the human species were fated and enabled to attain, and from which, having once attained it, they can never retrograde;" confessing, in what are among his latest recorded words, as the first of verities, which "no Gospel of Dirt" should ever set aside, the teaching he had learnt as a child—that the great end of man is "to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever." Think of George Eliot, unfolding for us with grave and tender reverence the holiest secrets of English mysticism in Dinah's sermon on Hayslope Green, in Dinah's prayer in Stoniton Jail, or poring over "The Imitation of Christ," her treasured companion and daily study to the last. I protest I do not know where that deep religiousness of the English mind of which I have spoken has been more strikingly displayed than in these three illustrious Freethinkers who have passed away, although, indeed, among the special representatives of what is called "modern thought" still with us, there are those whom I might with hardly less justice instance. I pass by their names in silence. I will but refer to the indignant eloquence with which the first of our living physicists has disclaimed "that creed of Atheism lightly attributed to him" as "tenable only by a shallow man, by a man incapable of profound thought;" or point to the striking passage in which another "Rationalist," of equal renown as a profound and scientific historian, speaks of the character and example of the Founder of Christianity as "the well-spring of what has been best and purest in Christian life," an "enduring principle of regeneration," "the highest pattern of virtue and the highest incentive to its practice." How far removed are such Freethinkers as these from Continental *Libres-Penseurs*, shrieking obscenely and blasphemously, like encrurgemens, against the Lord and against His Anointed!

I do not, of course, forget that on the roll of *la libre pensée* are found such names as that of the late M. Littré—"that saint who did not believe in God," in M. Caro's quaint phrase—such names as that of M. Renan, who, however we may estimate his speculations upon

the sources of Christianity, is certainly very far from wishing to root up religion and religious communions.* But a party, or sect, as foreign *Libres-Penseurs* are, must be judged by its public acts and recognized chiefs; by the men whom it puts forth as its leaders and representatives, as the trustees, on its behalf, of political power, when it obtains political power. The Gambettas, the Berts, the Van Humbecks, the Andrieux, are the true spokesmen of *la libre pensée*, and we have seen what their speech is. On the other hand, I as little forget that among our English Freethinkers there are those who deal with religion in the spirit of the brutal vivisector or the sharp attorney. But these, most certainly, are but the infrequent exceptions to the general rule, which, according to the proverb, they may be taken to establish. It may be securely affirmed that the great majority of those among us who are least able to accept Christianity as a system of absolute truth bear themselves towards it in the spirit indicated in the beautiful and familiar lines:—

"Leave thou thy sister, when she prays,
Her curly Heaven, her happy views;
Nor thou with shadow'd hint confuse
A life that leads melodious days.

"Her faith though form is pure as thine,
Her hands are quicker unto good;
Oh sacred be the flesh and blood
To which she links a truth divine."

VII.

And, now, to draw to a conclusion. I believe firmly that if the whole people of England were polled to-morrow upon the question, the number of those who would desire to see the doctrines of *la libre pensée* substituted for the doctrines of Christianity, even as the Church of Rome teaches Christianity, would be infinitesimal; would be as the small dust of the balance, if weighed in the scale of figures, would be as nothing at all if weighed in the scale of probity. I believe that those among us who dislike the Catholic religion most, who, like the late Mr. Carlyle, regard its teachings as "delusions and deliriums," or, like Dr. Cumming, discern in it the number of the Apocalyptic beast, or, like Dr. Wordsworth, see in its Supreme Head "that Man of Sin," dislike Atheism more, and would promptly admit that there is a larger element of truth in the "Catechism of the Council of Trent" than there is in the "Catéchisme du Libre-Penseur;" that the work of the world can be done on the one, and cannot be done on the other. I believe that the freest of our Freethinkers, with hardly an exception—and I speak from my own knowledge of many "*doctos ego quos et amicos prudens prietereo*"—would shrink no less than I should shrink from a crusade, whose avowed end is to eradicate from the masses those supersensuous ideas which, in whatever positive religion expressed, and however overlaid by

* "Qu'on n'espère donc pas se passer de religion ni d'associations religieuses. Chaque progrès des sociétés modernes rendra ce besoin la plus impérieux."—*Conférences d'Angleterre*, p. 38.

superstition, or marred by ignorance, or perverted by passion, have everywhere and in every age been the main instruments of idealizing life and of strengthening the sacred claims of duty. I believe that the perversion of English sympathy in favour of the rabid enemies of all that the English nation holds most dear is mainly due to that "fatal imposture and force of words" of which I have spoken in the opening portion of this paper. Let the truth be once understood, that the issue between Catholicism and *la libre pensée* throughout the continent of Europe is not an issue between a form of Christianity deemed by the generality of Englishmen corrupt and one which they account pure, but between the Ineffable Being, whom, as Papists and Protestants alike believe, to know and to love is life eternal, and the anti-religion which is based upon denial and hatred of Him; let *la libre pensée* be stripped of the specious verbiage wherewith its rottenness and dishonour have been veiled for English eyes, let it be seen for the mere filthy animalism that it is; and the people of this country will like it as little now as their fathers liked it eighty-eight years ago, when, in the noontide of its triumph, it exalted upon the altar of God a naked prostitute by way of pointing mankind to the true Deity.

W. S. LILLY.

HOW MONEY DOES ITS WORK.

AN ANSWER TO M. DE LAVELEYE

TWO articles have appeared in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for November and December, 1881, on "Commonplace Fallacies Concerning Money," which have emanated from the pen of M. Emile de Laveleye, the eminent Belgian writer on agriculture and other subjects. That in the December number is chiefly occupied with a discussion on the value of money, in which he controverts very elaborately the view taken of this great question by the present writer. The subject is one of very high importance, for the practice of sound trade is deeply involved in a right conception of its chief instrument—Money. It is hoped, therefore, that it may be permitted to examine carefully the arguments, and to weigh the objections, brought forward by so distinguished and able an author as M. de Laveleye.

There is probably no subject within the whole range of Political Economy so entangled as Money. It lies in the everyday life of mankind. All handle it; all talk about it. Its main elements are really exceedingly simple; yet few feel the responsibility of studying and grasping them in their simplicity. Thus confusion arises, and the practical man pours out elaborate theories, with the fullest assurance that *he* knows. "*Quot homines, tel sententiæ*" is about the best description of the state of knowledge on this most familiar topic.

Under these circumstances it seems to be the most natural course, for one whose general conception of money is challenged, to state first his own view of it with as much plainness as possible. The reader will thus be able to clearly understand what the thing is which is attacked, and to perceive the bearing and the worth of the objections brought against it.

What, then, is Money? How did it come into the world? Obviously—incontestably—it is a tool, an instrument, nothing else. It is

not an object sought for its own sake, to be kept and used. It is acquired solely for the sake of the work it does—a mere machine. The sovereigns which a man carries about in his purse are distinctly intended to be set to work, and that work is solely to be given away in exchange for something else. Money is the tool of exchange, the instrument of obtaining for its present possessor some commodity or service which is desired. But how did the necessity arise for inventing such a tool? Many economists answer that a measure of value was needed, a contrivance which should enable men to compare with each other the several values or worths of the commodities they handle. The farmer required to know how many sheep he ought to give for a cart. Thus money was devised to meet this want. But this is an entire mistake. A measure which should tell accurately the worth of one commodity compared with that of another was a want created by civilization, as it developed itself. A far more urgent need made its appearance at an earlier period. Money got over the greatest difficulty which the social life of men encountered. Human beings, unlike almost all animals, were formed to make different commodities for each other: how were they to be exchanged? How could the men who mutually wanted each other's goods be brought together for exchanging? A farmer was in want of a coat, but the tailor had no desire to obtain a calf: he was in want of shoes. Here were two sellers and two buyers, yet neither could procure what he needed. Money came to the rescue. The farmer sold his calf to a butcher for money, and with that money he procured the wished-for coat from the tailor. The tailor repeated the process with the shoemaker. Thus money solved the difficulties. Four exchangers were brought together instead of two, and two articles were sold and two bought with money; and by this employment of a common tool for exchanging, the greatest principle of associated human life was established—division of employments.

It is plain that the money first bought the calf, and then travelled on to buy the coat. It circulated—it remained permanently in no hands. It fulfilled its one service—to exchange, to place two different articles in different hands. Each man who obtained the money intended to pass it away in turn. Thus the conception, tool, comes out transparently. It performs its function by substituting double barter for single: the farmer first barter his calf for money, and then barter away the same money for a coat. This conception of money dives into its essence: that money is a tool must never be left out of mind; it governs every thought, every word about money. If money was never thought of but as a tool, the world would be saved a vast amount of idle speaking and writing.

But there still remains the great, the formidable question which so much occupies M. de Laveleye: How does the tool, money, perform its work? A chisel works with its sharp edge: what does money work with? wherein lies its force? Here M. de Laveleye and I give the

same answer: it works by means of its value. The calf is worth the money, and the money the cost. Nothing can be more simple, nothing more obvious; but under that terrible word, value, lies a volcano of explosive matter. How great is that value in each case wherein money is used? Who shall say? I answer—generally—the amount of its cost of production, if it is to be good money. No money resting permanently on any other basis than its cost of production is good money, wherewith to carry on the great business of life. M. de Laveleye's ideas on this crucial point we will consider later; but they repel mine as false.

It is desirable to point out here that there is a second meaning of the word value, which, though it is very real, would yield nothing but bad money. That meaning is derived from the verb, I value, I care for a thing, I esteem it with a personal feeling, and would give or demand for it a price which has no reference whatever to its cost of production, or to the estimation which another person would form of it. This value is a feeling personal to one's self, and which might easily be shared by no one else. A Raffaele picture, an old manuscript or book, a rare jewel, might command very high market-values, because the owner would not sell them for less, or because the buyer was full of an ardent desire to obtain them. But they would be bad money, precisely because they do not depend on cost of production, and because a buyer would possess no security as to what, if he wished afterwards to sell them, they would fetch in exchange. There could be no worse money for universal use, except money which had no value at all.

Aristotle was the first who pointed out that money was itself one of the useful things—a commodity. He penetrated the very secret of money. Money is one particular commodity selected to be bartered for all others. As a commodity, it necessarily implies that its value includes cost of production; it cannot be procured permanently, in the numbers required for coinage, on any other terms than the repayment of the cost incurred to make or procure it. Whatever other element may be contained in the tool, money, the expense of procuring it must be the main substance, if not all, of its value. The miners will not produce gold and silver to make coins with unless the cost of the mining is made good to them. They send the metals which they have dug out of the earth to the general market: some of them to jewellers and ornament-makers, others to coiners. No question is asked as to their destination; all the miners care for is the recovering their expenses with a profit.

But a commodity implies something more than mere cost of production. All commodities are alike subject to one universal law—the law of supply and demand. When a trade is in a normal state, the supply equals the demand. The expense of production, including profit, is given, the market is cleared, and value remains unaltered, unless the cost of production becomes permanently less or greater. Such a material give the most excellent money. It would afford a fixed measure

for regulating all barter. That measure would be of the same nature as what it measured in every article bought and sold, precisely as all lengths are measured by a selected and definite length—a yard.

This fact teaches us, in very plain language, what is incomparably the highest quality which money can possess, steadiness of value—value as steady as is the length of the standard yard. And as steadiness is the greatest virtue, so unsteadiness, variableness of value, is the greatest vice of money, next to falsity of value. Every debtor or every creditor may be cruelly wronged by a false or a varying value attached to money. The worth stipulated at the time of purchase is not received. Barter is ruined in its very essence; equal is not given for equal. It would be well if the advocates of bimetalism were to ponder over what steadiness of value is for money.

Unhappily, supply and demand, which affect all commodities, introduce into their value, and their subsequent sale, conditions of variableness which may tend to great harm. Sometimes regular consumers are subjected to heavy losses; their power of purchasing becomes much reduced; less is bought, and in the case of luxuries, buying is given up altogether. Meanwhile supply, for a time, goes on at the same rate, price falls, and loss, more or less serious, is incurred. The opposite effects are generated by deficiency of supply; prices rise. In both cases alike the price at which for the time the commodities are sold varies from the average, normal cost of production. These are fluctuating incidents which modify on a given day the figure at which actual market-value stands. But for most commodities, such incidents revolve around cost of production as their pivot; and most assuredly if the actual, real cost of production is not satisfied, the articles will be produced in diminished quantities, or cease to be made altogether.

Unfortunately, there are disturbing elements in mining which aggravate these aberrations. Mining is by its nature a speculative industry—in reality, a kind of gambling. It gives no trustworthy assurance for the steadiness, or even the continuance, of the business. Hence metals, which are the results of mining, are subject to violent fluctuation of produce and of value, and no perfect security can be acquired against such forces. Money is now composed of metals. There are many reasons which lead to the selection of such a material for this tool. But mines often fail in yield—not seldom they stop altogether. Or events may move in the opposite direction. A larger yield presents itself to the same labourers, cost is cheapened, and the price of the metal succumbs. There is no guarding against such occurrences. All that is left is to deal with their consequences as best one can. Yet these consequences are often most grave. A heavy increase of supply of the material of money, at no elevation of cost, sends down its value—gold or silver becomes cheaper, its power of buying less; prices rise, and the quality of money's worth very much injured, if not ruined. The barter which it effected is damaged at its very core. The possessor of

consols, and other fixed securities, purchased them under the hypothesis that the dividends they yield would have a certain power of buying articles in the markets. They now buy much less, and the—I will not say good faith, but the—financial results of purchasing are utterly vitiated. The buyers are poorer, or if the movement of value has been in the opposite direction, are richer. The pressure of the National Debt may be doubled, and its fortunate owners be enriched with a second contribution of wealth from the whole country—all from the interest which is stipulated for and fixed being able to buy twice as much through lower prices in every shop and factory.

On the other hand, there are some conflicting forces, which may moderate if not prevent the revolution. The stock of metallic money in the world is immense; it would take a very large increase indeed seriously to diminish its value under the laws of supply and demand. If supply was growing short, and dearer money was bringing on lower prices, the expansion of notes and cheques would be a valuable resource wherewith to contend against increased cost of production and higher values. The demand for metallic money would thus be counteracted and reduced.

Further, the wonderful development of industrial progress which has carried trade onward over the globe under the mighty impulse of steam and railways, and steam-ships and electricity, generates very expanding and heavy demands for an increase of the quantity of money. This is a force powerfully acting against a lowering of the value of money through augmented production of the mines. Altogether, the uncertain and, so to say, speculative character of mining industry and its results meets resistances, more or less strong, against the rising or falling of money's worth, and the prices which they affect and alter. Nevertheless, it is but too evident that the mining origin of the supply of money, precious metal, is a very real weakness in the material chosen for money. The troubles—and they are often acute and hard to heal—involved in the use of two metals, varying unequally in cost of production, though associated together in currency in all civilized countries, have their source in the nature of all mining. Thus we are brought to the conclusion that, whilst cost of production is always ultimately the essence of the value of money—of metallic money—as of all commodities save those whose prices are governed by feeling and fancy, the fluctuations which fall upon that value through the universal law of supply and demand are more frequent and last longer than those which befall most commodities. The battlefield of bimetallism bears witness to this fact.

Such is the view which I take of the value of money. It is the cost of production, subject to the incidents created by the universal law of supply and demand. M. de Laveleye rejects that view; we will now turn to the criticisms which he has directed against it.

M. de Laveleye begins by admitting the very principle on which I take my stand. "The step," he says, "taken by the legislator"—to

decree that a pound sterling shall be equal to forty shillings, and to diminish by one-half the amount of pure gold contained in a sovereign—"would prove of no avail. In such a case, the value of the new sovereign would be only half that of the old; prices would have doubled themselves. The value of everything depends on the law of demand and supply, and not on the will of either sovereigns or parliaments. This argument is irrefutable" (p. 900). If cost of production is contained in the law of supply and demand—as it necessarily is, for it governs supply—the whole of my position is covered. Here, at the very start, on the fundamental principle which rules the value of money, M. de Laveleye and I are really at one. But immediately adds M. de Laveleye, "This argument does not prove that the law can have no influence whatever on the value of money: for it is the State which, by opening the Mints, occasions the chief demand for the precious metals." If we substitute for the bad phrase, "by opening the Mints," the words, by selecting them for its money, we have a perfectly correct statement. A State, by decreeing that its money shall consist of gold and silver, at once creates an enormous demand for those metals. This demand encounters cost of production at the mines. It may raise it largely. It may cause new mines to be opened at increased cost. But it is only as creating purchases in the open market for the metals that the State acts here. The State itself buys no precious metals for coining. It only creates demand, and the cost of production, under the law of supply and demand, performs the work. It settles the ultimate value, the price which must be given to acquire the metals wanted. But when it is said that the State thus "fixes the value of money, by creating, suspending, or annulling this demand for the precious metals," the expression is inaccurate and misleading. No one ever says that a large speculator in cotton by buying fixes the value of cotton. "Raises" is the word used—not "fixes."

But immediately after proclaiming the fact that the State, by opening the Mints—that is, by adopting particular metals as its money, and thereby acting on the demand for them—occasions the chief demand for the precious metals, M. de Laveleye plunges into assumptions which are unproved and untrue, and which give birth to the fundamental fallacy which pervades the whole of his discussion on the value of money.

"Law has an influence over the demand for gold quite different from that which it exercises over the demand for any other commodity, for the State buys gold in unlimited quantities and at a fixed price. This it certainly does for no other merchandize. Will the State accept iron, corn, or tea upon these conditions? It exercises also an indirect but decided influence on the supply—that is to say, on the production, for it determines the price which can be paid at the mines. If the State cease to fix the price, or if it lower it, the production will, of necessity, diminish" (p. 902).

It is not a little surprising that so distinguished a writer should have rushed into assertions so rash and so unfounded. They singularly illustrate the perverting influence which that formidable word, money, can exercise over the minds of the eminent men who write about it. The State,

not only does not buy gold in unlimited quantity, but does not buy any gold at all. It constantly buys iron, corn, and tea, for it wants large quantities of these articles for its fleet, its dockyards, its soldiers and their guns. One never hears of a purchase of gold, of ingots of gold, by the Treasury. The Mint buys no gold—none whatever. It gives back to the man who brings the ingots the same identical quantity of gold as that he brings, coined into sovereigns, weight for weight. It is the man who requires his gold to be coined who bought it, not the Mint. Who has ever heard of accounts for gold bought by the Mint? The Mint is a machine, nothing more—as pure a machine as a spinning-jenny. That machine cuts the gold into little pieces, and shapes them, and then it puts a mark upon them to certify the quantity of gold in the sovereign and its purity. This is all that the Mint does, all that it can do. The quantities brought to the Mint were purchased by merchants—and assuredly they are anything but unlimited. Merchants will not take gold to be coined at the Mint in countries where gold is undervalued in the coinage, or which have already a full supply. M. de Laveleye has slipped into a very unfortunate confusion here. The Mint is bound to, and does, coin every ingot of gold brought to it; it cannot refuse to coin any portion of them. To this necessity of coining all gold presented to it, the word “unlimited” truly applies; but as to buying gold, nothing can be more limited than the quantity which the Mint can purchase. It can and does buy none, not an ounce. The men who “influence the supply” are not the Masters of the Mint, but the purchasers of the gold from the miners; and as to the State determining the price which can be paid at the mines, and buying at that price, no dream can be more visionary. Those who determine the price to be paid at the mines are the miners and the buyers of the gold together. The miners must have reward enough, in the command of wealth given to them, however calculated to induce them to dig up the ore; and the buyers must see their way to selling the gold to purchasers who will leave them a profit on the purchase. The State has not a syllable to say in such a discussion; and as to buying at a fixed price, how can a body which never buys an ounce of gold fix its price by buying? One thing the State can do—it can and does fix the price of gold coins in terms of silver, as when it says that a sovereign is equal in law to twenty silver shillings, or that a golden Napoleon is the equal of twenty francs in silver. But such a fixing of price will count for nothing at an Australian mine. The prices of all commodities in England—as will be explained later—are expressed in sovereigns, or in twentieth parts of a sovereign; and as to what the sovereign shall be able to buy in any market, neither the State nor its law of coinage has a single word to say. Every seller of gold settles that for himself.

M. de Laveleye repeats the charge in another form. He quotes a remark of Mr. T. H. Farrer, that “a gold sovereign is, within a trifling fraction, worth as much in exchange when melted down as when it has

the Queen's head upon it." This is not strictly accurate. The sovereign, and the gold into which it is melted, are identical in weight, and command exactly the same value in exchange. Mr. Farrer was referring to the fact that gold brought to the Mint is calculated at £3 17s. 9d. an ounce. The sovereigns into which that very same weight of gold is coined, are reckoned to the man who brought the gold at £3 17s. 10½d. But the additional 1½d. has nothing to do with the quantity of the gold, nor with its value as coin; they are simply a charge made by the Mint for giving sovereigns at once for the gold presented. The buyer saves six weeks' delay whilst his gold is being coined, and pays a kind of interest of 1½d. for the immediate advance of the sovereigns by the Mint.

M. de Laveleye, in opposition to the objection that money is mere merchandize—machinery—draws "a radical difference between the monetary metals and any other commodity," which calls for very careful consideration. He remarks:—

"If you make too much cast-iron, or too much cloth, you cannot sell it all, your stock accumulates too largely, and you are a loser; for it eats up the interest of the value it represents. This is not at all the case with monetary metal; you can never have too much of that; thanks to free coinage, it can always be converted into money, and then you immediately draw a revenue from it. Monetary metal is never a dead capital; with money you can purchase, and pay for, any and everything; you are lord of the market. With goods you must wait to sell before purchasing or paying. This is the difference between money and tools or ploughs. If you possess the latter in excess, it is dead capital, while this can never be the case with monetary tools, for you can always send them into circulation, and employ them in procuring you productive capital—consols, for instance" (p. 902).

This is a most important passage. It is in the highest degree necessary to trace out the sequence of the facts which it relates; only, unhappily, some essential facts are missing, and it will be seen, I conceive, that this absence has involved M. de Laveleye in a conclusion which is error and not truth. Let us then follow out in detail the events which occur when a large importation makes its appearance in England.

We must assume, in the first place, as M. de Laveleye's argument evidently does, that the currency is full at the time, that there is money enough to do the work of exchanging, of buying and selling, required. Let us also take one single merchant as the actor; his action will sum up what many would do, and it will be easier to follow.

Our merchant buys five millions of gold, say in Australia, and imports them into England. With what does he buy them? With English goods, incontestably; neither he nor England has anything else to buy them with. Five millions' worth of English wealth, English commodities, have gone away from England to Australia. England, clearly, has lost those goods, that wealth. But compensation has been given in metal of equal value. Those goods will be highly serviceable to Australia: they will be capital available for clothing her work-

men, sustaining her industry, and developing her wealth. On the other hand, the gold reaches England; to the Bank of England straight it goes; there is no other place where it can stay, unless Rothschild carries it off for export abroad. Is England a gainer by this gold? M. de Laveleye contrasts it with too much cloth and cast-iron, which the market cannot clear away, and which make their owner a loser. Granted that the importer of the five millions is no loser; he has metal worth the goods he took away. Granted that he can buy what he chooses by means of that metal which he has converted into sovereigns at the Mint: the transaction for him may be an excellent one. But how fares it with England and her people? Australia, by the help of her gold, has won capital—she has wealth available for producing more wealth, whilst her precious metal she could apply to no useful purpose. M. de Laveleye retorts that monetary metal is never a dead capital; but the five millions of sovereigns—unneded for currency, and lying idle in the Bank's vaults—are they capital at all? Are they at work, as all capital is assumed to be? Are they not wealth for the time annihilated, existing only as possessing value, but, as useful wealth, not better than so many stones? The merchant's purchases will not draw the vast stock of gold out of the cellar. He will pay for what he buys with cheques on the Bank of England; they will be settled at the Clearing House. Those who sold the goods will buy others with the credit now standing in their names; buying and selling, exchanging, will go on, but cheques will do all the work, and idle and dead the five millions remain. Thus England has lost wealth, capital, capable of being applied to augmented production, and in its place she has heaps of metal hoarded in a cellar.

Not so, replies M. de Laveleye. He rejects the assertion that "surplus monetary conveyances will lie idle in the Bank, like ploughs in a shed." The banks will lower the rate of interest, borrowing will be easier, fresh enterprises will spring up, there will be "an increased demand for goods of all kinds, and, as a natural result, a rise of prices will ensue. Higher prices will necessitate the use of more money, and thus the surplus coinage will find employment." But will it? M. de Laveleye has not yet got it out of the Bank. The reduced rate of interest, it is quite true, will lead to more activity in trade; but will the cheaper loans thus granted be counted out in Leadenhall Street in sovereigns? Why should they? The borrowers will buy and pay with cheques, and those cheques will be placed to the credit of the sellers in banking ledgers, and there the matter will end. Not a sovereign has yet come forth into circulation. There is one force, and one force only, which will draw out those sovereigns—an increase of cash payments, requiring the specific use of coins. The enlarged industries will need more shillings and sovereigns for wages and small purchases in shops: but how much of the five millions will this increase of cash payments draw forth? Shillings and sovereigns will circulate rapidly: the same

identical coins make a multitude of payments ; a very few more will suffice to do the five millions' worth of business.

This analysis shows that the Bank will remain gorged with most of the five millions imported from Australia, under the circumstances above described ; still more so if it were fifty millions. They never will come forth into circulation in England until the sovereign is worth less, and more of them become necessary for carrying on the same work in purchasing. In its despair the Bank will make every effort to send these useless millions of metal abroad. They will gradually spread into circulation in regions where banking is little used. They will become at last articles supplied in excess, and they will incur the usual fate of such commodities. Their value will be diminished, and for the same work a larger number of them will be required. No mistake can be more real than that monetary metal "is never dead capital," if its value is assumed to be undiminished ; it must become, if produced in excess, the *confrere* of ploughs in the shed.

Where M. de Laveleye has learnt that "business men give money—metalle money—pre-eminence over all other merchandize," is hard to discover. Let him try to pay in London, or Manchester, £100,000 with sovereigns delivered by hand at a shop or factory ; the trouble of the carting to the shop, and the annoyance of counting and storing, would indeed be highly amusing.

M. de Laveleye proceeds to remark, with perfect truth, that if bank notes and silver were simultaneously and generally suppressed in favour of gold, it is certain that the value of gold would enormously increase, although the amount of labour necessary to the production of an ounce of gold would in no ways have changed or diminished. But this does not contradict the doctrine that the cost of production is naturally and fundamentally the determiner of the value of gold. It is simply an effect of the universal law of supply and demand. A sudden, vast demand for gold is here supposed to have sprung up : it is impossible for supply to meet it for a long period. What is the necessary result ? A monopoly price—a price springing up solely from a sudden and violent disturbance of a relation which had long continued to exist. As well might one say that a vast increase in the price of bread and meat in a large city unexpectedly besieged is a proof that bread and meat do not, as a rule, depend for their value on the cost of bringing them to market. And what would be the price at which gold would ultimately stand if this absolute rejection of silver and notes for currency were persisted in ? At the cost of production at the dearest mine, whose metal must necessarily be bought, if the requirements of currency irresistibly called for it.

Of this fact M. de Laveleye himself supplies a good illustration :—

"When Belgium and, later on, Germany adopted nickel in place of copper coin, the value of that metal tripled. Had the cost of its production increased ? Not at all : but the demand increased, and as nickel cannot be produced at will

the tripled price maintains itself. Suppose that men again attempted to make money out of platinum, as was once done in Russia, that metal, instead of being worth from £12 to £11 a pound, would rise to four or five times that value" (p. 204).

The nickel and the platinum were articles which commercial life absolutely required; and this demand would proceed to the quantity which would satisfy the need there was for money. The mine whose nickel must be had, and was the dearest in its cost of production, fixed the price of the metal; the cheaper mines would then reap a monopoly profit.

M. de Laveleye further appeals to the same explanation in the counter case of silver, which fell in value from 60 to 61 pence per ounce since 1873, to 50, and for a time to 46, ending in a present price of 42. Has the cost of producing silver suddenly fallen a fifth or a fourth? That it has fallen to a certain extent, from an increased yield of the mines to the same labour and capital, is certain; but it cannot be doubted that M. de Laveleye is correct in attributing the fall in no slight degree to Germany selling her silver, combined with the prohibitions against its free coinage in most civilized countries. What is this but the action of supply and demand, the opposite of which occurred in the case supposed above of gold? The demand for silver largely declined: a large quantity remained in stock; a fall of value became inevitable, whatever was the cost of production.

M. de Laveleye now passes on to deliver a solemn warning to his readers to notice very carefully the distinction between price and value. The difference is a question of very lively interest. Mr. Mill made a laborious effort to discover the answer, but at last, in despair, he exclaims that two such good words must not have the same meaning, and to save them both lays down that price is what an article can command in money, value what it can command in any other commodity. The success of the distinction here drawn is not great, for a sovereign commands all articles whose price is a pound. In fact, Mr. Mill's answer amounts to tautology. Professor Jevons, more hopeless still, expels altogether the word value from the domain of Political Economy. It was not a little interesting to learn how M. de Laveleye solved the puzzle to which he attached so much importance.

The passage in which he discusses this question brings up the bi-metallic theory to the front—a theory which is agitating the world of bankers and great traders, and which involves the highest issues for the welfare of industry and trade. We are thus summoned to examine M. de Laveleye's arguments in detail:—

"The price of the precious metals is determined by the Mints. The 'market price of gold' is an expression in constant use, especially in England. The market price of gold is no other than the Mint price. This price enforces itself, and for a self-evident reason, which is this: Mints are not only the principal consumers, but are, at the same time, insatiable, for they buy up all monetary metal at a price fixed by themselves. Why, in any part of the world, should gold be

sold under £3 17s. 10½d., due deduction being made for transport expenses, as this price can always be obtained at the Bank of England? Gold will never be sold cheaper while the Mint in London maintains its price. It cannot either sell at a higher price as long as a sovereign remains in circulation, for industry has but to melt sovereigns for £3 17s. 10½d., and it will secure an ounce similar, and will therefore pay no higher price in the market. Certain writers insist that if silver were universally received as standard money, with a ratio of 15½ to 1, the denser metal—that is to say, gold—would be gradually worn away, and would no longer remain in circulation. But then what would become of this metal? Could it be treasured up indefinitely? Impossible, for it would consume its own interest. Could it be sold to industry at a higher price than that fixed by the legal ratio? More impossible still, for goldsmiths and jewellers, being able to draw at will from the monetary stock, at the price fixed by the Mint, would refuse to pay higher. The producers and holders of gold would therefore be forced to resign themselves to accept the price imposed by the Mint, for they would be unable to dispose more advantageously of their metal elsewhere. Gold could only disappear if the production were to be reduced to one-third or two-thirds. But then, of course, gold could be no longer the monetary metal of the world. Let us suppose the cost of production of gold diminishes suddenly very much, as it probably did when the *placers* of California and Australia were first worked after the year 1850. The price of gold would not fall on that account, for the Bank would still continue to pay £3 17s. 10½d." (pp. 904, 905).

The first assertion here made is palpably untrue: the Mint, as shown above, determines no price whatever. What the Mint does, with respect to the valuation of £3 17s. 10½d. for an ounce of gold is this. It receives from the law of the State, as every Englishman does, the arithmetical relation between pounds, shillings, and pence, as well as the number of carats (a weight) of gold to be put into a sovereign. The Mint then calculates that upon this basis an ounce of gold will give £3 17s. 9d. of coins, and it adds 1½d. over for interest upon the immediate delivery of the sovereigns. Upon these terms it gives coined for metallic gold, and there its function ends.

But these figures, laid down by the law, as to the proportion which gold and silver coins bear to one another, do give the price of each metal in terms of the other. Supposing, for the moment, that the shillings are made of pure silver, and have been determined in number by the values of the two metals in the bullion market; then these figures do say that 20 shillings are the value—the price—in silver of a sovereign, and *vice versa* that a shilling is the twentieth part of the value in gold of a sovereign. But to call this comparative value of the two metals, selected by the law, "the market price of silver or gold," is a complete and most misleading blunder. It only declares that, *in coins*, silver and gold are worth so much with relation to each other; that when payments have to be made of debts, a sovereign must be accepted as the discharge of a pound of debt, or twenty shillings provided the debt does not exceed two pounds. The "market price" of each of the two metals is something quite different; it is the price of each metal in its own market—in the metal world, the bullion market. Here, twenty shillings' weight of silver will not be able to buy the weight of a sovereign in gold. Why? Because silver is cheaper than the proportion toward

gold adopted in coining, its cost of production will allow of more of it being given than that proportion against the dearer cost of production of gold. So there vanishes at once the doctrine that "the market price of gold is the Mint price," and so also the assertion that industry—that is, the trading world—will pay no higher price in the market—in silver, of course—than that contained in the calculation of £3 17s. 10½*d.* A jeweller in search of silver wherewith to make silver plate, can to-day with the greatest ease obtain a larger quantity of silver with the gold to be bought from an Australian merchant than what he could procure by buying shillings with sovereigns.

What, then, becomes of the principle of bimetallism, which M. de Laveleye brings here upon the stage for the first time? The ratio proposed to be adopted between gold and silver in coining is 1: 15½. He makes the supposition that gold has become "dearer,"—that is, worth more silver in the metal market than in the coinage, where it is assessed at 1: 15½—and then he proceeds to combat the argument of mono-metallists that gold would gradually be withdrawn from circulation. What would become of this metal? he confidently asks. The producers and holders of gold would be forced to accept the price imposed by the Mint—that is, would have the gold coined, if not coined already. Nothing of the kind would happen—but exactly the reverse. Silver would be imported into the country, would be turned into coins, and then be exchanged for gold coins in many operations of trade. It would be instantly melted back into ingots, and then taken away to countries where the metal fetched its full bullion value. There would be a clear profit on the operation—the profit of the deficiency of silver given in exchange for the gold. Every one would strive to pay his debts in silver—those reaping an incontestable advantage who had brought that cheap silver from abroad, got it coined, contrived to exchange it for gold coins, and then took them away out of the land. It is really something marvellous that so acute a thinker as M. de Laveleye never seems to have caught sight of these very obvious operations. The wonder reaches its climax when we are told that, if the cost of production of gold diminished very much suddenly, the price of gold would not fall on that account, for the Bank would still continue to pay £3 17s. 10½*d.* Does the Bank buy gold? One does not hear of such purchases. Then with what are they made? it must be with silver. Where would the Bank get the silver from to buy so much gold? It is to be feared that M. de Laveleye had not the Bank, but the Mint in his mind; only the Mint does not buy an ounce.

Next follow some remarks which contain much truth, mixed, however, with no inconsiderable amount of alloy. "Bank-notes, fulfilling the same mission as gold or silver coin, compete with them and render them less efficient." They compete with the coin, certainly—but how this diminishes their utility is not easy to perceive. It is quite true that

if bank-notes were suppressed everywhere, and all banking also, there would be a mighty rise in the value of the precious metals. But why? Because the mines would find an increased supply much more difficult and far more costly to produce. Mines are a very peculiar source of supply; there is no reckoning with any certainty on a greatly enlarged produce. On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the United States and Italy, by drawing on the monetary stock of the world from the desire to re-establish a metallic currency, tend to increase the value of money, and so bring on a fall in prices. But the concluding remark is a pure mistake. "These changes in the value of gold and silver are entirely independent of the cost of production." On the contrary, a largely reduced demand for gold and silver, and a consequent diminution of their value, would shut up the mines whose cost of production was highest, and the value of the metals would stand at the cost of production of the mines still continued on at the lower cost of production. Mines have no uniform cost of production—very much the contrary; consequently the force of supply and demand acts upon them differently from what it does on articles which may be increased or diminished on the same general conditions. A comparatively small reduction of price might tell with prodigious effect on many mines whose cost of production was only a little above the lessened value. And M. de Laveleye is perfectly correct when he adds that, "When the price of gold has fallen by a diminution of the cost of production, the price very quickly regained its previous level, and this was due to the fact of there being fresh demands for it,—a necessary consequence of the extraordinary activity of commerce and industry all over the world."

M. de Laveleye now proceeds, with the help of "Lord Liverpool's famous book," to a formal overthrow of the principle that gold buys by means of its cost of production. Lord Liverpool asserts that "the variation of the value of gold is occasioned by the greater or less quantity that may happen at different times to be in the market or in circulation." Thus, increase of the quantity of gold diminishes its value, as Lord Liverpool teaches—and this is precisely the effect created by reduced cost of production; it throws more gold into the market, and consequently, by Lord Liverpool's rule, this larger supply lowers the price. But, replies M. de Laveleye, facts do not support the reasoning and this rule of Lord Liverpool. "They are contradicted by facts," and so they perish, and with them "the thesis of Mr. Bonamy Price," that "*gold buys by means of its cost of production.*" An increased quantity of the metal in the market is often accompanied, he shows, by the same or even higher value; that is, lower cost of producing stands side by side with higher value: what becomes of Lord Liverpool's theory, and Mr. Bonamy Price's, which stands upon it?

M. de Laveleye appeals (p. 907) to tables compiled by Mr. Soetbeer, "the figures of which show that the value of the precious metals is in

no way determined by the cost of production, but solely by the prices fixed at the Mints of the preponderating countries."

These tables show nothing of the kind. They do not say a word about cost of production. They quote only quantity of production, a very different matter indeed; and by the side of it they give the relative values of gold and silver at the several periods of time. Between 1700 and 1800 the values of the two metals altered very little; but the quantities produced by the mines exhibit differences of considerable magnitude. But these facts, by themselves alone, furnish no proof whatever that the cost of production had undergone any change. They are awkward facts for Lord Liverpool's doctrine in its abstract form; but they are harmless innocents against the principle of cost of production. In commenting on these tables, M. de Laveleye entirely forgets the law of supply which acts on all commodities. The acreage of wheat has in our days been wonderfully increased—has its price been much affected? Has not the demand for it kept pace with expanding agriculture and the same general cost? It is true that mines very often differ in productiveness and cost; but it is also true that very frequently more mines are discovered which afford greatly increased supplies at unaltered cost. Who shall describe the endless expansions which the use of gold and silver has experienced in a hundred years—how many new countries have been brought under active civilization, how many coins have been loudly called for in regions now growing corn, far away from banks and bankers, to what extent wealth has indulged in the luxury of gold and silver ornaments, how many thousands of fresh ships are traversing the seas with gold and silver coins on board, how many tens of thousands of additional labourers in factories are paid by a weekly wage in sovereigns and shillings? Such tables tell us of the quantity of gold brought to market, and the prices at which it was sold; but they make no revelation whatever as to the nature of the demand for it, or the forces acting upon buyers. As to cost of production they are absolutely mute. Gold produced in greater abundance, yet in combination with a price which has risen from 11'80 to 11'96, *pace* M. de Laveleye, is an occurrence which need not excite any surprise. A powerful demand has developed itself—a larger quantity of metal is produced—the price has risen immensely; it may easily be that cost of production has largely increased, covered, however, by a fall of general prices,—that is, by augmented power over commodities on sale—and miners have found it answer to open new mines at higher cost, the dear mines giving their figures to the cheap ones.

But there remains a far more formidable argument yet against the worth of these tables for the purposes of M. de Laveleye's argument. It is hard enough to reason and draw conclusions as to the value of a single metal and its variations, in comparison with the value of all other commodities—and this alone is its true value; but the difficulty is infinitely greater when the value of one metal is expressed in terms

of the value of another. Not only have the demand, the amount of production, the various causes at work giving peculiar worth to gold to be considered, but the very same things also must be investigated as to silver. The peculiarities of each metal must be searched out and weighed. If gold has risen much above silver, is it from exceptional demand for gold, or because mines of greater cost of production have been necessarily had recourse to?—or is it because a large number of silver mines has been discovered, as might well be, at the same cost of production? These and endless questions of the same kind must be studied and solved before any trustworthy inference can be drawn from Mr. Soetbeer's tables.

But I am well content to rest the issue on the moral of the argument, as given by M. de Laveleye. "The theories of economists are false, but economic laws are true." His economic law, derived from the science itself of political economy, we presume, is an unlimited demand for a commodity at a fixed price. Where is the commodity, and what the price at which this stupendous fact may be met with? M. de Laveleye has no difficulty in finding what he seeks. "The free coinage," he exclaims, "of a monetary metal at a price fixed by the Mint constitutes an unlimited demand for that metal." How charming it is to have an *Airy Nothing*, a *Namé*, at one's command, able and ready to solve any difficulty with which one may be troubled. The Mint can do anything—it can fix any price for coins; still more, it can buy any number of them that is offered. It can buy unlimitedly, and what other creature can perform such a feat? Only, alas! what does it buy with? When it has shaped and stamped the gold and silver, and returned them to their owners, what purchase has it made? And what has it wherewith to buy a single coin, much more enough to satisfy "its insatiable desire" for money? The real facts of the situation are of a far humbler kind. The men who possess ingots of precious metal are the men who decide, each for himself, whether they shall have them coined or not. They express and settle what is the demand for more coined money. Whatever else it may be, "unlimited," most certainly, their demand is not. That demand is what the state of the markets, and the forces acting on them, create, for coin, as for every other article. M. de Laveleye would have done better had he studied and described these forces in the market of coin, instead of enjoying the pleasant illusion of a buyer able and ready to make unlimited purchases of coin.

It now remains to say a few words on Bimetallism: want of space prevents a full discussion of the subject here.

And, first, what is bimetallism? The use of two metals for coins does not create bimetallism, in its technical sense. England coins both gold and silver; yet she is not bimetallic, for two reasons. First, she refuses to coin all the silver that might be presented to the Mint; she confines herself to such a quantity as will be sufficient to provide for the want of small change, enough to buy with in small shops and small markets.

Secondly, there is, further, the very decisive reason, that the law does not make silver coins legal tender, a payment which a creditor must accept, beyond forty shillings. Under such a law a large mass of silver coin would be impossible. Bimetallism, on the contrary, first coins all silver and gold offered to the Mint, in a fixed ratio toward each other, determined by the law, and then decrees that such coins shall be legal tender for the payment of debt, at the option of the debtor.

Such a system is not necessarily false or mischievous in itself, but upon one condition—that the ratio between the value of each metal in the coins shall correspond with their values in the bullion market. On that basis a creditor or a seller will receive the metallic worth, whether in gold or silver, of the debt due to him, or of the commodities he sells. But this condition is the precise thing repelled by all bimetallists, and thus the judgment to be passed on bimetallism must be the very reverse.

The bimetallists propose three things:—1. To coin all gold and silver offered to the Mints. 2. To make gold stand to silver in the coinage in the proportion of 1 : 15½. 3. To make the gold and silver coins, to any extent, equally legal tender for the payment of debt. These rules they summon the "preponderating nations of the world" to adopt. One might have expected that the present bullion prices of gold and silver, about 1 : 18, would have been taken as the ratio to start with; on the contrary, a previous ratio of 1 : 15½ is that pressed upon the world. Thus, silver would acquire an excessive, unnatural, and purely artificial value. This becomes false money; it would not do the work of true barter, giving equal for equal, value for value. With a single metallic standard, as Mr. H. Hicks Gibbs remarks, "everyone who buys, and everyone who sells, knows precisely what it is that he gives, and what it is that he receives for the commodity with which he is dealing. Of the single standard of these realms, I will say, that if nothing else had to be taken into consideration, and if we had dealings with no other country but the British Islands, our system would be perfect." And, he it carefully noted, these are the words of a bimetallist. But how fared it with bimetallic France? "Gold, being the dearer of the two metals, had nearly left the country, and little but silver was to be seen. France was denuded of gold, the dearer metal, and"—let M. de Laveleye notice the words—"yet the price of silver only fluctuated between 58½ and 60½. Later on, when the construction of Indian railways had greatly augmented the demand for silver, that metal became the dearer of the two, and it became difficult to get change for a gold Napoleon." How fared it then with the prices of commodities in France? Were they not the sport of the changing values of two metals, with the very unpleasant consequence, that the unlucky creditor, the man who had sold his goods on the faith that the coin he had to receive would be worth what he had given away, found himself paid with the metal whose value had become smaller, and would buy less? Is this good money?

Does it make traders, nay, every man in the community, comfortable? Who can estimate the amount of the sufferings which might ensue?

It is impossible not to feel extreme surprise when men, who perceive so clearly the nature and action of money, deliberately propose, as the basis of bimetallic money, a confessed and serious difference of bullion value of the two metals advocated for combined use. One would have thought that, at the least, they would have taken as their starting-point the actual market values of silver and gold, as they exist at the present time. Instead of a course so natural, they deliberately and continually demand that the ratio between the two metals should be calculated at 1 : 15½, at the very moment when the true proportion is at least 1 : 18. They begin with disorder, with a falsification of values, with intrinsically bad money, with two metals fighting one another in the same coinage. They know well what must necessarily happen. Gresham's law, whose effects they acknowledge, will assert itself. Silver, whose value has been capriciously elevated, will pour in from abroad. It will be converted by free mintage into coins. These silver coins will be exchanged for sovereigns,—getting for 15½ ounces an ounce of gold really worth 18, and with it buying 18 ounces worth of goods, and there will be many ways of accomplishing the operation,—or will be applied to the purchase of bills to be paid for by other countries. The importer of the silver will now export abroad 18 ounces' worth of gold or goods—a handsome profit will be made, gold will steadily depart, and silver will fill the country. Eminent bimetallicists admit that the cost of their production regulates the price of the precious metals in commodities—and that is decisive. The dearer gold bought with cheaper silver will buy more commodities, will give a handsome profit by being bought with silver at 15½. The cheap silver, after expelling the gold, will be practically monometallic. It will fix prices; they will rise, to the heavy loss of every fixed income and every debt due.

At the same time it is essential to recognize fully that the use of silver in the money of the world is a matter of supreme importance. A coinage composed of gold solely would be loaded with mischief, present and future. There is not, and almost certainly there never will be, gold enough to do, itself alone, the work of money needed by all civilized countries. Hence fluctuation in its value might be most frequent and most violent, and from such a source complications and misfortunes, endless in number and intense in kind, might easily arise. I am profoundly convinced that there is one, and one only, real remedy for these dangers, a remedy not over difficult to deal with, and promising to be most beneficial in its results. This remedy is found in the plan proposed by Mr. Clarmont Daniell, in his pamphlet, "*Gold in the East*," and further developed in the *Westminster Review* of January, 1879. He adopts as the one standard, one legal tender of money for all the world, gold. To this he adds silver, to be equally legal tender to any amount, but upon condition that its value, as existing in the

bullion market, shall be ascertained from time to time, and the proportion in which the silver coins shall be related to those of gold shall be determined and proclaimed by competent authority. Such coins would be as perfect as the condition of the globe and its contents will allow. Silver would then stand in its just and true relation of value to silver, and it would be a matter of indifference which of the two metallic coins was selected for monetary payments.

This plan has not received the attention which it deserves. If it is open to serious objections, it is sufficiently promising, in a matter presenting so much difficulty, for thinkers to call for their being pointed out. A ratio of 1 : 15½, arbitrary, artificial, false to the values of the two metals, as bullion, in their own market, and contradictory of the fundamental principle of money's action and of its worth for barter, giving equal for equal, worth for worth, has won the support of men who pride themselves on being great authorities, whilst a plan which confessedly takes for its basis that one recognized characteristic of good money, equal value given in metal for the value of the things bought, is passed by with contempt as if beneath the notice of the scientific world. Does not the question arise, How much science or knowledge of business is there in a dictum that an ounce of gold is worth only 15½ ounces of silver at the very moment that 18 can be procured for it at once from the nearest dealer in bullion?

Finally, I hope that M. de Laveleye will allow me to repeat to him a small passage of history, which seems to me to reveal how money does its work far more clearly and insistently than can be accomplished by any amount of argument. Some years ago I was leaving Geneva for England, and had only English sovereigns wherewith to pay my bill. The landlord readily accepted them, calculating them in francs according to the exchange of the day. He then looked over them in his hand, and asked me whether I could give him a Queen Victoria sovereign in exchange for one with the King George and the Dragon. I did so, and then asked him why he preferred the one sovereign to the other, as in England both would perform the work of payment equally well? He instantly replied, "Sir, all these sovereigns will be melted before to-morrow evening; the King George and the Dragon was coined many years ago, and is probably of light weight. The Queen Victoria is modern and of full size." Never was an answer more instructive. Manifestly I was paying the debt I owed, not with coins, but with pieces of metal; as such the landlord accepted and treated them. Food and lodging were exchanged, by direct barter, as of equal value, for small lumps of gold, of given weight and purity. No transaction could be simpler or more transparently clear: the nature and the action of true money stand forth here in the brightest light.

PENABY PRICE.

THE ART OF WATTS.

[illegible]

* "I really need deeper than this." —
JIM BRAXTON GUNN

THERE are certain poets whose verse is so melodious, whose meaning is so obvious, and whose sympathies are so universal, as to attract at once all who listen to them. And there are others whom we only grow to admire slowly, as our knowledge increases—whose language sounds often at first uncouth in our ears—whose thoughts and emotions have to be searched for diligently, and pondered deeply before they are understood; but who repay the effort of their students with a richer harmony than is yielded by those who “pipe but as the linnets sing.” Without wishing to depreciate the bird like strains of the first of these, I may be permitted to suggest (as Longfellow did in his “Singers”), that they give to youth the joy that their more thoughtful contemporaries give to manhood. And though, as Greg said, “the bees and the butterflies alike are happy,” yet they are happy in different ways and from different causes. Is it a fanciful idea that there should be pictorial art of an analogous kind to the less superficially attractive aspects of poetry and music—that we should be able to discover in various forms of painting

“ A different gift in each
To charm, to strengthen, and to teach.”

I do not see why we are entitled to refuse the same amount of time to the comprehension of a great picture, that we should give without hesitation to the understanding of a sonnet; or why we should expect a composition which has probably taken months if not years of thought and labour to produce, to reveal all its meaning to us as we stroll hurriedly round a picture gallery. A wise man once said that no great book required much less time in the reading than the author had taken in the writing, and a picture, after all, is but an open book, where those who have eyes to see "can read strange matters."

This essay attempts to explain the characteristic qualities of Mr. Watts's art, to note its imperfections as well as its excellencies, and to consider what is its value and its teaching when taken as a whole. That such an attempt, made at such a time, must of necessity fail of complete success, no one will feel more strongly than the present writer. However posterity judges, it will not be from the point of view of to-day, and *that* verdict it is hopeless to anticipate. Without attempting however to forecast what will be the ultimate value assigned to Mr. Watts's painting, we may be pardoned for suggesting the chief aims which the artist appears to have had in view, the chief peculiarities of his style, and the chief points of difference between his work and that of other famous English painters. And if in this latter connection I have to speak with seeming disparagement of those who are high in public favour, I would remind my readers that the comparative criticism referred to must only be considered to be a part of the truth. It were manifestly impossible, within the limits of a Review article, to give more than a general description of the aims and methods of the artists, who are incidentally referred to for the purpose of comparison, and such general description must frequently do but scant justice to their full merit. In one respect the opportunity afforded by the present collection at the Grosvenor Gallery is almost, if not quite, unique. It is, as far as I am aware, the first time that anything like a complete collection of an artist's pictures have been exhibited in his lifetime, and with his assistance and approval. It is the more significant when we consider that the works in this collection extend over a period of nearly half a century, and that the painter has almost reached the allotted age of man. This exhibition may well be considered as a question put by the artist to those who are interested in art, and demanding a plain answer; and I can only plead for the answer that is attempted here, that it is at least an honest one. It is needless to point out that there is one vital difficulty in estimating the works of a living artist that does not exist in the criticism of one who has "passed over to the majority"—the difficulty, that is, of describing without offence the influences to which his art has been subject through his life; the way in which circumstances have aided, thwarted, or modified the development of his genius. For all imperfection arising from such a cause as this, I can but beg my readers' forbearance, as I shall not attempt to note any such details.

Mr. Watts's training as an artist appears to have been a somewhat desultory one. He went, first of all, to the Schools of the Royal Academy, but gained little good there—at all events, if we may trust his own words: "Finding there was no teaching, I very soon ceased to attend."

But in the year 1812 he gained a first-class prize of £300 for a cartoon illustrative of "Caractacus led in Triumph through the Streets of Rome." This was in one of the competitions held in Westminster Hall, which were instituted by the Government for the purpose of

discovering whether there was any artistic talent applicable to the requirements of fresco. The subsequent history of this cartoon is a somewhat singular one. For the design was sold with the other successful compositions to a private purchaser, and was ultimately cut up into pieces which were disposed of separately. The only portion of this cartoon at present discoverable is in the possession of Sir Walter James. With the money gained by this competition the young artist went to Italy, and there devoted himself to the study of the older Italian masters; and only returned to England in time to gain another prize of £500 for an oil painting representing "Alfred inciting the English to prevent the Landing of the Danes." This work was ultimately purchased for the nation, and has since been in one of the waiting-rooms of the House of Lords. It is remarkable for the vigour of its composition, and for a certain purity of colour, which has something in common with the clear atmosphere of the early pre-Raphaelites; but the chief motive of the picture is evidently derived from Tintoretto, to the influence of which master the bold modelling of the figures is evidently due.

The influence of these early works in fresco has never altogether faded, and traces of it may be found throughout Mr. Watts's latest work. To this time and its associations may be traced the large manner, the bold conceptions, the dignity of form and gesture, and the somewhat sombre motive of such pictures as "Time and Death," "Time and Oblivion," "Love and Death," and many others; to this, also, is due, in considerable measure, many of the faults which offend the casual spectator of Mr. Watts's work. Before, however, we dwell upon this subject it is interesting to note that the effects of Mr. Watts's foreign study showed themselves more in the increased scope of his conceptions than in devotion to any special master. During his stay in Italy he seems to have been more receptive of general impressions than actually engaged in studying the technical powers of any individual painter, and he at no time lost sight of that sculptural ideal of art which is evident even in his earliest works. The only exception to this is one grand picture, entitled the "Illusions of Love," painted in 1849. In it there is more of the actual *painter's* quality, as opposed to the sculptor's, than in any other work by this artist, and in many ways it rivals the master, of whom it is a manifest though unconscious echo. In what may be called lusciousness of colouring this picture stands alone; the glowing tints mix together in the most exquisite harmony; the paint seems to be floated on to the canvas, rather than put on with a brush. It is an *immorally* beautiful picture, and has the atmosphere of youth and strength and passionate desire floating round it like a cloud. And yet there is nothing more certain than that, had the artist gone on painting in this manner, he would never have become truly great. For greatness in art never comes by repetition; no matter how accurate, it must be essentially new, if it exists at

all. From this abyss into which so many good men have fallen, Mr. Watts was saved by two causes. The one was, that he was too intellectual and earnest a man to rest contented with mere technical perfection; the other was his devotion to Greek sculpture. If it be true, as is no doubt the case, that he would have in many ways *painted* better had he confined himself to painting alone, it is true also that though his pictures would have been more perfect, they would have been less beautiful—they would have lost in dignity of form more than they gained in beauty of detail. And another point in this connection must be briefly touched upon. There is one difference between the best sculpture and the best painting the world has ever known which is very commonly overlooked—the difference in its appeal to the purely human sympathies. Painting may claim, and, indeed, always has claimed, our attention for kings, prophets, and warriors, martyrs, angels, and madonnas, surrounded with every circumstance of their glory. Its magnificence of colour, its elaborate combinations of form, its sublimity of conception, are powerful, to some degree, to blind us to the purely human fact that lies at the root of the conception, and we may go away from many a glorious picture, thinking more of its technique and accessories than of aught else. But sculpture has none of these diversities to attract us from its main fact. At its very finest it can but give us a perfect human body, instinct with one simple emotion. Unless, therefore, its appeal is founded upon what we all recognize as true and worthy, it must indubitably fail. It is this quality which has been present in Mr. Watts's work throughout his life—this power of, so to speak, stripping the "soul-wrappings" off his subject, and getting at its real essence. And there is one point on which it has affected his paintings very markedly. If you study carefully the best Grecian sculpture, you cannot avoid being powerfully impressed by the fact of the strange impersonality of the statues themselves; the absence there from of all the little tiny individual details that make up personality. I wish to guard against being misunderstood to mean by this that they lack character; on the contrary, there is the fullest and clearest expression of character in each face, but it is character in essentials, not followed out into intricacies and eccentricities—there are no pollarded willows or grafted roses, amongst that noble company. An examination of Mr. Watts's paintings reveals the fact that, in this matter, his practice is identical with that of the ancient sculptors—his characters are the most impersonal that can be conceived; it is not only from their faces, but from their bodies and movements, that every personal detail is avoided or merged in the general impression. This would not, perhaps, be wonderful, if the artist were to obtain the effect by the adoption and repetition of a certain type, such as, for instance, the type of face adopted by Mr. Burne Jones from Botticelli, or the type of drapery adopted by the same master from Mantegna. But there is nothing of this kind to be noted in Mr. Watts's work. Take, as an example, the

pictures of "Daphne" and "Psyche," the only two entirely nude female figures in the exhibition. Here the faces and the characteristics of the bodies are as different as it is well possible for them to be, and yet the same impersonal air is clearly over them both. The one stands straight and stiff by her broken lamp, with a sorrow as yet unrealized upon her face; she is scarcely more than a child—her

"To a girl's ideal,
careless sun-warmed yet with summer;"

her head droops, her arms hang listlessly by her sides, her whole figure expresses dejection and innocent grief; the thin grey light of early dawn wraps her body as a mist. The other is a woman in the pride of her beauty, her limbs glowing with warm colour, her body thrown a little backward, her arm, raised above her head, touching the myrtle into which she is to be changed—a picture of infinite beauty and power,

"Mixed with scent of roses over-ripe,
And murmur of the summer afternoon!"

The consideration of this peculiar quality of our painter's art is closely connected with the old controversy between Realism and Idealism, in the artistic, not the metaphysical, use of those terms. To which camp does Mr. Watts belong? I should say to neither, or to both; and this may, perhaps, be made best evident by a few examples. A realist is simply a pre-Raphaelite, one who paints things as well as he can, in a manner as like as possible to what he sees or imagines to have been the case. And idealists are those who think they can improve Nature by alteration, who like to paint events and actions, not as they are or were, but as they prettily might have been. Such is really the substance of the famous dictum of Mr. Ruskin on pre-Raphaelitism, and will do equally well for our purpose. But these words Realism and Idealism have got mixed up in a good many people's minds with imagination and the lack thereof; till, perhaps, most people who use them in art, give to every work which is at all poetical or imaginative the name of ideal, and to every literal copy of Nature the name of real. The difficulty of using either word correctly with regard to Mr. Watts lies in the fact that, though he is in his main points a decided pre-Raphaelite, as all of his imaginative works prove, yet his practice, to some extent, is that of the idealist's, inasmuch as he translates and generalizes many of the facts he attempts to deal with. Thus, for instance, in dealing with the nude model, the last thing which Mr. Watts does in his pictures is to suggest details of his subject as, say, Mr. Alma Tadema suggested them in the painting of "The Sculptor's Model," exhibited at the Academy a few years since;* or as Mr. Millais did, in his picture of "The Knight Errant;" or as, to take a better example than either, Mr. Lefebvre suggests them in all

* The model's feet, for instance, were quite red with standing in the cold.

his later works. It is excessively difficult to explain exactly in what difference of treatment this result consists; it is, at least, as much due to a method of mental action, as a method of handling the brush, and the pencil, that produces the effect. Artists regard (what they call in studios) the "figure," in very different lights. To one man it is a collection of muscles, another sees chiefly the framework on which the muscles are stretched, a third sees only the form which some pet old masters saw, and models his conception from that, another sees nothing under the skin, and another sees only a woman stripped of her clothes. Now, any or all of these methods are practised in modern art, and all are wrong; neither muscles, skin, bones, the treatment of the old masters, or the representation of an individual woman, is the true manner to study the figure. The fact to be studied lies, not only on the outside of the body, or even the inside, but it comprehends also that which makes the body noble. Call it what we like—sense, spirit, intellect, soul—that is the added factor that removes the painting of the nude from the region of the hospital to the region of the studio. If a painter does not see that in the human body, his pictures bear inevitable witness to the fact, and, no matter how beautifully they are painted, can never be otherwise than offensive. Ruskin said, long since, the "souls of men" are to be "studied in their bodies, not their bodies only. Mulready's drawings from the nude are more bestial and degraded than the worst grotesques of the Byzantine or even the Indian image-makers." Well, of this perfectly wholesome, manly way of looking at the human figure as a whole, England has, at present, only this one master. Amongst the other great painters, there are only four who can be said to seriously attempt to paint the nude figure: these are, Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Edward Burne Jones, Mr. E. J. Poynter, and, occasionally, Mr. Tadmé, who is a Belgian by birth. Of these artists, Sir Frederick Leighton's method is probably the hardest to characterize in a few words, if only because it combines such various qualities. This most accomplished artist has studied in the chief schools of England, France, Germany, and Italy; and, one result of the various teaching he has undergone, has been to make him a sort of artistic Aeschylus, "Not one, but all mankind's epitome." He has been too much taught to have learnt anything worth the learning; like some of the unfortunate youths who take high honours at their university, he has more knowledge than he knows what to do with; and while capable of painting anything in any style, he feels little inclination to use his powers for any purposes of expression. The contours of a woman's back, the softness of a woman's limbs, the sweetness of a woman's eyes, and the languor of a woman's love—these are nearly all the subjects that occupy his pencil, and, as might be expected, the continual pruning away of human imperfections and human emotions to which he has subjected his pictures, has resulted in their having but little interest, and even in the best sense of the word, but little beauty. The loveliness

that "comes from no secret of proportion, but from the secret of deep human sympathy," is alien to Sir Frederick Leighton's work, and he keeps, as far as his pictures tell us, no corner of his heart for those whom George Eliot calls "the few in the fore-front of the great multitude whose faces we know, whose hands we touch, for whom we have to make way in kindly courtesy." This want of sympathy shows clearly enough in the artist's treatment of the figure, which, with all its delicate correctness, has a smoothness and softness that are not of Nature. Under the delicate peach-bloom of his maidens' cheeks, and the clear brown skin of his athletes, there is felt the same want of reality; his lovers whispering in the twilight, as in last year's Academy picture, call forth no corresponding emotion; they are as unhuman in their perfection as the voices of the earth and air in Shelley's "Prometheus," or they are like Alpheus and Arethusa—

"spirits that lie
In the azure sky,
When they love, but live no more."

Hands that have done no work, and hearts that have known no sorrow—soft robes that have never been soiled with rain or torn by storm—a blue sky above their heads and a fruitful earth beneath their feet, and an atmosphere of the land where it seems always afternoon—such are the actors and their surroundings of Sir Frederick Leighton's later works; is it any wonder that they have little appeal for us who live, "girt by the beating of the steely sea," in an age which has certainly little in common with that of Arcady.

In fact, Sir Frederick Leighton plays upon the human body with as much skill and with as much indifference as a practised musician, and one day, perhaps, he will be astonished to learn that

"There is much marvellous music in this little pipe"

that he cannot "compel to utterance."

With Mr. Poynter the case is a very different one. He stands, indeed, with regard to his art, almost at the opposite pole to Sir Frederick Leighton. His training has been of the most insular kind; his sympathies with modern art are very slight; his power is of a peculiar, hard, resolute character; his draughtsmanship has never succeeded in making itself harmonious in general effect; what the French call "*les grands contours du dessin*," are singularly absent from his drawing of the figure, which commonly presents us with a man or a woman whose limbs seem to have come together somewhat fortuitously, and to be on the point of dislocation. With all this there is in this artist's work an impression of earnestness and well-directed effort that goes far to render it of real value. If some of his figures look as if

"One of Nature's journeymen had made men,
And not made them well,"

nevertheless, there is generally to be found in each some real truth of

action or form, and he is, perhaps, the only living English artist who at the present time habitually struggles with the problems of drawing presented by the muscles when in violent action. It is not my purpose to give a description of Mr. Poynter's merits, but to point out that his conception of the figure is inadequate for two reasons—of which, indeed, either would be sufficient. It is not beautiful form: there is some personal incapacity to understand or to care for beauty of outline, and its place is supplied, as best it may be, by industry and by delineation of varied action. Take any quiescent figure of Mr. Poynter's you like as an example, and examine it carefully, and you will inevitably find this lack of grace. The quality is one that evidently does not appeal to the painter. The second reason is that Mr. Poynter's conception of the human figure is not his own, but is borrowed from Michael Angelo, and he has, like most imitators, copied rather the accidents than the essence of his master's greatness. I cannot spare time to dwell upon this characteristic; it is sufficient here to say that it causes him to give undue prominence to the muscles and their action, and is in no small measure answerable for the uglinesses of form which are of frequent occurrence in his work.

Mr. Edward Burne Jones is an artist of very different calibre from either of the above-named, and one whose most delightful qualities are little connected with his drawing of the figure, which is, indeed, in his work, almost always partially draped. But as he is at the present time the representative man of the pre-Raphaelites, and as his work is in its way of very exquisite quality, we must say a few words upon his art.

The reading of life which Mr. Burne Jones's compositions show is as essentially mediæval Italian in its character as Sir Frederick Leighton's is degenerate Greek. The glory of the body itself, and the fear of the body itself, is the keynote to these two painters' work—the conception, respectively, of the athlete and the ascetic. But the curious turn of mind which has, in Mr. Burne Jones, grafted the passions of the athlete upon the mind of the ascetic, is one for which we can scarcely find a parallel in the history of art. Never, probably, before has an artist devoted himself to the representation of love and beauty with so shuddering a conscience, and so overpowering a sympathy. Not only loving but "love-sick" are all his characters—their love oppresses as a physical suffering—their heads and bodies droop beneath it.

We have had discussions *ad nauseam* as to the morality or immorality of Mr. Burne Jones's pictures, and I certainly do not intend to enter upon one here; but I wish to point out how incompatible with any worthy rendering of the human figure is the state of mind that I have just hinted at above. In art as in religion it is true that "perfect love casteth out fear," and the mediæval conception of love was, as Kingsley says in more than one of his books, a wholly vitiated one, founded upon fear and ignorance. For the rest, Mr. Burne Jones's

study and drawing of the nude has not been carried out to anything like the same extent as the masters of whom we have been speaking, and he has never attained mastery of the contours of the figure as a whole. Somewhat of the archaicism of Botticelli and Mantegna clings to him still, and, to go no further than one of his peculiarities, he is apt to reduce both men and women to a type which, while partaking of the character of both, is a perfect representation of neither.

This somewhat long digression was necessary to show why I rank Mr. Watts's painting of the nude figure, in certain essential respects, above that of any of our English artists. It seems to me to comprise a greater number of the more vital requisites of figure-painting than is to be found elsewhere in England; nor do I know any living painter, with perhaps the single exception of Henner, who excels him in this respect. The vital requisites to which allusion is made are these, arranged as nearly as possible in order of value—dignity of form and gesture, attained by the most thorough knowledge, combined with the power of separating and rejecting all irrelevant and incompatible details; purity, the result, not of one quality of mind or hand, but of habitual thought; power, the result of working habitually on a large scale, and on subjects of adequate importance. These three seem to me to be the most essential qualities in figure-painting, and in all these Mr. Watts's work leaves little or nothing to be desired. His failures, indeed, are intimately connected with his merits, since they almost invariably arise from the undertaking of some conception too involved in meaning or too gigantic in size to be adequately carried out in oil painting. Such works as the enormous head and bust of "Satan" in this gallery, and the still larger composition entitled "Time and Oblivion," are in their very nature unsuited for oil pictures. They are incomplete dreams upon subjects unadapted for pictorial representation in any complete manner, and should have been done, if done at all, only in the roughest description of fresco over some dark archway, or on the apse of some great cathedral. Not that they do not possess many great beauties (the gesture, for instance, with which Oblivion sweeps her dark robes round her face as she hurries towards the grave, is one of the grandest pieces of expressional form I remember to have seen), but that those beauties only serve to make us regret the necessary incompleteness of the whole. Again, few people, I think, can have noticed the half nude figure entitled "Arcadia," without feeling that it strikes one of the few false notes in this master's work. The reason is manifest: we only dwell in Arcadia once in our lives, and never after the questions of life and thought have begun to perplex and sadden us. Mr. Watts's female figure has none of the innocent gladness and belief that she should typify. He has tried hard to make her glad, and has only succeeded in making her embarrassed; it is one of the few occasions where he has not felt his subject. Such failures are not numerous; out of the two hundred pictures here there are hardly twenty that miss their point in meaning,

and nearly all of these are examples in which the artist has departed from what we may perhaps be allowed to call "his usual line of business." A thoughtful man playing at thoughtlessness is a very charming spectacle if successful, but approaches dangerously near to failure every time. Few of those who habitually feel the significance of life can lay aside their knowledge even for an hour.

And this brings me to the consideration of the chief imperfections in our Master's work; imperfections of which the presence is manifest to all who look at the pictures, though few take the trouble to thoroughly investigate their shortcomings, or seek for their origin. The fact remains, that of the *perfection* which is the mark of the greatest art, we find little trace here. Hardly any of the pictures strike us with the irresistible impressions of rightness that we gain from work which has been executed with perfect knowledge. They are rather like the actions of Dorothea Casaubon, the "offspring of a certain spiritual grandeur, ill-matched with the meanness of opportunity." The purely artistic side of art—the use, that is, in absolute perfection of skill of the brush, the pencil, and the colour—has always been the side of his work which has had least attraction for Mr. Watts. Caring very greatly for the result, he has never—or, at least, so it seems to me—cared much for the means whereby he attained it. Both in thought and action, the superficial has had for him little fascination; and the life-long study of means, which so many artists make the occupation and even aim of their lives, has been to him only a stumblingblock. It was the habit of his mind, as it was of Savonarola's, "to conceive great things, and to feel that he was the man to do them"; and this has been at once his weakness and his strength. His weakness, in urging him to the continual adoption of great undertakings without reference to his powers of health and the circumstances of his life; and his strength, in encouraging him under the neglect of his finest works. It is a somewhat pathetic little line that appears under most of the largest works now exhibiting at the Grosvenor Gallery, though it only contains four words—"Little Holland House Gallery," for Little Holland House is, I need hardly tell my readers, Mr. Watts's own dwelling, and the pictures therein are his. Trying to trace the artist's mind in his pictures, I think, shows us something more as to the causes of his comparative failures. *He is a dreamer, with a purpose.* And, alas! dreamers should have no motive. "Kubla Khan" would not be improved by the addition of a moral. Perhaps the difference between the greatest art and that which just fails to be the greatest (leaving out for the moment all question of technique) is that the first is rather a motive power to great thoughts, and that the second embodies, or strives to embody, some special thesis—a difference that may be exemplified by that between a symphony by Beethoven and an opera by Wagner. In all Mr. Watts's large works, the thought has predominated over the expression, or at least the thought has been enforced to the utmost of the painter's power. And it is as distinctly

an error for art to be markedly moral as it is for it to be the reverse. With stronger health, and with a slightly less sombre habit of mind, Mr. Watts's works would have swept away their excess of thought in their splendour of colour and composition. Had the artist not taken life quite so hardly, his pictures would have gained to a very considerable extent. As it is, there is scarcely one of the finest of the imaginative works which is not either distinctly mournful in subject or depressed in spirit. And this is shown with wonderful clearness on an examination of the landscapes. We can fancy some robust squire saying, "Surely this cannot be meant for England; this sad, grey, green country, without life, or colour, or air, whose leaden skies hang heavily over dull brown trees, and even the green fields seem to have a livid unwholesome look." And yet these landscapes are beautiful, if we take them simply for what they are—notes of depression cast into the shape of pictures. With much of the poetry of Corot, Millet, and Rousseau, but with a deeper, more satisfying harmony of colour, they combine a solemnity of feeling which is none the less remarkable for its being evidently unsought, and they are curiously free from the morbid feeling of such landscapes as those of Mr. Cecil Lawson, or the academicism of M. Legros. The matter may be shortly summed up by saying that the life of beauty has had no existence for Mr. Watts, unless it has been of such a kind as to enable him to connect it in his own mind, or in others, with great thoughts or interests. The one order of beauty which, as George Eliot said in "*Adam Bede*," "seems made to turn the head, not only of men, but of all intelligent mammals, even of women," has had no attraction for him, or at least not until he could find in it some trace of emotion, some hint of suffering of thwarted circumstance. Thus the beauty of a woman's flesh, which may probably be considered the most purely sensuous phase of beauty in the world, has almost invariably been ignored by him; while the lines of her form, which he was able to connect with Greek art, have been his greatest delight. Continually in his pictures do we find the flesh of a crude and almost repulsive colour, and possessing none of the finer qualities of surface. With these few remarks upon Mr. Watts's shortcomings, I must leave the subject; but before proceeding to notice his portraiture and landscape painting, or making any further reference to his imaginative works, I must, at the risk of wearying my readers, say a few words upon his peculiarities of colour and arrangement of his pictures. Like most masters who have been engaged in fresco, he uses but little medium in his work, and paints with comparatively dry colour. In this his later pictures differ considerably from his earlier work, and the difference may perhaps be understood when I say that they rather resemble Tintoretto than Titian. One of his chief theories in painting is, I believe, to depend a great deal upon the purity of his ground colour; and this he always strives to preserve or restore throughout the painting. One result of this method is that his newly-finished works are very frequently

of somewhat dead and heavy appearance, and only show their full qualities of colour when, after the lapse of a year or two, they come to be varnished. It will be noticed by the visitors to the Grosvenor Gallery that from this cause many of the early pictures are apparently much richer in colour than those which have been lately executed. Not that the difference is entirely due to that cause, as there can be no doubt that Mr. Watts has considerably modified his scheme of colour of late years. It has altered from bright to rich, and a certain quality of tint, which might almost be called "garish," has entirely disappeared. One of the chief peculiarities of the artist is the very full range of his present colour harmonies, for in each of the three primaries he seems to find almost equal delight. Perhaps the majority of his works are chiefly concerned with modifications of yellowish brown and blue, but he is likewise very skilful in the introduction of scarlet and crimson draperies, as, for instance, in the great portrait of Sir Frederick Leighton, exhibited in the Academy of last year, and one of his latest pictures (not exhibited at the Grosvenor), is a study in various tones of red. The drapery, however, which the artist has employed lately for some of his chief pictures, such as those of "Love and Death," and "Orpheus and Eurydice," is of a peculiar greenish grey, and is perhaps the least satisfactory note of colour throughout his work. When employed on large surfaces, as in the picture above mentioned, it gives a cold, monumental character to the work, which, though dramatically appropriate to the subject, is decidedly injurious to the beauty of the picture. It is difficult to tell what will be the exact effect of age upon these grey robes, but I think the employment of so much cold colour must always be injurious to the effect of the picture, and it is notable that throughout the work of the great colourists of the Venetian and Florentine schools it is excessively rare to meet with tertiary colours disposed in such masses as to practically form the keynote of the picture. In main effect of colour Mr. Watts's work may perhaps be best described as bearing the same relation to Reynolds as that of Tintoretto to Titian, and indeed this parallel would hold good in several ways, as we shall try to show hereafter. His most peculiar powers in this respect are shown in his mastery over low tones of grey and green, as, for instance, in the picture of "The Dove returning to the Ark," or the "Psyche," alluded to above. In the management of these shades he may be called emphatically a great colourist, one of the greatest; and if I hesitate to bestow this title upon him with regard to all his work, it is only because his pictures, which are constructed on a scheme of full colour, seem to me to lack the joyousness and serenity (I can really express my meaning in no other words) that always accompany the work of really splendid colourists. A few "shades of the prison-house" always seem to linger over their brightness; there are to be found in every one notes of imperfection, weariness, and—I had almost said—failure. In several, too, of the earlier works, where brightness has been chiefly aimed at, and where the colours employed are kept comparatively pure, there

is a lack of that deep satisfying lustre, as of a cut-open precious stone, that marks the greatest work. Those of my readers who are acquainted with the works of Venetian masters, will be at no loss to understand my meaning, and for those who are not some hint of it may be gathered by them if they remember some of the early work of Mr. Millais, and the pictures of Mr. Burne Jones, Mr. Holman Hunt, and Mr. Rossetti. Or, perhaps, a more perfect example still (more perfect, because unallied with deficiencies of feeling or perversities of mind) is to be found in the early pictures of Mr. Hook, R.A. Such compositions as "The Trawlers"^a and "Luff, Boy!" have all the richness of the Venetian colouring, if not all its splendour. To this beauty Mr. Watts has never been able to attain, though in one or two pictures—for instance, the work in the Grosvenor Gallery of "A Lady Playing the Piano," and the "Illusions of Life"—we find some approach to it.

Into the causes of this failure to attain the power which is the rarest, and, I hold, the most precious of all artistic capabilities, it is needless to inquire closely. I may, however, point out that the colour harmonies of Mr. Watts's work fail, where they fail at all, with a frank confession of imperfection that is very far removed from total failure. Indeed, in his colouring, as in his draughtsmanship, and in the composition of his pictures, this artist's frankness of speech is at once his greatest charm, and the occasion of his severest criticism. If any pictures ever told a spectator that their painter saw heights to which he could not approach, depths which he could not fathom, and meanings which he could not explain, these compositions tell the tale; and as the majority of people admire the cocksureness of Macaulay more than the pregnant hints of Carlyle, so do most picture-lovers prefer artists whose pictorial speech is clear and unhesitating, and who feel no incapacity because they (like people who are short-sighted) have a keener vision for little things near at hand. There are few topics more alluring to the majority of commonplace minds than the imperfections of the great in any walk of life, and it was not to be supposed that the general public, which understood neither the aims nor the difficulties which guided and perplexed Mr. Watts in his pictures, would refrain from harsh criticism of an artist who confessed himself only a student in his art. And this became more certainly the case owing to Mr. Watts's practice of exhibiting great works in an incomplete state—a practice which, however objectionable in itself, was in this case the only alternative to not exhibiting at all—an alternative which, I may remark in passing, was frequently chosen.

I have said very little about Mr. Watts's peculiarities of drawing, and shall hardly touch upon that subject, both because it is one which can hardly be rendered interesting to the general reader, and because any criticism of its technicalities that would be worthy of the name, would stretch beyond endurable limits an article which is, I fear, already

^a Now on exhibition at the Fine Art Society's Galleries in Bond Street.

too long. If it were possible to characterize his method shortly with reference to draughtsmanship, I should say that the leading quality was a large pre-Raphaelitism—pre-Raphaelitism, that is, divested of its eccentricities and laborious shortcomings, and directed to the heart of the subject-matter rather than to its outside. It is quite certain, I think, that the body of man is regarded by the artist much after the fashion of Carlyle in "*Sartor Resartus*"—it is only "the garment thou see'st him by;" and this method of thought affects the method of the hand, and gives a certain amount of subtle generalization to the artist's compositions. Much as a "man who can read never looks at a book, even unopened on a shelf, quite in the same way as a man who cannot," so an artist who can read the soul, cannot ever draw form quite in the same way as one who reads and draws the body only. Some foolish critics—notably one in an evening journal, who should have known better—have spoken about not liking this figure's attitude, or that figure's limbs, or the other figure's flesh-painting, not apparently remembering that, in most cases, the works to which they were objecting were wholly unfinished, and that, moreover, an artist may fairly claim to be judged by the mass of his work, especially when it is all exhibited together, as in the Grosvenor Gallery. It is as absurd to talk or write about Mr. Watts not knowing the proportions of the human figure, as it would have been to tell Mr. Street that he did not know the elements of Gothic, or to explain to Mr. Huxley that he was ignorant of the theories of evolution. And the absurdity culminates when it proceeds, as such criticisms generally do proceed, from critics who never drew a figure in their lives. Of all things in the world to criticise with any chance of being right, the drawing of the figure is the hardest, even in its most straightforward kind, and when it comes to criticising generalized form—as opposed to anatomical form—it needs half a lifetime spent in actual study of the nude, to tell when, how, and where a drawing is wrong—and right.

I made, in an earlier portion of this article, a comparison between the treatment of the figure by Mr. Watts, and by some other of the greatest English living painters—somewhat perhaps to the disadvantage of the latter; in justice, I must say a word or two to explain the comparative rank of Mr. Watts as a draughtsman, and, as I have hinted at his excellencies, mention his defect. It is, undoubtedly, a deficiency of delicacy in outline, a tendency to substitute masses for refinement of form, and to lose sight of the beauty which comes from what is generally known as subtle drawing. Much of this is connected inseparably with his methods of thought and conception of art; but he would probably never have been able to gain a delicate beauty of outline such as we see in Sir Frederick Leighton's work—outlines, that is, where each line seems dependent upon the other, and where all blend together in perfect unity. Or, to take another instance, he would never be able to touch the tenderness of drawing with which Mr. Burne Jones executes his penc

heads. In this latter instance, the quality of the work is as indefinable as the scent of a flower, or the touch upon the violin of a great musician. We perceive the effect, and that is all. In Mr. Watts's best drawing there is something of ruggedness, as of one who, after a day spent in hot battle, should come home and try to touch softly the face of his sleeping child—the hand is kind and true, but it is heavy, and it has been trained to sterner work. These shortcomings are visible, too, in his treatment of drapery, which is always well-disposed, but has something of the sharp marks of the chisel left upon an unfinished statue. It sweeps finely in its main contours, but it hardly clings to the form as if it was a part of the body; it has much of the nobility of the Greek statues, but little of their mystery, intricacy, and softness. Those who will think of the work of Mr. Albert Moore, will understand my meaning when I say that Mr. Watts's work is, in this respect, singularly imperfect for one who so thoroughly understands the spirit of Greek art.

But it is a curious fact in the history of art, that much attention bestowed upon draperies, and great excellence in their delineation, has always been a sign of artists whose sympathies were less wide than they were accurate—who preferred form to spirit. Compare, for instance, the works of the Byzantines and Cimabue with that of Giotto—the works of Mantegna with that of Andrea del Sarto—the work of Carpaccio with Bellini, and that of Veronese with Tintoretto.

Perhaps the truth of the matter is that the imaginative faculty, when it exists at all, can only exist as an imperious master, and will not suffer the introduction into its domain of more than a certain amount of alien matter. A man who *can create*, either in poetry, painting, or music, is hardly the master of how he will create, or what—except in those rarest of all cases in which, as in Shakespeare, the imaginative power is balanced by an equal amount of intellectual judgment. Intensest feeling, and the power to weigh and distribute that feeling with perfect impartiality, is, I suppose, the highest outcome of genius, and when we get it, we get a Dante or a Shakespeare. Neither of these is our painter, but an imperfect man, struggling with the utterance of noble conceptions, and getting many a bad fall in the attempt. Not for that should we despise its partial achievements, or forget Blake's wise dictum, that

"The errors of a wise man make your rule,
Rather than the perfections of a fool."

Mr. Watts's painting is open to the same reproach as may be given to most of our characters; it is in many ways, as Mr. Stevenson said in "*Virginibus Puerisque*," erring and untrue, "but filled with a struggling radiance of better things, and adorned with ineffective qualities."

At the risk of wearying my readers, I must say a few words as to Mr. Watts's treatment of the various imaginative subjects upon which he has chiefly expended his energies—subjects which may be roughly classified as Religious and Poetic.

His manner of dealing with the former of these subjects is essentially an undogmatic one, and is, perhaps, a typical example of the present state of uncertainty and unrest. As far as I can read these pictures, they shadow forth a state of mind in which the great problems of life and death, redemption and salvation, have received no adequate solution, but in which Christianity and its teachings form the symbols through which the artist expresses his belief in a Creator, and in some moral government of the universe. Such works as one "Dedicated to all the Churches," "The Sketches for the Progress of Creation," "The Creation and Temptation of Eve," "The Return of the Dove to the Ark," and others, illustrate the Christian legend with an amount of sorrowful unrest, that has nothing in it of dogmatic assurance. They seem rather symbolical appeals to some unshaped faith, than records of facts in which belief is certain; but, however this may be (and I am far from wishing to draw any conclusion from the pictures that is at all strained), there can be no doubt that the subjects are treated sadly, and the historical motive of the pictures is depression. I do not remember a sadder picture than that of the dove resting on the stump of a tree, after her last flight from the ark,* and the one which shows her return with the olive branch is almost equally dreary. In the other pictures the sadness is impersonal, but they all seem troubled, and the rendering of each scene is always one which dwells upon the element of disturbance, and the motive of the conception is that which Newman hints at, in the following quotation from the "Apologia":—

"Starting, then, with the being of a God, which, as I have said, is as certain to me as the certainty of my own existence,—though, when I try to put the grounds of that certainty into logical shape, I find a difficulty in doing so in word and figure to my satisfaction,—I look out of myself into the world of men, and there I see a sight which fills me with unspeakable distress. The world seems simply to give the lie to that great truth of which my whole being is so full; and the effect upon me is, in consequence, as a matter of necessity, as confusing as if it denied that I am in existence myself."

If we turn for a moment from the religious or quasi-religious pictures, to the few where Mr. Watts has taken for subjects the incidents of modern life, we see this bias of thought still more strongly. "Found Drowned," "Under a Dry Archway," "The Irish Famine"—such are the subjects of the artist's choice, and their treatment is characterized by the sternest realism. No modern painter with whom I am acquainted has touched with so unsparing, and yet so sympathetic a hand, the problem of woman's degradation, and it is to be noticed as a curious fact that, in the treatment of this subject, Mr. Watts's work becomes, for the first time, purely realistic. His largest picture of this kind, another example of "Found Drowned," is not in the Gallery. It is an early and comparatively hardly painted work, but possesses many good qualities, and that interest that attaches to plain speech on a subject where folks are habitually reticent. But the picture of the woman

* This picture is not included in the Grosvenor Gallery collection.

dying in the dawn under the archway, which is here exhibited, is far finer, and, despite the almost ghastly misery of the subject's face, far more beautiful.* Underneath it hangs a portrait study of a fair young girl, with not a line of trouble marring the softness of her face or the roundness of her cheek; not a fold of her fresh dress crumpled or awry. She is in profile, her sweet lips parted as if in the act of speaking—delicate, fresh, and fair, and "sweet as English air can make her." She might stand there, in her gentle beauty,

"Whole ages long, the whole world through,
For preachings of what God can do."

And above hangs the composition of the tramp, crouching against the cold masonry of the arch, and shivering closer into her wretched shawl. The juxtaposition—one, we suppose, of pure chance—is very striking, but it is good to remember that the same hand painted both works, and that, perhaps, if the artist had not felt sympathy for the misery of the one, he had never been able to express the purity and grace of the other. Come, come; what use in thoughts like this?—the problem of such a contrast is too grave a one to be touched upon here; let me rather say a few words upon the large, imaginative works, which form so striking an element in this exhibition. Some of them are finished pictures, but most of them can hardly be described as more than the first statements of the thought which the painter intends to illustrate. They may be divided roughly into works of fancy, and works of thought—the former being attempts at striking a lighter chord of meaning; the latter expressing chiefly the artist's habitual mood. Of these classes we may say at once, that the first is the least attractive, and few of its examples can be considered altogether successful. Such pictures as "Mischief," for instance, remind us painfully with how much lighter a hand such a painter as Etty would have touched the subject, and how little Mr. Watts has been able to express any intelligible conception of the scene. The "Arcadia," too, to which we referred above, is a total failure, it seems to me, in feeling, and represents simply a half-nude model in a rather unfortunate attitude. So, again, with such compositions as "Fata Morgana," "The Infant Hercules tended by Nymphs" (unfinished), and, worst of all, "Ariadne Deserted by Theseus," we find no interest and little beauty. They are awkward attempts to excel in a line which is not sympathetic to the painter—trials of a skilful violin-player to perform on the "banjo and the bones." The two largest works of the second class—that, namely, which deals with subjects of deep imaginative interest, and treats them seriously—may be dismissed very briefly. The two heroic-size figures, entitled "Time and Oblivion," is a magnificent piece of composition in line, conceived on too gigantic a scale to be worked out perfectly, without many years of labour, and it may be doubted whether it would ever make a wholly satisfactory picture; the one

* On going again to the Grosvenor Gallery, I find that I was mistaken in the place of this picture. It hangs in the East room, close to the large work of "Aristides and the Shepherd."

entitled "Satan," a nude, half-length figure, also of gigantic size, with a head turned away from the spectator, is open to the same remark, with the added objection, that a picture in which there is only half a figure, and that half only shows the back of its head, is hardly likely to be specially interesting or intelligible, and that such a subject of such a size should certainly be both, to justify its existence at all. Of the large work of "Love and Death" no such criticism can be made; its facts are stated with wonderful clearness and power; it is very adequately finished; it presents a novel and striking treatment of a great subject, and it is full of very beautiful composition and colour. The picture is well known, probably, to most of my readers, as it was exhibited at the first exhibition held at the Grosvenor Gallery; but it has, since then, been greatly worked upon, and improved.

The figure of "Love," who stands upon the threshold of the House of Life, striving ineffectually to bar the advance of Death, is a very beautiful one, both in drawing and colour, and the movement of his figure, resisting to the last the power which he feels must prevail, is expressed with extraordinary ability. The problem of combining the most violent exertion with grace of attitude, has been solved by Mr. Watts in this picture with complete success, and so has the difficulty of expressing, in the two typical figures, the double action of feeble violence and quiet but resistless strength. All the minor details, from the brushed feathers of Love's once bright wings, to the falling petals of the roses that surround the porch, are finished with the most delicate beauty, and the whole work is instinct with the best form of pre-Raphaelitism, and may probably be considered the finest imaginative oil painting by this master. There is another large composition, of somewhat similar treatment, entitled "Time, Death, and Fate," which may perhaps rank with this; but it is at present, I believe, undergoing considerable alterations at Mr. Watts's hand, and, as I have not seen it for some years, I cannot speak of it with any detail. A small first sketch for this work may be seen in the West Gallery here, but it is of very inferior merit to the finished picture. The largest work in this Exhibition is one which reaches from floor to ceiling of the largest gallery, and is entitled "The Angel of Death." This composition is in an excessively unfinished state, and I do not, therefore, purpose to criticise it minutely. It is a symbolical picture of many figures, representing various types of men and women who have come to Death to pray for a release, or to sacrifice their lives for others, and above them all sits the great Angel, "enthroned upon the ruins of the world," and holding in her lap the form of a dead child. One of the finest figures is that of a beautiful girl, who is wearily resting her head against the winding-sheet that flows down from Death's robe; and the form of the warrior who is laying down his sword upon the altar in the centre of the figure, has much simple dignity. Should Mr. Watts be able to finish this work, and make it as beautiful in colour as it is already

grand in conception and form, it will be one of the noblest pictures in modern art. Even as it is, it is a most beautiful and thoughtful illustration of a sombre subject. I can only allude in passing to one or two of the other poetical pictures, though they deserve a full and careful examination. The "Sir Galahad" is the most perfect, and the "Paolo and Francesca" the most tragic conception of their respective subjects that I remember. I do not consider the latter picture has the perfection of love enduring through suffering, that marked the great work on the same subject by Ary Scheffer; but that, despite its imperfections of colour, was dramatically and emotionally perfect, and is hardly capable of being surpassed. The "Galahad" is noticeable for its very rich key of colour, and its painting of the armour and the woody background. The face, too, of the knight, as he stands bareheaded, gazing before him at the vision "none else might see," expresses all the purity and enthusiasm of the "spotless knight," and the whole picture is far more cheerful, both in colour and general conception, than is usual in Mr. Watts's best work, and bears a considerable likeness to the manner in which Mr. Millais would probably have executed a similar subject. Less successful in this respect is "Una and the Red Cross Knight," a composition in low tones of colour, representing the first lines of the "Faerie Queene," and which appears to have little of the tender gaiety of Spenser's verse. Another illustration to Spenser's epic treats of "Britomart and her Nurse before the Magic Mirror;" and even here, though the artist has expressed himself with singular clearness and power, we feel the want of the atmosphere that envelopes the poem. The work is beautiful, but with a certain roughness in its beauty: "in Loves and gentle Jollities arraid," but with underlying notes of terror and disturbance, and a prevailing motive of unrest. I do not mean so much that, in this respect, it runs contrary to the sense of the original words, but it runs contrary to the spirit of the whole poem, for, as we all know, the "Faerie Queene" has that peculiar power of describing its most disastrous incidents with a certain grace and courtesy of manner which cover their real significance.

I cannot attempt to notice in detail any more of the poetical works in this gallery, as a few words must be said upon the collection of portraits here exhibited. The collection is a very notable one.

"There lacked not men of prowess, nor men of lordly race,
For all Etruria's noblest were round that fatal place."

So we might well say here, for, during the last half-century, there has hardly been a very great man in any calling that has not furnished a subject to Mr. Watts, from Jerome Buonaparte to Mrs. Langtry. We have them all; and the only difficulty is to know which to select for notice; for there is always, in the criticism of portraits, this difficulty, that the faces of those we love, admire, or respect, always seem to us better pictures (unless they are distinctly failures) than those which represent an unknown quantity. I think it best, therefore, since I can but

mention a few specimens of this branch of Mr. Watts's art, to confine my remarks to the portraits of those men and women of whom I have personal knowledge, and of whose likenesses I can therefore speak with some degree of certainty. These, fortunately, comprise some of the best examples of the artist's portrait-painting, amongst them being Mr. Browning, Sir Frederick Leighton, Mr. Morris, Mr. W. S. Lecky, Mr. Burne Jones, Mr. Leslie Stephen, and Herr Joachim.

Of these the last is, in all essential respects, the finest picture, though it is only ranked by the painter as a "lamplight study." It represents the celebrated musician in the act of drawing the bow across his violin, his head a little bent down towards the instrument. Perhaps, as a likeness, it is a little flattering, but only in the sense of taking the performer at his very best moment, and, if flattery there be, it is more in expression than feature. The wonderful part of this picture gives us the key to Mr. Watts's great renown as a portrait painter—his capacity, namely, for seizing upon the main points of his sitter's character, and impressing them upon his picture. Without exaggeration of language, this portrait may be said to express music, as truly as it expresses Herr Joachim. Technically, the picture is very simply and quietly painted; there is no Rembrandtesque effect of light and shade, no vivid flesh tints, no elaboration of detail, but, out of a softly dark background, the face, hand, and violin of the musician show with clear yet subdued distinctness. The portrait of Mr. Leslie Stephen is in some respects even more wonderful, since it was, Mr. Watts informs me, executed at a single sitting. It is comparatively slight in execution, but rather more brilliant in its flesh tints, and the painting of the hair and beard is especially noticeable for its quiet but effective suggestiveness. The face is very peculiar—critical yet deprecating, sarcastic and mournful, fastidious, thoughtful, and Bohemian: not one who ranks either himself or others very high, or expects much from a life that seems to him full of errors of taste, weaknesses of intellect, and futilities of aim. All, at least, of this may be traced in this portrait, which might stand in some way as an antithesis of character to the musician's picture—full, as it is, of a sort of broken music.

If these two studies are truly penetrative of character in their various ways, still more so is the likeness of Mr. Burne Jones. In this Mr. Watts has apparently had no overmastering sentiment to express, nor has he altogether taken the face as a type of character; but has confined his efforts to rendering some of the most prominent characteristics of his sitter. The face, though unmistakeably like, has grown more refined in colouring and form beneath his hands, and shows less of its weakness than in life. But out of the misty blue eyes there looks that curious expression of inner sight that is never seen except in those who dwell in an ideal world. Mr. Burne Jones looks here as Kilmenny looked when she came back at sunset to her old cottage home, and

"As still was her look, and as still was her eye
 As the stillness that lay on the emerald sea;
 For Kilmeny had been she knew not where,
 And Kilmeny had seen what she could not declare."

Much as Blake drew "the man who built the Pyramids," Mr. Watts has here painted the man who drew the "*Laus Veneris*," and the "*Chant d'Amour*"—those strange pictures whose glorious colouring, is suffused with a strange splendour and meanings that we scarcely cared to trace—

"Dreamer of dreams born out of his due time."

The painter stands before us who can find nothing in modern life that is beautiful, or in modern thought that is worthy, and who expresses his sense of the discord between the beauty he craves, and the ugliness he sees, in terms of sympathy with a mediæval world, with which he would have been even more out of harmony, had he lived therein, than in this nineteenth century. Look, again, for an instance of penetration into an alien character, at the portrait of Sir Frederick Leighton, P.R.A., in his robes of D.C.L. His fine face, a figure in an easy attitude and a gorgeous dress, and behind, in the distance, an artist's palette and the legs of a bronze statue. An accomplished man, and a highly trained painter—a most fitting President of the Royal Academy. It is noticeable that, almost alone of Mr. Watts's later and finer portraits, has he given in this one prominence to the dress, figure, and surroundings of the sitter. Surely, this is an instance of unconscious sympathy, for is it not true that in some measure the dress of circumstance, success, and accomplishment have overlaid Frederick Leighton's power as an artist? He *paints* more beautifully than ever; but if any genuine lover of art was asked whether he would have the "*Cimabue Procession*," or his last year's Academy picture, would there be the slightest hesitation in answering in favour of his earliest work? When John Ruskin saw this picture in the Academy, in 1855, he wrote a good deal about it, and wound up with the following words:—"It seems to me probable that Mr. Leighton has greatness in him, but there is no absolute proof of it in this picture; and if he does not in succeeding years paint far better, he will soon lose his power of painting so well."

I must not enter into more details of these portraits, nor can I spare space to allude, except in general terms, to the female likenesses. These latter are marked by an inequality that does not extend to the male pictures, and, in several cases, the painter's deficiency of sympathy with the purely frivolous views of modern-society life, has led him into producing work which is absolutely commonplace in spirit.

It seems strange that the prettiness of a thoughtless girl should not be understood by a painter who can fathom so many secrets of character, but there is no doubt of the fact. The only cases in which Mr. Watts's portraits of ladies have been quite successful, have been where he has

* The procession in honour of Cimabue's Madonna was the first picture exhibited by Sir Frederick (then plain F. Leighton), at the Royal Academy.

found some sympathetic quality of thought and expression other than that of simple beauty. Thus his pictures of Lady Lindsay (of Balcarras), then Miss Violet Lindsay, and Mrs. Langtry, can only be considered failures. While the portraits of Miss Villiers (Countess of Lytton), Miss Dorothy Tennant, and Mrs. Percy Wyndham, are all excessively fine. The last-mentioned is, indeed, the finest woman's portrait that has been painted of late years. It has all the magnificence of action and surrounding of Carolus Duran's work, with a power of colour and a simple dignity to which the French artist could never attain.

I must not stay to say more upon the qualities of the landscapes in this exhibition. They are almost invariably in low tones of colour, and frequently in half light. Their chief motive is the sadness which resembles sorrow, only

"As the mist resembles rain ;"

but occasionally there comes a bit of pure light colouring, like the view of the Canara mountains, which shows how keen is the artist's appreciation of mountain form, and of the shifting lights and shadows thereon. To the study of landscape, in fact, Mr. Watts brings all the sympathies and methods of his figure-painting, and he continues, too, to endue it with the same characteristic dignity.

I cannot sum up this excessively fragmentary and incomplete sketch of a modern painter's work and meaning, better than by saying in what relation he appears to me to stand to the great artists of the past, whose works he has taken as his chief inspiration. It is, of course—as he would be the first to acknowledge—a relationship of imperfection : judged by *that* standard, who would not fail ? But perhaps Mr. Watts's failures are the more apparent to us all, because they are made on the same lines as the ancient successes. It is practically impossible to compare most modern English artists with those great ones of medieval Italy, who give the inspiration to Mr. Watts's painting. Work which has attempted no more than the representation of passing fashions and costumes, or the literal reproduction of a modern garden or old-fashioned village, escapes by its very poverty of aim all great failure, and is comparatively secure of favour in its appeal to everyday scenes and actions. But the man who tries to endue modern thoughts and sympathies with the gorgeousness of Venetian colouring and the subtlety of Florentine draughtsmanship,—who bases his appeal to us, not upon what is most near to our lives and most common to our sympathies, but on thoughts of which we seldom speak, and graces of action that we have never seen,—this painter attempts a task which all of us will be only too ready to depreciate, if only because such depreciation will excuse us from making the effort to comprehend his meaning. And, of course, he must fail.

Mr. Watts's failure, however, was rendered more certain by his devotion to sculpture. Life is not long enough to struggle with the two arts, save for, perhaps, one man in a thousand years, and our painter has, *we believe*, always suffered from great drawbacks of health. Much of the

sadness that surrounds his best work must come, we think, from this sense of failure; he has put before him two ideals, and has attained neither—he is, if truth must be told, only a broken statue on the great road of art.

And yet even his failures are beautiful, for they are sincere work in a great cause, and over the weakest of them there lingers something of the "glory and the dream." In his own straightforward words, he "has a right to feel that my aim has not been without elevation; the greater right to find consolation in so feeling, because such effort has certainly not met with general sympathy."

In conclusion, I may say of the various divisions of his work as follows:—The religious pictures are notable for their undogmatical attempt to connect modern thought on that subject with artistic expression; they are probably the simplest form of Christianity ever presented. The Greek myths that he has treated, if they do not "smell of Anacreon," are, as Mrs. Browning said of an early Christian poet, "great in a nobler sense: the human soul, burning in the censer, effaces from our spiritual perceptions the attar of a thousand rose-trees whose roots are in Teos." The portraits are unique in modern art for their reticence, no less than their power. The artist will have his sitter's best part, and will insist upon that. The lines of meanness, covetousness, weakness, and sensuality, have no attraction for him, and he will not dwell upon them in detail. His portraits are, therefore, imperfect, photographically speaking; they are, nevertheless, as studies of character, finer than anything we can find since the time of Titian, and they bear to the works of our English Reynolds the relationship that Tintoretto does to Titian. Less wonderfully painted, less glowing in their colour, less perfect in their drawing; but informed with far greater power of penetrating to the essence of the subject, and never surrendering dignity to attractiveness of colour or composition. Mr. Watts's place in art must be determined by the relative value we place upon great imagination and intellectual power, and the perfection of technical skill. If he is to be judged by the latter alone his rank must fall beneath that of Tadema and Leighton; both of these men are better *painters*. But if we consider that the actual laying on of the paint is a matter of little importance compared with the qualities of colour displayed in the work, the power of the drawing and composition, and the meaning of the whole, then we can, in strict justice, say that Mr. Watts, despite his imperfections, is the greatest of our painters. No other artist has given us so many beautiful illustrations of poetry and religion; no other has touched the old Greek myths, and the poems of Italy and England, with so much human sympathy; no other has left such a living record of our greatest men. After receiving such gifts at his hands, surely we can find a little sympathy for his failures to achieve still greater triumphs, and a little gratitude for a long life spent in such single-minded and earnest devotion to the service of truth and art.

HARRY QUILTER.

THE CRISIS IN SERBIA.

I.

THE other day I met an eminent representative of the Roman Church, whose name is familiar to all, not only in the West, but also in the East. "Is there actually a real power, a real superiority in that potentate?" I asked myself; "or is he a giant merely because the others are pigmies?" My curiosity and my cautious scepticism had been roused long ago, and I was impatient to verify the brilliant descriptions I had received from different parts. The desired meeting took place at last, and I was pleasantly surprised by finding that imagination had not too much outstripped reality. The prelate I saw before me was indeed no commonplace, no ordinary man. I was struck with the acuteness of his remarks, with the inquisitorial way in which he put his questions, as if grasping the quintessence of every fact, however insignificant. There was life in his look, but there was also a heartless contempt in his mouth, which seemed to have little in common with Christian love and compassion. "Ignatius Loyola must have had looks of that sort," I thought, involuntarily; but nevertheless I felt attracted by the earnestness and simplicity of his tone and manners, which must fascinate many.

Our conversation turned upon the Serbian crisis and the shameless treatment to which the Archbishop Michael had been subjected.

"It is very strange," observed I, "that the English, who are so keenly interested in every struggle, seem perfectly indifferent about a matter that to the Serbian Orthodox Church is a question of life and death."

"No, it is not strange at all," answered he, with a slight contraction of his sarcastic lips; "it is only natural, because they have no conception of the Church. The moment they realize that idea, they go to Rome."

The supreme audacity of an assertion which ignored, as if absolutely non-existent, the whole Greek Orthodox world, would have silenced me, even if I had been in a mood to question the arrogant claims of the Vatican. But there is undoubtedly a great deal of truth in the fact he pointed out, and not being able to convert my interlocutor, I preferred listening.

The Roman prelate recognized at a glance the importance of the whole question. I hardly needed to explain to him that in creating a schism in the Serbian Church, Austria simply wanted to make political profit out of ecclesiastical discord.

"The present Serbian Ministry," added I, "belongs to Austria heart and soul; these pseudo-Liberals sacrifice the unity of their country in reorganizing the Church and depriving it of its authority."

"Austria would never dream of doing such a thing within her own borders—at least not in dealing with the Catholic Church," he observed, with pride. "But what has your Emperor decided in this matter?" asked he.

"His Majesty has no power over the Church," replied I. "It is for the Patriarch of Constantinople and the other Patriarchs, as well as the Synods, to decide."

"Then he has much less control over the Church than our Queen," remarked the prelate. "She can not only interfere in any part of the Church organization, she can even make new dogmas."

This last assertion, coming from so learned an authority, and from a man who himself has had the very best means of knowing the truth, seemed to me very striking. I did not know that Henry VIII. had bequeathed his theological prerogatives to all his successors. However, this explains why it is so difficult for the English people to appreciate the importance that the Orthodox world attaches to the independence and the Apostolic character of the Church. The whole of our conception of the relations between Church and State differs from yours. To us, Greek Orthodox, the authority within the Church rests absolutely in the hands of the Church. Your Parliament can alter the services, change the liturgies, and remodel the theology of the Anglican Church. It has done so once, and apparently it may do so again. With us the very idea of such a thing is impossible. The Apostolic Orthodox Church recognizes no right on the part of our autocratic emperors, or not less autocratic majorities, to alter the articles of her faith, as defined by the seven Œcumenical Councils. The power of our emperor, though absolute in many things, does not extend to questions of Church order and discipline. The Orthodox Church, while very careful "to render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's" does not forget to insist as jealously on the converse of the injunction. Sometimes, no doubt, evilly disposed rulers have attempted to abuse their authority, and have persecuted the servants of the Church, but they have not made her apostatize from her faith in the necessity of self-government, and in her independence of the control and interference of the State.

The supreme interest of the Serbian crisis arises from the fact that at Belgrade there is now being fought out between Archbishop Michael—as the representative of spiritual independence, and Austria, through the Serbian Ministry, the representative of the usurping tyranny of the State—one phase of the secular struggle between the spiritual and the temporal power, between the Church and the State, between the representatives and custodians of the Christian faith, and the selfish and intriguing politicians who wish to subordinate Christianity itself to the exigencies of Caesar.

In discussing the matter with Englishmen, I find it difficult, almost impossible, to make them understand our standpoint. "The supremacy of the State," most of them say, "is a fundamental doctrine of Western civilization." And I may add, it is also accepted in the East, but with limitations. The State within its own sphere is supreme, but its sphere is not universal. The State has no dominion over conscience. It has no right to alter historic fact, scientific truth, or religious dogma. That these matters are beyond its province even Englishmen admit. But we also insist that it has no right to interfere in the internal organization of the Church; and this I know is not the English belief, except among some of the High Churchmen, one of whose professors is reaping the reward of his convictions in Lancaster gaol. The Nonconformists, with their ideal of a Free Church in a Free State, have less difficulty in understanding our position, but they have but little patience with a State Church which wishes to preserve itself free from the interference of the State. *Tu l'as voulu George Dandin!* they say; for with them it is almost an article of faith, that the Churches which accept State patronage and endowment, there and then deserve any treatment, no matter how unjust and iniquitous, which the State may give them.

But our State Church is not like the English, for in all Orthodox lands the State is much more the creation of the Church than the Church the instrument of the State. Religion cannot be imposed by force, and the great Athanasius declared it "a characteristic of religion not to force but to persuade." But one scarcely needs to quote authorities upon truths which have already become truisms. When the Church forgets her real duties and the limits of her power, or, rather, when her servants occasionally imitate the policy of Rome (which is permanent there), she herself suffers for her mistakes, as Professor Vladimir Solovieff admirably described in Mr. Aksakoff's "Russ." This noble and courageous article on "Spiritual Authority," has made a great sensation, not only in Moscow, but also in the remotest parts of Russia.*

The relation between Church and State has been often compared to the relation between soul and body. It was only when the real union was lost, that concordats or contracts were introduced in

* See also on this point Dr. Overbeck's excellent work "On the Claims of the Greek Orthodox Church" and his *Orthodox Catholic Review*. Trübner & Co.

the West. The moment there is a juridical contract one generally sees a desire to avoid or evade it either on one part or the other. The juridical law has no control over spiritual life. This is one of the arguments amongst Orthodox people against the civil marriage.

An attempt is now made in Serbia by the civil power to usurp authority at the cost of the independence and self-government of the Church. In itself the matter in dispute may seem, to superficial observers, quite unimportant. It turns upon the question whether the State has or has not a right to use the organization of the Church as a means of collecting taxes levied upon the exercise of its spiritual offices. Prince Milan and his ministers (that is to say, Austria) say that such an exercise of authority is within the right of the State. Archbishop Michael asserts that the State has no right to levy taxes on the exercise of spiritual functions. The Serbian Government replies by roughly deposing him, and appointing a creature of its own in his stead. Should the decision of the Ministry be finally confirmed by the Skuptchina, and the Church be reconstituted, with the sin of simony as one of its attributes, then the newly-organized Church, instead of being, as before, an indissoluble part of the Eastern Church, will be separated from all the others, and a schism be thus artificially created.

II.

Before venturing to state the details of the politico-ecclesiastical crisis in Serbia, let me mention briefly one consideration which governs the situation in those lands. Until the other day, at all events down to the conclusion of the Berlin Treaty, Serbia was regarded as a Russian *protégée*, and denounced by our enemies as Russia's tool. *Protégée* she was; *tool* she was not. The ties that bound Serbia to Russia were not formed yesterday. From the earliest dawn of Serbian independence, from the first beginnings of the Serbian struggle for liberty, we were their first, their only helper. When at the European Congress, held not at Berlin, but at Vienna, in 1814, the deputies from Serbia implored European diplomacy to have pity on their hard fate, and secure them some release from Turkish oppression, they were scornfully told to go to Russia, and look to her for help. They obeyed the direction, given almost ironically; but they did not look to us in vain. Serbia was then a pushalik of the Ottoman Empire, where for three hundred years the helpless Christian peasants had cowered in the dust before their oppressors.* Serbia to-day is

* What that oppression was people are too apt to forget. Distance lends enchantment to the view, and many people in England are, no doubt, inclined to believe that Serbia under Turkish rule was quite as happy as, say Poland, under Russian despotism. But Serbia did not exactly flourish under Turkish rule, whereas Poland is the most flourishing part of Russia.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 30th of December, 1881, says:—"The report of Consul General Maude, at Warsaw, on the trade and commerce of the Kingdom of Poland for the year 1879, contains striking testimony to the reality of Polish prosperity. Although the harvest of that year was the worst that had been known for thirty years the farm labourers were declared to be 'in a position of security and comparative contentment.' The rate of

a free and independent principality. The transformation is Russia's work. At each successive stage in the blood-stained path from servitude to freedom, Serbia found ready sympathy and active help from Russia. Others may have wished her well, but their wishes never took any material shape. Even a Platonic sympathy she did not always find in England. For Serbian liberty Russia spent her treasure, and poured out the blood of her bravest sons. As it was in the beginning, so was it in the crowning achievement of Serbian independence. It was the Russian volunteers who nerved the Serbian militia to check for months the advance of the flower of the Ottoman soldiery. It was the Russian ultimatum which arrested the Turkish legions when Djunis fell, and the road lay open to Belgrade; and it was the Russian campaign in Bulgaria which finally emancipated the Serbian principality. As a Russian I might boast of this, but I merely record facts. It was our duty, and we did it. And why was it our duty, or what was it that constrained Russians to exert themselves as no other nation in Europe would have done for a little country such as Serbia? Everyone who knows anything of the real forces which govern the East will answer at once: It was because the Serbians were Slaves, as we are—and Greek Orthodox, as we are.

Of late years the conception of the Slavonic nationality spread rapidly; but the root idea was not nationality, but religion. It is a fact which has to be admitted. Russians fought and died, and conquered for the Serbians, just as Englishmen would fight for brother Englishmen in India or South Africa. To talk in sonorous words about Christianity is very often nothing but cant, but there is no hypocrisy when faith is attested by death. You may believe what you please of the Machiavellian and skilful policy of

wages was rising throughout the country, and the value of land has been steadily rising for the last three years. New industries were being introduced and the population of the capital was increasing at the rate of 20,000 per annum. Mr. Maude concludes his report by noting the 'remarkable fact that, notwithstanding the bad harvest and the fluctuations in the value of money, there was not a single case of mercantile failure during the whole year 1879 in the Kingdom of Poland. Very remarkable confirmation of this testimony is afforded by a recent letter of the Warsaw correspondent of the *Journal de Genève*. The writer, who is apparently a Pole, and who is certainly a vehement anti-Russian, declares that, despite all the obstacles of a repressive system of government Poland, or more correctly, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, has attained such a flourishing state that it is now a force with which Russia will have to count. Various causes have contributed to Polish prosperity. Among others he mentions the enormous material advantages accruing to Poland from the late war, the increased tariff on imports which has fostered Polish manufactures, the great development of her industrial resources, and the abandonment of all political agitation. Whatever may be the cause, he declares the country has now become the 'Belgium of Russia,' and Warsaw, daily becoming more opulent, is now one of the most important cities in Europe. Nor is it Warsaw alone that flourishes. Everywhere throughout the ancient kingdom manufactures and industrial enterprises of all kinds multiply and prosper. Journalism that sure index of popular intelligence numbers in the Grand Duchy fourteen daily, four illustrated, and three comic papers, to say nothing of eleven weekly and twenty-six monthly and bi-monthly reviews. Much as the Poles chafe against the Russian system of administration, the correspondent in question declares there is no wish on their part to throw in their lot with either of their neighbours. Posen is eaten up by the Germans. Galicia is perishing of an economic anæmia. In Russian Poland alone the Poles preserve their nationality and their property."

Russian diplomatists. We cannot share your admiration; but, if you obstinately shut your eyes to the deep, genuine sense of Christian fraternity throughout all the Orthodox East, you ignore the central fact of the situation. Your efforts to understand the historical development of the East will then be about as successful as if you were to formulate a theory of the steam engine which ignored the existence of steam.

Yes, in the East the conception of a kingdom, not worldly but divine, not temporal but eternal, not based on geographical accidents but on religious faith, still illumines the hearts and consciences of mankind; the sense of brotherhood is not extinguished amongst us. The faith which roused Europe, at the time of the Crusades, is extinct in the West, but still survives in the East. It manifests itself with intense power at every opportunity. It is because of this strong and binding religious unity between Russia, Serbia, and all Orthodox peoples, that the deposition of the Archbishop Michael excites such intense feeling throughout Russia. So vital and sensitive is that unity, that a touch at one point is felt through the whole body. The Rev. W. Denton, in his excellent book on "Serbia and the Serbians," written as long ago as 1862, brings out very clearly the reality of Christian unity in the Eastern Church. He says:—

"In no part of Christendom are the obligations of brotherhood so felt and acted upon as throughout the Christian Church. The bond of union which connects all who are in communion with the Patriarchal See of Constantinople is stronger than in any other part of the Church. Such brotherhood does not depend upon race, for the Slavonic Pole has always been as hostile to the Slavonic Russ as, to say the least, the Englishman to the Frenchman. It arises solely from the possession of a common creed. The sympathy between the members of the Eastern Church is so real that wars of any duration between people belonging to this branch of the Church have scarcely or never arisen. This sympathy is independent of political intrigues. The cabdriver of St. Petersburg feels for our brother in Montenegro without the intervention of Government, and without reference to secular politics. This sympathy, however, is necessarily impressed upon the actions of the Russian Government, and a fact often determines its actions. The bloody wars arising out of the rivalry of co-members of the Western Church, such as that between England and France, had their origin in the times before our Reformation, and have never arisen between co-members of the Eastern Church. Nor so long as the tie of religious sympathy is so strong as at present between the various nations in communion with the See of Constantinople are they possible."

It is because this unity is true and real that the trouble has arisen. Serbia, Slavonic and Orthodox, is united to Russia by ties which not even Austrian exhortations can destroy. But if Serbia were severed from the Orthodox Church—if a schism could be created by which the sense of fraternal unity would be destroyed, then indeed Austrian policy would have secured a triumph which would be full of sinister consequences to the Serbian race.

III.

What is Austria? She is the very negation of every principle of

nationality and unity. How can she be guided by an ideal, religious or otherwise,* when all her thinking and feeling faculties are in constant struggle and opposition? If there has ever been a bad neighbourhood, it is that of Austria to Serbia. From that material contiguity arises a material dependence, both political and economical. Whatever else might be lacking to secure Austrian influence in Serbia, was supplied by the Treaty of Berlin—that “thrice-cursed Treaty,” as Aksakoff says in his graphic and unparliamentary way. As on some palimpsest you may still decipher the glorious poetry of Homer, although overwritten by the prose of some mediæval scribbler, so traces of the Treaty of San Stephano are visible beneath most of the clauses of the shameful patch-work drawn up at Berlin.

But of the clauses giving Austria dominance in Serbia there is no trace in the original San Stephano Treaty, which was spoilt by the diplomatic “wisdom” of entire Europe. By the Berlin Treaty, which sanctioned the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, Serbia became almost an Austrian enclave. Nor was that all. The clauses giving Austria the right to make railways through Serbia secured her domination even more effectually. England then, under the Beaconsfield Ministry, pointed to Salonica, and even further, as the natural goal of Austrian ambition. Serbia was looked upon but as a stepping-stone to the Ægean. Russia, exhausted with her exertions, and demoralized by her concessions, partially withdrew from the arena. Serbia, in short, is being Austrianized, and the deposition of Archbishop Michael is one step in the process. A step of that sort is fatal. How the Serbian Ministry fail to understand the importance of their mistake is quite incomprehensible! It is sheer blindness. Austria is not particular. Whether it is to create a schism or blockade a mountain, she looks solely to results. Serbia, on the contrary, does not foresee the logical results she is preparing for herself in a very near future. I am not indulging in any polemic against Austria. I only recall some few facts, which people seem to forget. I do not say she is going to Salonica; friends of mine in official circles, *qui sont payés pour le savoir*, say she is not. Though Count Karolyi's letter to Mr. Gladstone has never been allowed to be published, from the published reply

* But if she has no faith, Austria has a full share of intolerance, or English newspapers would not have published the following statement: “The Council of the Evangelical Alliance is directing attention to the utter absence of anything worthy of the name of religious liberty in Austria at the present time. For instance, at a place near Prague, a few people calling themselves the ‘Old Reformed Church,’ have been forbidden to admit to their family worship any individual who is not strictly a member of the family. The police have forced their way into their houses, and have ordered even the servants out of the room whilst family prayers lasted. The Attorney General at Prague, in connection with the case, boldly and publicly maintains that it is not even lawful to say grace at meals if any stranger is present. Last autumn the adherents of the ‘New Church’ at Vienna, who have had public worship for ten years, were forbidden to hold any meetings at all, and another Protestant community in the city received orders not to admit strangers (non-members) to their services. It is most anomalous that Austria should be guilty of these acts of intolerance within her Empire, while she has been, in conjunction with England and the other Great Powers, demanding the establishment of religious liberty in Servia, Roumania, Bulgaria, &c.”

of Mr. Gladstone we all know that the "Hands-off" pledges have not been retracted. That reply has been reprinted in the second volume of Mr. Gladstone's "Political Speeches in Scotland," and forms, as it were, the *bonne bouche* of this interesting work.

One likes to admit what is written in black or white, but how are we to account for the numerous correspondences from the Western Balkans, full of evidence that the Austrian advance is to take place without delay? Who is deceived after all, I wonder?

The unfortunate provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which first rose for their independence, and which were to be occupied and administered by Austria, are now practically annexed. Here is a little specimen of Austrian good faith and honesty. Austria has no right, no legal power, to levy the conscription in provinces she was sent to pacify. She is levying the conscription notwithstanding. She has not restored order (how could she?), nor has she made peace; this, again, was not in her power. But she has achieved another great result, which few people ever expected. She has even made the Turks regretted. Yet people should not be surprised. General Chrzanowski, a Pole and a Catholic, speaking of the Austrian occupation of Roumania in 1855, said, "The Austrians are brutal and impatient, always bringing the people to the brink of insurrection."

Compare General Chrzanowski's account with the descriptions which Mr. Arthur Evans sends home to-day of the state of things in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and there is a remarkable resemblance.* Nevertheless, many Englishmen, who went into raptures when the Tedeschi were turned out of Italy, see no reason for objecting to the permanent establishment of the Tedeschi among the population of another peninsula, which loves them just as little as did the Italians. For proof of this I need only point to the war Austria is now waging to compel the Boeche and the Crivoscians to submit to a conscription which is illegal and unjustifiable, and to the insurrectionary agitation which prevails throughout the whole of the "pacified" provinces.

* But Austria, after all, changes very little. The "Austria" of Shakespeare has quite a family resemblance to the Austria Hungary to-day. I wonder how often the justice of Constance's reproaches have been recognized since "King John" was written:—

(*on*. O, Austria! thou dost shame
That bloody spoil: thou slave, thou wretch, thou coward!
Thou little valiant, great in villany!
Thou ever strong upon the stronger side!
Thou Fortune's champion, that dost never fight
But when her humorous ladyship is by
To teach thee safety! Thou art perjur'd too,
And sooth'st up greatness. What a fool art thou,
A ramping fool, to brag and stamp and swear
Upon my party! Thou cold blooded slave,
Hast thou not spoke like thunder on my side,
Been sworn my soldier, bidding me depend
Upon thy stars, thy fortune, and thy strength?
And dost thou now fall over to my foes?
Thou wear a lion's hide! Doff it for shame.
And hang a calf's-skin on those recreant limbs!

King John, Act iii. Sc. 1.

IV.

When Serbia was emancipated by Russia's sword, simple people said that the little principality would be virtually a Russian province. It was not our aim at all to "make Serbia a Russian province;" besides, we knew perfectly well how true the saying was, that in politics there is no gratitude. Russia, who in 1848 saved Austria from complete ruin, could not have forgotten the way in which her foolish generosity had been rewarded, and the cynical laughter which accompanied the exclamation of Metternich: "L'Autriche étonnera le monde par son ingratitude." We may pardon the harm done by people incapable of doing good, but we do not forget that harm—we ought not to forget it. The ingratitude of Prince Milan and his Minister has shocked even *The Daily Telegraph*. The first use they have made of the liberty which Russia gave them was directed against the Russians. The excuse given is, that "Austria is near, Russia is far off," and that the former could close her markets to Serbian exports. But even in submitting to Austrian influence, Serbia might have preserved some of her independence, and she ought not to have allowed her overbearing neighbour to interfere in the regulations of her Church. Even the humblest are bound to defend their spiritual life, the atmosphere of their soul. History shows us noble examples of great, unflinching characters, resisting every threat, every persecution. English people feel little interest in the Orthodox Church, but they appreciate the Serbian market. At Vienna, English competition and Russian Orthodox "intrigues" are regarded as the two worst enemies. Indeed, there is even more said about "English intrigues" against the Austrian commercial treaty, and the Austrian State railways, than there is against Russians "Panslavism," which is supposed to be so great a danger to the whole world, Old and New. In the eyes of the Austrian speculators, Russians and English are alike enemies to be excluded, as far as possible, from the principality, and, of course, also from every region which falls beneath the shadow of the Hapsburg. Already, in the Danube Navigation Commission, Englishmen find which Power is the real aspirant for predominance; nor, perhaps, would the Government of Vienna-Pesth have any objection to insist upon asserting itself in Egypt.

Russia, to the Serbians, stands as a liberator and benefactor; Austria, as the persistent foe of their emancipation, and their persecutor. From Russia they have nothing to fear, and if they have little to hope it is simply because Russia has already realized for them almost all they have dreamed. Austria, on the other hand, threatens them with annihilation or mediatisation. Yet, fascinated by their danger, they surrender themselves heedlessly to the Austrian grasp. The poor Serbians are not wiser than moths flying to the fire, and always coming nearer and nearer. If Austria, however, can cajole or coerce Prince Milan and his creatures to sacrifice the independence which Russia gave them,

that is their business, but they should not expect Russians to applaud their suicide. The surest way of giving a death-blow to Slavonic lands is to attack the Orthodox Church. Austria has understood it from the very beginning.

I well remember what a painful shock I experienced when an Austrian friend of mine, in a moment of inadvertence and light-heartedness, said: "As for Bosnia and Herzegovina, we soon can settle that trouble. Surely it is easy to send there some clever Jesuits to bring them to reason." That was said in the early days of the occupation; and since then the Government of Vienna has not failed to send plenty of its "Black Dragoons" to the unfortunate provinces. The Pope, too, has established there his hierarchy, which, though deserving much blame, cannot be accused of apathy. In Serbia the Roman Catholic propaganda had small chance of success. Even Prince Milan would have resented the establishment of a papal archbishop in Belgrade. But if they could not force the gate of the fortress, they might make their entrance by a mine, and that is precisely what they have done. The history of the Serbian people is the history of the Serbian Church. The national hero of Serbia was the Archbishop Sava. In the dark centuries during which the Turkish marauder exercised sole authority in the unhappy land, it was the Church which alone kept alive in the minds of the Serbians the consciousness of their nationality and their aspiration for independence. At her altars, as at a quenchless fire, generation after generation of Serbian patriots kindled the flame of a death-defying patriotism which at last, with Russia's assistance, achieved the liberation of the country. We understood their struggles, their sufferings; we sympathized with their faith in better days.

More than a hundred years ago, as Miss Irby mentions in her "Slavonic Lands of Turkey," "the Turks laid hands on a Serbian patriarch, carried him off to Broussa, and had him hanged." He was but one amongst many who suffered and died for the Serbian cause. But the improved position of the country, instead of strengthening the position of the Church, has exposed the latter to a very serious danger. There is still some hope that the general feeling of the country will protest against the abuses of a Government which, as is often the case with constitutional governments, does not at all represent the spiritual life of the Serbians. Miss Irby, who has lived so many years in the East, and studied the question so carefully on the spot, says:—"Though both the Patriarch of Carlovic and the Patriarch of Constantinople claim the rank of head of the Serbian Church, yet in the eyes of the Serbs themselves that position is held by the virtually independent Archbishop of Belgrade, who bears the title of 'Metropolitan of all Serbia.'"^{*}

The present, or—alas that I should have to say!—the late rightful metropolitan is the Archbishop Michael, a Serbian patriot of

^{*} "Slavonic Provinces of Turkey," 3rd edition, 1877, vol. i p. 22.

the first rank, and a prelate of unimpeachable orthodoxy, who has been deposed and driven from his episcopal see, solely because he refused to sacrifice the independence of the Church at the bidding of the State.

Like all Eastern Churches, that of Serbia is independent in its relation to the State and to its sister Churches. The Roman idea of the supremacy of a central patriarchate is alien to the conception of Church order which prevails in the East. In Russia we have an autocracy as the central power of the State; but, as far as the Church is concerned, we are much less autocratic than the West. The organization of the Church is simple. When a vacancy occurs in any of the Serbian sees, the parochial clergy and the archimandrites of the diocese elect a successor to the late bishop, and their choice is approved as a matter of course by the Government. In the Anglican Church, I am told, the process is exactly the reverse—the Government selects, and the Church as a matter of course approves.

Archbishop Michael was Bishop of Schabatz when, in 1859, he was elected Archbishop of Belgrade. He was then in the early prime of life; and the Rev. W. Denton, in his "Serbia and the Serbians," represents him as a man apparently about five-and-forty years of age, with a countenance of great gentleness and intelligence. "His manners are very refined and agreeable, and his whole deportment is one of dignity, befitting his position as ruler of the Serbian Church. I have rarely," he adds, "been so impressed by any one in a short visit. The Archbishop was even then (in 1862) deeply interested in the Anglican Church, and fervently expressed a hope of the restoration of unity between the separated Churches of Christendom."

In the twenty-three years of his reign at Belgrade the Archbishop had very pressing matters to deal with. Between 1859 and 1881 Serbia passed through more than one crisis, and on every occasion she improved her position and made progress towards independence. Princes, dynasties were changed, but the Metropolitan remained. More than any other man he incarnates the recent history of his country. He was the chief actor in many eventful scenes; and that Prince Milan, who would hardly have occupied the throne without his help, should have treated him so shamefully, is almost inconceivable, even to those who are only too familiar with the depths of Serbian ingratitude. The offence of the Metropolitan was that he had too much honesty, too much foresight, too much intelligence, to be a tool of Austria. His removal became thus necessary both to the cabinet of Vienna and to that of Prince Milan.

The law which imposed a tax upon the offices of the Church was passed at the demand of M. Miatovitch, the Prime Minister. No one, for instance, was to be allowed to take vows as a monk without paying 100 francs, and when he became a *léromonach* he must pay another 150 francs. This measure not only was an usurpation on the part of the State, but it struck a deadly blow at the purity and efficiency of

the Church. I had better let the Metropolitan explain why he objected to the law, which was ruthlessly enforced upon him, in order to oblige him to give up the position he had filled so nobly and so long.

The moment the Archbishop Michael saw the new law in the official Gazette, he wrote a long and earnest remonstrance to the Minister, calling attention to the unconstitutional character of the law, and the utter impossibility of the Church's submitting to such a monstrous edict. The Metropolitan showed that the mistake could be easily repaired, as the Skuptchina was at that time holding its sittings, and competent to correct the blunder.

"Having received the *Srbske Novine*, No. 19"—so the Metropolitan writes—"and the paragraphs referring to priesthood, consistory, and archbishops, I am as much astonished by its appearance as by the illegality, carelessness, and culpable contradiction to the spirit of the Holy Church and its laws. It is illegal of the Minister to carry to the Skuptchina a law referring to the priesthood, without having asked the advice and consent of the Metropolitan and the Episcopal Council."

He then explained the fundamental laws relating to the Church and State in all Orthodox (Pravoslav) lands:—

"In all well-conditioned States, and everywhere in the East, attention is paid to the limits, accurately marked out, up to which the State authorities may act independently, and beyond which the State has no right to lay down any law for the Church: the Church has its own laws, which the State has no right to change. If it were to be accepted that the State, disdaining the authorities of the Church, might arbitrarily issue such and similar laws, then naturally would ensue consequences which would create a gulf between Church and State—a gulf in which would perish the regular development and security of them both; then would result a series of hostilities, of struggles and mistrust—the illegal domination of the one and the impotence of the other. Because, unless the State finds a preliminary accord upon the laws which have to be introduced, and which, like that now under discussion, must in the highest degree tell upon the Church, then the Church sets herself free from the obligation to come to an agreement with the State concerning the execution of the functions imposed upon her by Apostolic and Ecumenical decrees. Acting thus, the State meddles in the internal constitution of the Church, and destroys that which the Church is bound to preserve through all the storms of temporal and political change—that which, if she had yielded to every passing invasion, she would now have ceased to exist; she would no longer be the Ecumenical, Apostolic Church, but some sort of new Church, put together by reforms of various origin, established to-day, annulled to-morrow."

Having thus explained to the Ministry the absolute necessity of consulting the servants of the Church on such matters, the Metropolitan Michael shows the lack of logic in the law itself:—

"How can the State," he asks, "tax orders which it has no power to grant, and when it does not maintain those who take them? If anyone had the right to impose a tax on an office of the Church, then it would be the Church which bestows them, and certainly not the State. But neither has the Church the right to do it, because such a tax would be equivalent to the *sin of simony*—that is, the selling of blessed gifts of God—a deed strictly prohibited by the Church."

To show further the absurdity of the law, not only in principle, but also in practice, the Metropolitan points out the amount of the proposed

taxes:—"The monk (or *Monach*) has to pay 100 francs; the *Jéromonach*, 150 francs; thus, one individual combining these two functions is to pay 250 francs.

After this, he shows the impossibility of taking taxes from those consecrated to be priests, because the ordained are almost always very poor people, on whom fall many preliminary expenses; for instance, their maintenance for six weeks after ordination in the diocesan town, the acquisition of indispensable Church appurtenances, which, according to the Serbian custom, each one who is ordained has to purchase for himself. But the tax on those who become monks, and those who are ordained to be priests, is not sufficient for the Serbian ministers: they have imposed a tax of 100 francs even on the blessing of the bishop. "Are the poor to be deprived of that which is obtained by means of the blessing of the bishop, and which thus will become only the privilege of the rich?"

The Metropolitan goes on to explain the immoral results which a measure of that sort must naturally occasion, and which, however, are so self-evident, that I need not repeat them.

Here are his concluding words:—

"Having carefully studied this law of taxation, we are forced to testify, that the persons who made it are not acquainted with the principles of the Pravoslav Church; that they are not led by a true Christian heart, and that reverence which we are all bound to have towards the Church in which we are born, brought up, and educated, and to which we now belong. The Serbian priesthood has not deserved to be thus dealt with, for they have always served the national weal. We cannot conceive that the authority of the State can go in a direction which humiliates the Church and extinguishes respect for the rules of a constitution which has existed for centuries. Perhaps the cause of these grievous manifestations lies in the realistic tendency, which in many places maintains the upper hand, and in the latter time has notably penetrated our lower classes. This materialistic tendency will not be allowed to go to extremes if there remains a strong control in the upper classes, but without this it is most dangerous."

Referring to this paragraph of the Code, the Metropolitan patriot entreats the Minister to find fitting means to remedy the injustice done to the peace and tranquillity of the Church and clergy.

But the Minister did not, or would not, understand the importance of the lesson, and remained deaf to the prayer of the Metropolitan. Although the Skuptchina was holding its sittings, and was sanctioning treaties with Austria (most injurious to Serbia), he did not submit to their deliberations any proposal for the modification of the Anti-Orthodox law. He put off answering the Metropolitan until July 21, wishing, I suppose, to learn how Austria desired him to act in this matter. At last, the Minister made the tardy and absurd reply, that the proposed taxes did not interfere in the affairs of the Church. He evidently did not wish to understand the Metropolitan's views. He twice referred to the offensive tone used by the chief representative of the Serbian Church. Now, who were these two men? One, a newly made

official; the other, a venerable prelate, who, with honour and dignity, had stood at the head of the Serbian Church for twenty-three years, and was now compelled by circumstances to prove himself versed in statesmanship.

The Metropolitan, having to send a representative to the Serbian monastery in Moscow, consecrated him to the rank of *Igumën*, but did not compel him to pay the taxes imposed by the law, which he had positively repudiated, as "repulsive to the spirit of the Church, and contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm." The Minister, to punish the Metropolitan for his disobedience, inflicted on him a fine of 1,800 francs, thus fixing a sum six times greater than the tax (300 francs) which was written down for the office of *Igumën*. This iniquitous decision of the Minister was dated the 19th of September. It does not appear from the published documents whether this decree was carried out. When, in the middle of September, the Episcopal Council—consisting of the Metropolitans of Nisch, Negotine, Ushitz, and Schabatz—assembled at Belgrade, under the presidency of the Serbian Metropolitan Michael, the latter submitted the law of the new taxes to their judgment.

Here is the exact translation of their protocol, issued on the 24th of September:—

"The Episcopal Council, solicitous, as is its bounden duty, to preserve Orthodoxy intact, having enforced the canons with the laws about the taxes, declares that this law, in the points which decree a payment for the blessing of the bishop and for holy orders, which are obtained by the grace of the Holy Ghost, is contrary to the canons of the Holy Orthodox Church, and therefore the Episcopal Council desires that this law should be amended so as not to run counter to the sacred canons which we are bound to maintain uninjured. So likewise, the Council considers it to be incongruous that this law should have been issued without preliminary understanding with the Episcopal Council."

The Metropolitan Michael, laying before the Ministry this resolution on the 10th of October, with the signatures, he it observed, of all the bishops, enclosed an epistle explaining that decision as an answer to the letter of M. Novakovitch, the Minister of Instruction and Church Works, dated the 21st of July. In it he showed that the tone of his own epistle, which so deeply affronted the Minister, did not in the least differ from the way in which the former Serbian hierarchs carried on their correspondence with the secular authorities:—

"Since the time that, with God's help, we ascended the Episcopal throne, we always, with all our soul, served the interest of the Holy Church, the princely reigning House, and the Orthodox Serbian people; and in all circumstances we hastened to meet half-way the wishes of the Government, when the latter were submitted to us according to law."

Explaining further, that his opinion concerning the taxation of the clergy, and the intermeddling in the internal constitution of the Church, remains the same, he concludes his letter with the following words:—"The Government, in the protocol of the decision of the

Council in the question of the taxes, will see that the Serbian bishops have not the power to accept the new law, which was constituted without the agreement of the Episcopal Council."

The Serbian Ministry, irritated at those outspoken condemnations of its high-handed and lawless acts, published groundless accusations against Russian "interference." The "Austro-Cabinet Party," as a correspondent of the *Times* so aptly calls the present Miatovitch Ministry, proceeded to further violence, and set up a creature of their own.

The Serbian hierarchy hastened to draw up a collective protest against this outrage. The installation of Moses, and Michael's banishment to a monastery, was the ministerial answer to that protest. Frightened by so cruel and despotic a policy of the Government, the bishops, one after the other, except the Bishop of Schabatz, yielded to force; but they all insisted upon the condition that their recognition of Moses should be void if he were not confirmed in his powers by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Spiritual jurisdiction is entrusted only to spiritual hands.

To the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, the representatives of the Holy Synod of Russia, and the Metropolitans of Greece, Roumania, and Montenegro, the Archbishop Michael has made his appeal. Until they have decided against him, he remains the only lawful Archbishop of the Serbian Church.

But unless the Skuptchina displays more patriotism than Prince Milan, the Serbian Church will be endangered, and Serbia will become the *avant-garde* of the Hapsburg on the Balkan peninsula. From such a fate she may still be saved by the energetic action of her Church and people, and the whole Slavonic world waits with anxiety the result of this trial.

v.

On the monument erected at Kryevatz, near Alexinats, by Serbian patriots, to the Russian volunteers who perished, are engraved the words: "Greater love hath no man than this, that he lay down his life for his friends." This monument, in the erection of which Michael had taken the most prominent part, was one of the few material indications of the innumerable moral links which bind the hearts of the greatest to those of the least Slavonic peoples. Not in vain is the Morava valley rich with the grass-grown graves of the unforgotten dead; not in vain fell the rich rain of Russian blood upon the Serbian soil.

"There is a narrow ridge in the grave-yard
Would scarce stay a child in his race;
But to me and my thoughts it is wider
Than the star-sown deep of space."

Yes, some memories shine as the stars in the firmament, to light generation after generation to the fulfilment of the glorious destinies of the Slavonic world.

Ministers may betray their trust, princes may sell themselves to the enemy of their race, but the sympathy between Russians and Serbians can no more be affected by passing misunderstandings or bad faith of administrations, than the light of the sun can be extinguished by the passing thunder-cloud.

When the news reached Moscow that the venerable Metropolitan of the Serbian Church had been deposed, the sensation was profound. But when it was known that he was deposed because he would not allow simony to pass current in the Serbian Church, because he would not allow the civil power to "levy a tax on the gifts of the Holy Ghost," indignation became strong indeed. What was our Minister at Belgrade doing to raise no protest against so scandalous an outrage? How could that personification of sleep and apathy represent ardent, thrilling Russia? On St. Michael's Day, a mass for the Metropolitan Michael was celebrated in the Church of the Serb convent in Moscow. In an eloquent discourse, the Bishop of Moscow spoke as follows:—

"Hard indeed was the condition of Pravoslav Christians under the Turkish yoke; but it is now harder still. Amid the Turkish persecutions, in the face of an open enemy, the Christians of the Balkan Peninsula preserved a complete spiritual unity, which rendered vain all efforts to break up their nationality by means of rude physical force. At the present moment the Serbian Church, in the person of its representative the Metropolitan Michael, is engaged in combat with a more dangerous enemy, with Roman Catholicism, which, by an influence brought to bear (through Austria), aims at the subjugation of the Pravoslav East to its spiritual sovereignty. In former times the Patriarch Hermogene and the Metropolitan Philip, in combat with secular authority, sealed with their blood their devotion to the Pravoslav faith. Now, in our day, the Metropolitan Michael is to be compelled to give his assent to a practice which was not resorted to even in Pagan times—to the new law which imposes taxes and duties on all who assume the monastic habit, or who are raised to any spiritual dignity whatever. This wrong the more painfully affects us because it is being wrought in those very lands where the standard of Christianity was first planted by Constantine the Great.

"It is clear to us that the Metropolitan Michael cannot recognize this new law, which affronts the dignity and fetters the internal liberty of the Pravoslav Church. The example of courage shown by the Metropolitan may serve as a consolation for all in these times of general licence and moral weakness."

These words of the Bishop made a deep impression. A telegram of sympathy was sent to the Metropolitan, signed by all present, by the Bishop Ambrosius, Archbishop Jacob, several archimandrites—those of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch—the representative of the Patriarch of Constantinople, M. Aksakoff, and the members of the Slavonic Committee.

VI.

Before I conclude this brief and imperfect sketch I must make one or two explanations.

In speaking of Austria-Hungary, I put aside all diplomatic circum-

locutions. As a simple Slav, I am simply pleading the rights of the Slavs; and if these rights are endangered by Austria-Hungary, my plea naturally becomes polemical. But if the Cabinet of Vienna-Pesth would but have kept their "hands off" the liberties and the religion of the Serbs and Southern Slavs, this article would never have been written. Unfortunately, Austria-Hungary, by her geographical position, can control the Serbian export trade; and, by her commercial treaties, she can make use of the principality, for the benefit of her Jewish speculators, to almost any extent. But because she can control the Serbian market, that is no reason why she should interfere with the independence of the Serbian Church.

As I once had occasion to remark, I have no antipathy to Austrians, because "Austrians" do not exist; and of the innumerable nationalities which make up the mosaic of the Empire-Kingdom, the most numerous are Slavs. They are so numerous even that they can afford to spare recruits to the enemy. Kossuth, whose hostility to the Slavonic cause is almost a monomania, is himself a Slovak. The tendency of the time is in favour of the Slavonic races, within Austria as well as without. It was an Austrian Slav who made that poetic prophecy, which scandalized so deeply the West: "The Germans have reached their day, the English their mid-day, the French their afternoon, the Italians their evening, the Spaniards their night, but the Slavs stand on the threshold of the morning."

M. Emile de Laveleye, in one of his brilliant contributions to the *Revue des deux Mondes*, indulges in a dream of Austria-Hungary transformed into a monarchical and Slavonic Switzerland. "There are sixteen millions of Slavs within her borders," he says, "and eight millions in European Turkey, while there are only five million Germans, and eight million Magyars. Austria-Hungary, having lost her centre of gravity, will settle east and southward, and from the Saxon mountains to the Ægean will arise a Federation of the Danube, in which, of course, the Slavs will be the dominant power." "That is the only hope of Austria," says M. de Laveleye, her most intelligent advocate in the West. After decomposition and re-composition the new Austria may be better than the present. But whatever may arise from the ashes, is not Austria-Hungary already in its funeral pyre? My opinion, being too partial, has of course no weight; but what does M. Kossuth say, what does Mgr. Strossmayer say, what does M. de Laveleye himself say? M. Kossuth, although a Slovak, declared four years ago that "the razor was put to the throat of Austria and also of Hungary, when the Vienna Cabinet followed" the "infernal" policy "of seizing Bosnia and Herzegovina. Bishop Strossmayer is a statesman devoted to Austria. "The decisive hour," he said in 1879, "approaches for Austria, and God knows that I would give my life at this moment to save her. But in these supreme hours do her rulers understand their position? If they consent to favour the

national development of Bosnia, all the East will turn towards us. If, on the contrary, we attempt to denationalize them, to the profit of the Germans and the Magyars, we shall speedily be more detested than the Turks, and Austria will inevitably march to her doom." Those who read the correspondence of such trustworthy observers as Mr. Fitzgerald, Mr. Arthur Evans, and Mr. Stillman, need not be told how exactly one part of Bishop Strossmayer's prophecy has been fulfilled. M. de Laveleye himself says, "If Austria combats the legitimate aspirations of the Slav populations; she will commit suicide." These are the words of her admirer and eulogist.

But before concluding, I must quote a remarkable despatch of a distinguished statesman, who has been so useful to his adopted country—viz., Count Beust, the former Chancellor of the Empire. In the year 1867 he urged Austria to encourage a wide development of the privileges of the Christian populations of the Balkans, who should be put under the protectorate of the whole of Europe, and endowed, under guarantees from all the Courts, with independent institutions, in accordance with their various religions and races."

If that policy were pursued there would be no crisis to-day in Serbia, and no cause for very serious uneasiness and forebodings.

O. K.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF LONDON.

WHAT is the opinion of the Corporation of the City in reference to the Municipal Government of London? This is a question more easily suggested than answered. The Corporation has not, through its ruling body—the Court of Mayor, Aldermen, and Councillors—expressed any definite opinion, and being a noun of multitude, it is difficult to gather with any degree of certainty the opinions of its constituent parts. Perhaps no one is in a position to make a closer guess than myself, having mingled with its members and officers for so long a period that I have seen the whole body, both of members and officers, existing when I entered the service of the Corporation fifty-two years since, removed by death, and the entire Corporation renewed by fresh elections. Having moreover, occupied positions which did not call for active participation in the public discussions of its Courts, I have been more an observer and a listener than a debater, have taken note of much which has been spoken—wisely or otherwise; indeed, in some sort, I have been in the position of Dickens's parrot, “which said little but thought the more.” I have also witnessed the sitting of one Royal Commission, which reported in 1837,* and of another in 1853-4, and was, officially or otherwise, connected with both inquiries. I have also attended Select Committees of Parliament on the same subject, in 1861 and again in 1866, and have seen various Bills introduced into Parliament bearing upon the subject.

Having been requested to answer the question at the head of this paper, I will, so far as it is possible and becoming, attempt so to do.

To make a reply possible, it is absolutely necessary to find definitions for one or two terms. What is meant by Municipal Government of the

* The Commission sat from 1833 to 1837: it is termed in this paper the Commission of 1837, as it made its report on London in that year.

Metropolis? What is meant by reform of that Government? What is meant by reform of the Corporation of London? The answer to these questions would very much conduce to a reply. Even a child, if promised some good thing, will have wisdom to ask, What is it like?

Now here is my initial difficulty—the differences of opinion entertained by those who have been called to bring judicial consideration to bear upon the question, or have set themselves to solve it. The trumpets giving such varied and uncertain sounds, I am in an uncertainty as to the direction in which the Corporation would march if imperatively called to take action. The Corporation Inquiry Commission of 1837 recommended one thing, the Commission which sat in 1853–4 recommended another. The Select Committee of the House of Commons, which sat in 1861, went very fully into the subject, but the members were divided in opinion, and resolutions proposed on the subject were disagreed to by the Committee; while the Select Committee which sat in 1866 reported only the evidence taken.

Then there have been grave personal divergences of opinion. Mr. John Stuart Mill brought in a Bill in 1866; Mr. Charles Buxton took up that Bill when Mr. Mill lost his seat; and on Mr. Buxton's lamented decease, Lord Elcho took charge of the measure, for practically the three Bills were the same in principle, or drawn on the same lines. It is no secret that Mr. James Beal, an active and intelligent member of the Vestry of St. James's, Westminster, stood godfather to these Bills. Mr. J. F. B. Firth, and others, introduced a Bill in the Session of 1880, drawn on totally different lines.

There is a further class of difficulties in reference to an answer to the question under consideration. There has been a want of consistency among those who advocate change, their public and their privately expressed opinions by no means coinciding. So soon as Sir Francis Palgrave had signed the report of 1837, suggesting most important changes, he said in my hearing, and he wrote to the *Times* to the same effect, that things were so well managed in the City that the Government had taken them for a model for reforming the other corporations in England. Sir George Cornwall Lewis, the most prominent member of the Commission of 1853–4, said to a deputation which waited upon him to learn the intentions of the Government of which he formed a part, "It is wise to let well alone." Mr. John Stuart Mill, whose severe condemnation of the Corporation of the City, both ancient and modern, serves as a motto to Mr. Firth's "Municipal London," spoke to me in terms of the highest admiration of the constitution and antecedents of the Corporation of London, asserting that it had saved the privileges of Parliament when assailed by despotic power in the attempt to arrest its members who fled to the City for safety. He expressed, also, his determination to make the City of London in some way the centre and bond of union of all the ten new Corporations which, by his Bill, he proposed to create. Mr. W. M. Torrens, M.P., in a thoughtful

paper in the *Nineteenth Century* (Nov. 1880, pp. 766-786), expresses an opinion differing in many respects from those of the gentlemen above referred to, leaning, as he evidently does, to the principles enunciated by the Commission of 1853-4, for elevating the Metropolitan Parliamentary boroughs into independent corporations, but strongly deprecating that such public authorities should "exist for the making of gas, the supply of water, the organization of traffic, or the dealing in any other want or commodity for the public at large."

It will be well to look a little more in detail into the recommendations of the various constituted authorities, whose opinions will naturally have more weight than individual preferences.

The Commissioners on Municipal Corporations (1837), in their second Report, which deals exclusively with London, recommended clearly the creation of *one* Municipality for the whole of the metropolis, while evidently leaning to the centralizing and bureaucratic tendencies of the party which called them into existence—everything of real importance being placed under the control of the Imperial Government. The following paragraph indicates the scope and direction of their recommendations:—

"It is evident that any reasoning, founded upon the assumption that questions respecting the Corporation relate to the whole town of London, will be entirely fallacious; and this necessarily introduces much perplexity into all discussions on the corporate system, owing to the great difficulty which there is in preventing such an assumption from being made. We hardly anticipate that it will be suggested, for the purpose of removing the appearance of singularity, that the other quarters of the town should be formed into independent and isolated communities, if indeed the multifarious relations to which their proximity compels them would permit them to be isolated and independent. This plan would, as it seems to us, in getting rid of an anomaly, tend to multiply and perpetuate an evil."

Having decided against "independent communities," the Report goes on to recommend that the control of the police, the paving, sewage, and lighting of the streets, and the navigation and conservancy of the Thames, should be placed under the direct control of the general Executive Government of the country.

The Commissioners of Inquiry into the Corporation of London, who sat in 1853-4, arrived at a directly opposite conclusion. They recommended the separate incorporation of the seven Parliamentary boroughs which, exclusive of the City, existed at that date in the metropolis, with the creation of a central Board of Works, to be appointed by the several Metropolitan Corporations when established.

They first give their reasons for a separate measure for dealing with the existing Corporation, and they then suggest the creation of independent corporations.

"The position of the Corporation of London is indeed so peculiar as to render its comprehension in a general measure of municipal regulation a matter of extreme difficulty, and to point it out as a fit subject of special and separate legislation. The antiquity, extent, and importance of its privileges, the long series of its charters, the large amount of its revenues, its metropolitan position,

and its historical associations, combine to give it a character different from that of any other municipal borough. It may be added that the continued predominance of the popular element in the formation of its governing body furnished a reason, in 1835, for exempting it from the Municipal Corporations Act; seeing that one of the principal defects which that Act was intended to remedy, was the practical exclusion of the principle of popular election from the government of the borough, and the accumulation of power in the hands of a small body of persons. The Commissioners state in their general report of 1835, 'The most common and most striking defect in the constitution of the municipal corporations of England and Wales, is that the corporate bodies exist independently of the communities among which they are found. The corporations look upon themselves, and are considered by the inhabitants, as separate and exclusive bodies; they have powers and privileges within the towns and cities from which they are named, but in most places all identity of interest between the corporation and the inhabitants has disappeared.' From the defect described in this passage the Corporation of London has been for many years exempt. The manner in which the Common Council is elected has produced to a great extent an identity of interests between the governing municipal body and the existing municipal community, and has secured the latter a council representing their general opinions and feelings. The Municipal Commissioners particularly advert to the Common Council of London as distinguishing that Corporation from the close corporations which then prevailed throughout the country."

"The importance of the City of London in relation to the rest of the metropolis arises, not from its area or its population, or even its rateable property, but from its central position, and from the magnitude of the mercantile and pecuniary transactions which are daily carried on within its limits. From this statement it results that the area included within the boundaries of the City of London forms only a small portion of the entire metropolitan district. It is, however, the only part of the metropolis which has a municipal corporation. The city of Westminster, Marylebone, Finsbury, and the Tower Hamlets north of the Thames, and Southwark, Lambeth, and Greenwich south of the Thames, are indeed Parliamentary boroughs, returning members to the House of Commons, and they are all situated within the limits of the metropolis; but they are not municipal boroughs, nor do they possess any municipal organization."

"That portion of the Municipal Corporations Act which consists in an extension of the boundaries of the borough so as to comprehend all portions of the town and its suburbs lying beyond the old limits, seems to us inapplicable to the case of the metropolis. If the procedure of the Legislature in the Municipal Corporations Act be taken as a precedent, absolutely and without discrimination, in reforming the London Corporation, it would be necessary, not only to alter its constitution, but to advance the present boundaries of the City, until they surrounded the entire metropolis; a process by which an area of 723 acres would be converted into an area of 78,029 acres—by which a population of 129,128 would be converted into a population of 2,362,236, and £953,110 would be converted into an assessment of £9,964,314.* A change of this magnitude would not only alter the whole character of the City Corporation, but it would, as it seems to us, defeat the main purpose of municipal institutions. London, taken in its full extent, is (as it has with literal truth been called) 'a province covered with houses;' its diameter, from north to south and from east to west, is so great that the persons living at its fullest extremities have few interests in common; its area is so large that each inhabitant is in general acquainted only with his own quarter, and has no minute knowledge of other parts of the town. Hence the two first conditions for municipal government, minute local knowledge and community of interests, would be wanting if the whole of London were, by an extension of the present boundaries of the city,

* The population has, since 1834, increased from 2,362,236 to 2,832,441, and the assessment—the basis of assessment is intended—has increased from £9,964,345 to £27,540,021.

placed under a single municipal corporation. The enormous numbers of the population, and the vast magnitude of the interests which would be under the care of the municipal body, would likewise render its administration a work of great difficulty. It may be added that the bisection of London by the Thames furnishes an additional reason for not placing the whole town under a single municipal corporation. All roads, streets, sewers, gas-pipes, and water-pipes—in short, all means of superficial or subterraneous communication which run in continuous lines from north to south—are necessarily stopped by the river. Many of these are directly or indirectly the subjects of municipal control; and therefore a municipal body which governed the metropolis both north and south of the Thames would find that the continuity of its operations was, in many respects, broken off by natural circumstances. These considerations appear to us decisive against the expediency of placing the whole of the metropolis under a single municipal corporation, without adverting to those more general questions of public policy which naturally suggest themselves in connection with the subject."

"Although the City of London is the only part of the metropolis which possesses a municipal organization, there are at present within the metropolitan district seven Parliamentary boroughs, each of which, with the exception of Greenwich, contains a larger number of inhabited houses and a larger population than the City. Of these seven boroughs (Finsbury, Marylebone, Tower Hamlets, Westminster, Lambeth, Southwark, and Greenwich) five received the right of returning members to Parliament under the Reform Act of 1832, and we concur in the opinion expressed by the Lord Mayor, in his evidence given before our Commission, that 'as the Legislature had already decided to enfranchise other portions of the metropolis as Parliamentary boroughs, the Legislature ought to complete the work by enfranchising them for municipal purposes also' (Question 7196). We think, indeed, that if an attempt were made to give a municipal organization to the entire metropolis, by a wider extension of the present boundaries of the city, the utility of the present Corporation, as an institution suited to its present limited area, would be destroyed; while at the same time a municipal administration of an excessive magnitude, and therefore ill adapted to the wants of the other parts of the metropolis, would be created. But we see no reason why the benefit of municipal institutions should not be extended to the rest of the metropolis by its division into municipal districts, each possessing a municipal government of its own."

A Select Committee of the House of Commons sat in 1861 on "Local Government and Taxation in the Metropolis," presided over by Mr. A. S. Ayrton, M.P. This Committee attempted to arrive at a principle of Municipal Government for the Metropolis, when the following clauses, bearing directly on the question, were proposed, but disagreed to by the Committee in drafting their third Report, which left the form of the future Municipal Government of the Metropolis undefined:—

"Paragraph 64.—It is obvious, from the foregoing brief summary, that great benefit might be anticipated from the division of the metropolis into districts suitable for the administration of those local affairs which it would be unnecessary to entrust to any central authority. To ascertain the proper limits of each district, and the precise powers with which its governing body should be entrusted, would require a minute investigation of its local circumstances, and of the local and general statutes to which your Committee has above adverted. Nor do your Committee think this task could be undertaken with advantage until some central administration is instituted, capable of expressing the wishes

and possessing the confidence of the inhabitants and the owners of property in the metropolis.

65.—“Your Committee therefore regard the establishment of an efficient municipal body, fairly representing all classes and interests, as the first step towards any improvement in the local government in the metropolis.

66.—“Had the Corporation of London been enlarged with the growth of the metropolis, as in former times, such a municipality would already exist. The constitution of that Corporation has been already framed for metropolitan government, and your Committee think that no better course could now be devised for affording the metropolis the benefit of municipal institutions than to proceed on the principles of the London Corporation.

67.—“Should Parliament be disposed to restore this most ancient body to the station which it formerly enjoyed, it would only be necessary to enlarge the boundaries of the City to those of the metropolis, to divide the metropolis into wards of convenient dimensions, and to elect a body of aldermen and councilmen for each ward; the affairs of the ward being provided over by the aldermen and councilmen, with the assistance of such additional vestrymen as might be necessary for the ward administration.

68.—“Your Committee are of opinion that a Board thus constituted might, with great advantage to the inhabitants of the metropolis, be entrusted with the administration and supervision of those local affairs which could not be conveniently committed to the care of district Boards.

70.—“It should not however be forgotten, that to maintain two municipal bodies, one charged with all the responsible duties of the local government of the metropolis, and entitled by its labours and its usefulness to the confidence and respect of the community, and the other merely preserving the pageantry of past times, with an expensive retinue of highly paid officers at great cost, would be gratuitous waste of public resources.

71.—“To consolidate these institutions into one municipality might, therefore, be equally advantageous to all the inhabitants, both within and without the City of London.”

Another Select Committee of the House of Commons sat in 1866 on “Metropolitan Local Government,” but also failed to solve the problem. The Reports of the Commissioners of 1837 and of 1854, above mentioned, were referred to them, and “that they have power to report their opinion and observations thereon to the House.” This Committee took much evidence, including my own, but they did not make any report beyond the Minutes of Evidence and the Appendix thereto.

In the absence of any consensus of opinion on the part of Royal Commissioners, or of Members of Select Committees, can we find in the expressed opinions of leading statesmen any guidance as to the principles which would probably mould and shape Municipal Government for this great metropolis? We are compelled to answer this question in the negative. Mr. Torrens remarks on the silence of Sir George Cornwall Lewis, the most prominent statesman who has taken any part in the consideration of the subject, and the leading members of the Commission of 1853-4. Speaking (*Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1880, p. 770) of the Bill for creating the Metropolitan Board of Works, Mr. Torrens writes:—

“Had the framing of a measure for municipalizing London been confided in 1855 to a Statesman imbued with Constitutional learning and feeling, the materials lay ready to hand, and impediments there were none. The Report of

the Commission (1854) had cleared the site and given the ground plan for a great and suitable design in harmony with the best traditions of the realm, and capable alike of local expansion and federal adaptation. The patient and pondering mind of Sir G. C. Lewis, full of the wisdom that comes of youth spent in study and of manhood disciplined by experience in administrative life, would have set about methodically building up municipalities on either side of the Thames, fitted to satisfy all that was best in middle-class ambition, and to save so many great and growing communities from liability to the alternate reproach of unpatriotic apathy and fitful yielding to the passion or delusion of the hour. . . .

"Municipal corporations, independent and powerful, were, he saw, peculiarly wanted to redeem from political incontinuity and social nervelessness the communities around the seat of Government. But he had not the drawing of the Bill, and the opportunity was lost. Sir Benjamin Hall, whose constituents had for some time been urging him to obtain for them some remedy for the anomalies and inequalities of their local condition, readily undertook to play the part of godfather to a scheme modelled on that of Paria."

Mr. Torrens then points out that while many prominent members of Parliament approved the measure, the leaders of men preserved a significant silence. He says, "It is not unworthy of note that Sir G. C. Lewis—his wiser judgment being overruled by his colleagues in the Cabinet—remained throughout obdurately mute, and that during the oft-renewed discussion of details not a sentence of approval is recorded from the lips of Sir James Graham, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Disraeli, or Mr. Gladstone." The late Lord Derby, in the Lords, also criticized the Bill unfavourably.

Where, then, can such a definition of what is intended by improved or reformed Municipal Government be found as shall enable a definite reply to be given?

Before a reformed Municipal administration is welcomed, every thoughtful man will want to know what shape or guise it will assume, and will reserve judgment until its true character is ascertained. 'Tis wise rather to "bear the ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of." And thinking men will inquire, in the spirit of Hamlet—

"Be thy intents wicked or charitable,
Thou comest in such a questionable shape,
That I will speak to thee."

If municipal reform be found to hide under that inoffensive term destruction of popular liberties, or bureaucracy or centralization, it will not meet with friendly greeting, but will arouse, and deservedly so, unqualified opposition.

But why such a supposition? Is there any danger of the London public asking for bread and obtaining a stone? Is it possible that the contingency of the fable may be realized in our experience by our passing out of the authority of King Log into the grinding tyranny of King Stork.

The Corporation of London has certainly grounds for such fears. It has not forgotten the recommendation of the Commissioners of 1837, that every important function of the citizen should be placed "*under the*

direct control of the General Executive Government of the Country." It entertains distrust of the Whig Party in Parliament. It is one of the merits of the Corporation of London that it has never drifted into Government on party lines. There are within it, of course, men of both the great parties which usually divide the country, and occasionally, when party feeling runs high, a political vote on one side or the other is the result. But no question affecting the City's government is decided on party lines. Such a thing is unknown. The question, whatever it may be, is argued and decided on its merits or demerits, and the divisions of the Council are, politically speaking, as broken up amongst all parties as are the different coloured objects in the ever-changing kaleidoscope. There has never been any enumeration of the numbers of Liberals and Conservatives returned at the annual elections, as is the case on the meeting of Parliament, or on the elections of some other corporate towns, because the political views of the several candidates are merged in the consideration of their antecedent services as citizens, or their opinions on the municipal point of interest of the passing hour. This is a higher kind of government than that which subordinates conviction to partisanship and too often subjects reason and conscience to the party whip.

Notwithstanding this general abstention from party politics, it is a fact that all the attacks upon the City's liberties and independence have come from one party, and that party which terms itself Liberal. Hence, quite apart from politics, there has been, and is now, in the breasts of both Liberals and Conservatives, a feeling of distrust in respect of any measure which may be proposed by Liberal statesmen. I say this with pain and regret as a consistent Liberal in politics.

It was a Liberal Government which attempted to deprive the citizens of their ancient right of watch and ward within their own jurisdiction, which they had exercised for centuries, in an attack upon their independent police in 1838, and again in 1863, and that, not on any pretext that life was less safe or property less protected in the City than elsewhere, or that any of the citizens desired the change, but solely from a desire to centralize entirely the police force of the metropolis under one head practically irresponsible to the inhabitants.

It was a Liberal Government which attempted, in 1848, to supersede the Commissioners of Sewers of the City, composed of representatives of the citizens, by Commissioners appointed by, and responsible only to, the Crown. But for the strenuous opposition of the citizens, who declined in the nineteenth century to be deprived, in the name of reform, of rights which they had enjoyed and improved for half-a-dozen centuries, they would have lost all direct control over the paving, lighting, cleansing and repairing of their streets, and the regulation of their sewers (then almost the only ones in the metropolis), which at great cost they had constructed. These reactionary attempts of Liberal Governments brought to the aid of the City the other cities and towns

which manage their own affairs in the provinces, for they instinctively felt that the destruction of the independence of the first city in the empire would be a precedent fraught with peril to their own liberties. The success of the City over powerful Governments on these three occasions has been thoughtlessly attributed to the strength of the Corporation in Parliament; it was rather the inconsistency of professing Liberalism which alienated the support of their party and resulted in well-merited failure.

If reform is intended to mean wider and more direct popular representation, with increased popular accountability, for the outlying parts of the metropolis, no wise man will regret it; it cannot, however, be ignored by even superficial students of history—modern history in particular—that more terms are often misleading. There is reform which is real progress as regards human liberty and self-rule—the taking occasion, on all proper opportunities,

"to make
The bounds of freedom wider yet,"

there is, or may be, on the other hand, reform which merely means change for the sake of change, the upsetting of all that is settled, the uprooting of all that is deep-rooted, the destruction of all that age has rendered venerable, and experience has shown to be beneficial. There may be reform which really means spoliation and plunder, a scramble for the benefit of a generation, which in its results may so disgust free men that they shall

"Fly from petty tyrants to the Throne,"

and take shelter gladly under the shadow of a despotism.

On what model then is the forthcoming measure to be constituted?—on that of the ancient and free city of London?—on that of the other municipalities of the Empire?—on that of some ingenuously constructed contrivance for keeping the word of promise to the popular ear while breaking it to the hope? or on that of the constitution of the House of Commons?

Lord Derby, speaking at Liverpool in January, appears to be revolving in his mind the question which I am attempting to answer. His lordship said:—

"In the case of London the problem is more complicated. Are you to have one gigantic local Parliament? Or are you to break up the 4,000,000 inhabitants into eight or ten distinct incorporated boroughs? Or are you to create, as in the case of the London School Board, separate bodies each charged with one separate duty? Every one of these methods has something to recommend it, and the choice between them, which practically will be irrevocable, ought not to be made without full debate and deliberation."—*Times*, January 5, 1882.

Concurring in his lordship's remarks generally, I yet disbelieve that "the choice will be irrevocable." It may be unwise or unfortunate, and result in failure and consequent disappointment; but a freedom-loving people never regard any measure as irrevocable which is felt to be unsatisfactory; they strive and struggle, sometimes for generations

—as witness our unfortunate neighbours the Parisians—until they acquire institutions of self-rule. Hence the gravity of the question, and the responsibility of those who would unsettle until they are fully persuaded as to the right course, and prepared with something which can reasonably be expected to last.

It is one of the difficulties which has hitherto presented itself to the Legislature, that the "Unreformed Corporation," as it has been the fashion to term it, is far in advance of other corporations and of the House of Commons on the road of progress. Parliament has instinctively seen the irony of the situation, when, in the name of reform, it has been proposed to model a new Corporation on the lines of retrogression or reaction.

For instance—

(a) The Corporation of London has for centuries annually elected its councillors, with the exception of those who act as justices of the peace, involving full and frequent annual representative responsibility.

(b) The Corporation of London has also for centuries elected annually its own officers of all grades (excepting the judges), and this not only in the Court of Common Council, but in the Court of Common Hall; securing thereby the fullest administrative responsibility and accountability.

(c) The Corporation elected for centuries, by the vote of the whole of the citizens, independent auditors; until Parliament, in 1721, by force of law, limited such right of election to the freemen-liverymen, who nevertheless compose a body of 8,000 citizens, independent of the body who disburse the funds.

(d) The Corporation of London, from the year 1784, has printed and published annually an account, increasingly full and in detail of the receipt and expenditure of the funds under its control.

(e) The Corporation of London, by its standing orders, secures, as far as human ingenuity can attain it, the independence of its members from influences inconsistent with allegiance to their constituents.*

These are all *fundamental* principles which should lie at the base of any scheme of municipal reform; but will Parliament, as now constituted, apply them? The people's House is at present septennially, not annually, responsible to its constituents. It has not yet established

* A member of the Common Council accepting any place of emolument must vacate the same.

A member is disqualified from sitting on any committee if a shareholder in or concerned for any public company which is opposed by the Corporation. A member who is a shareholder or officer of any undertaking is ineligible to vote in any committee while matters affecting such undertaking are under consideration.

A member personally interested in any business, agreement, or lease, is ineligible to sit or vote in any committee while such matter is under consideration. No member or his partner can be a contractor for, or can be employed, directly or indirectly, in any work to be performed for or against the Corporation, or be engaged in the supply of any materials, or the sale of any goods, or the transaction of any professional or other business paid for by the Corporation; any person so acting is disqualified from being elected or remaining on any committee or commission of the Corporation.—Vide "Standing Orders of the Court of Common Council," Nos 13, 60, 67, 68 and 71.

annual responsibility of the executive, either high or subordinate. It has not yet established an independent audit of the moneys which it votes to be expended by the executive. It has not yet published any annual account in detail of the receipts and expenditure of the nation. It has not yet secured the independence of its members, but rather it induces every member accessible to a bribe to sell himself to a party for the sake of place, promotion, pay, or position, if he will only be submissive to the Treasury whip.

This is the root of all the electoral corruption which disgraces our free institutions—which keeps vacant, at this very moment, twelve* seats in the House of Commons, and which has consigned men of reputation to criminal prisons. This system induces men to enter Parliament merely to secure personal advantages, while professedly sitting as independent representatives; or, being already in the naval or military or civil service of the country, to seek promotion or active employment for themselves or their relatives; or to share in the supplies voted; or to secure an enclosure of a common or waste of a manor; or to hold briefs under the administrative departments; or to procure a concession of a packet service; or the sale of their ships, or the conveyance of troops in the event of war. For the securing of such advantages as these, men will bid high in the electoral market for a seat in the House of Commons; hence the corruption which the Legislature is willing to punish but cannot cure without cutting down to the root.

What would be justly said of a Corporation which could knowingly permit such things, or which did not take every step in its power to prevent them? Let us suppose, if the supposition were not replete with absurdity, that the Recorder or Town Clerk or Chamberlain while sitting in the Common Council of the City, or of any freely elected Corporation, to advise, afford information or explanation, could speak and vote on matters involving their own emolument, or on questions involving the performance of their own duties; their secretaries or clerks taking part in such discussions and votes, and keeping a court for the purpose; or that the Commissioner of Police and his subordinate officers by the score could vote the amount and the distribution of the police rate; that the engineer and other officers of the Commissioners of Sewers could vote the amount of the rates, and fix the scale of their salaries; that the City Solicitor could take instructions to hand briefs to legal members of the Court who should be docile and helpful to the predominant party in the Council. Such things can be, and are, possible in the "reformed" House of Commons, but not in the "unreformed" Corporation.†

* *Viz.* Boston, 2; Canterbury, 2; Chester, 2; Gloucester, 1; Oxford, 1; Macclesfield, 2; Sandwich, 1; and Wigan, 1.

† At the meeting of the present Parliament there were returned to the House of Commons, 2 Generals, 1 Admiral, 17 Colonels, 18 Lieutenant Colonels, 14 Major Generals and Majors, 17 Lieutenants, 58 Captains, 3 Cornets and Ensigns—in all, 130 members of the military and naval services in receipt of full or half pay—there were also about 40 persons, including Cabinet and other Ministers, Secretaries, Under-Secretaries, and Private Secretaries,

The financial results of the two systems are instructive. The reformed House of Commons, since 1831, although it has adjusted the burden of taxation so as to bear less painfully on the public shoulders, has nevertheless *increased* the public expenditure steadily from 45 to 85 millions per annum. The unreformed Corporation has within the same period *reduced* its own corporate expenditure, and within the fifty years has made over to public purposes every shilling of dues arising from fuel, food, wine, or markets, administered or enjoyed in 1831. The embankment of the Thames, the formation of New Cannon Street, the construction of the Holborn Viaduct, the enfranchisement of Epping Forest (6,000 acres), and the purchase of West Ham Park for the toilers of the East, the acquisition of Burnham Beeches for recreation in the West, the construction of Cattle Markets for the Metropolis at Islington and at Deptford, and the three Central Markets at Smithfield, the re-erection of Billingsgate and Leadenhall Markets, and the removal and re-erection of the City of London School, now progressing, are some of the public objects accomplished within the half century out of funds formerly applied to civic or purely corporate purposes.

Of course, nothing is easier than to draw an indictment or a bill of complaint, suggesting all kinds of malversation and maladministration: it is the *proof* which a competent court would require, or a thoughtful and honest man would regard as conclusive. It is a remarkable fact that on both the occasions of Royal Commissions sitting on the administration of the City, the Court of Common Council resolved to tender every officer and every document in their archives, excepting, of course, title deeds, although they were advised by their officers that, as a matter of law, the Commissioners had no power to command the attendance of the one or the production of the other. It is still more remarkable that there is not in the report of either Commission the suggestion even that a trust had been violated or an illegal act committed. Suggestions for change, more or less wise, were made, and, looking back over these reports after the lapse of years, it is interesting to notice how many of them have been since adopted.

The whole history of the Corporation has been one continued series of self-renewals. In this respect it differs from all other corporations, having obtained a charter as early as King Edward III., whereby it was empowered to make alterations in its laws and customs, with the consent of the commonalty, if its laws and customs should be found to be "hard or defective." This power has enabled the Common Council to pass Acts similar to those of Parliament, which are more binding than mere resolutions, and can only be repealed by other Acts. In this way a vast amount of change has been quietly and unostentatiously effected, and abuses, common at one time alike to imperial and municipal

connected with the Government, and as many who had held similar offices under the former Government, and expected again to hold office on a change of Government; all of them more or less directly interested in the supplies voted by the House.

administration, have been corrected. For instance, the sale of offices has been long since put a stop to, and all rights bought up; the packing of juries, once common, has been rendered impossible; the exclusion of Jews, Roman Catholics, and Nonconformists from trading or holding office came to an end in the City by the action of the Corporation before Parliament was prepared to open its doors to them; the exclusion of non-freemen and foreigners from trading in the City, and the compulsion of those who traded to become free, have long since passed away; so also has the compulsion of freemen to become members of the trading companies. The City threw open its Courts of Aldermen and of Common Council to the public and to the Press while Parliament still kept its doors closed; it was two aldermen of London who—risking the penalties of fine and incurring those of imprisonment under a corrupt Government—forced open the doors of Parliament, admitted reporters to its debates, and thus brought the representatives and the represented face to face. The substitution of declarations for oaths in all cases has long since prevented in the Corporation the embarrassment which Parliament and the Government would gladly escape from at the opening of the ensuing session.

Time and space would fail were only an outline given of what a freely elected corporation, fully accountable to its constituents, has accomplished; it is necessary, however, in the interests of liberty to say something of this if it were only to frustrate the attempts of some, who by their professions should know better, whose object appears to be to destroy that which they are incapable of appreciating, under the pretext of granting free institutions to those who do not at present possess them; resorting to misrepresentation of every just or noble action, by suppression of the true and suggestion of the false, until they arrive at the astounding *non sequitur* that the freest institution is the most liable to corruption and abuse; that an amount of corruption which ought, on natural principles, to have destroyed the institution centuries ago nevertheless justifies its extension over the whole Metropolis.

An important and influential contribution has been recently made to the elucidation of this subject by no less a person than the Prime Minister, in his speech on the 13th of October last, in the Guildhall. Speaking of the arrears of Parliamentary work caused by obstruction, Mr. Gladstone went on to say:—

“The practice of local self-government, if at least I have any faculty of judging the causes of the greatness of our country, has contributed in a degree inferior to no other cause to the eminence and power to which it has attained. I desire to express the hope that the day may come when, in consequence of judicious measures, enabling us to deal with this arrears of public business, the great question of local government in this vast metropolis may likewise be entertained by Parliament. Making the declaration on the spot on which I now stand in this noble hall, and in the fresh and vivid recollection of its traditions, I feel I am not disloyal but loyal to those traditions in cherishing the hope that the day may not be very far distant when that work shall be taken in hand. But of one thing I feel the most perfect and absolute confidence. Nothing that will

ever be sanctioned by the Parliament of this country will tend to degrade your great Corporation, or to impair its efficiency, but only new dignity, new energy, and a further enlargement of public confidence, fresh records of good work done and of great services rendered to the country, will be the unfailing consequence of any such measure as Parliament will adopt for the purpose of dealing with the Municipal institutions of London."

The expressions of statesmen on complimentary occasions must be construed with many grains of allowance; it is obvious, however, that two points in this address stand out in such prominence that they must have been present to the mind of so clear a speaker. These are, that the principles of *local* self-government should be respected, and that the Corporation would not be degraded, that its dignity and efficiency would not be impaired, by any changes to which Mr. Gladstone then looked forward.

Contrast now these assurances of the Prime Minister with the action of certain of his acknowledged followers and supporters, and the clouds of doubt and uncertainty which have gathered round this subject are by no means dispelled.

In the Session of 1880 a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, entitled "A Bill for creating a Municipality and County of London, and other purposes connected therewith." It was endorsed by Mr. J. F. B. Firth, Mr. Thorold Rogers, Mr. T. B. Potter, Mr. W. H. James, and Mr. H. R. Brand, all of them consistent supporters of Mr. Gladstone's Government.

It was proposed by that Bill to create one Municipality for the whole of the Metropolis, into which were to be merged the Corporation of the City of London, the Metropolitan Board of Works, the Corporation of the City of Westminster, and the various Vestries and District Boards of the Metropolis.

It thus embodied the leading principle recommended by the Commissioners of 1837, while it ignored that recommended by the Commissioners of 1853-4, and adopted by Mr. J. S. Mill, Mr. C. Buxton, and Lord Elcho in their respective Bills; while, by way of increasing the perplexity of the situation, Mr. James Beal is understood to have abandoned the principle which he supported as embodied in those Bills, and to have given his adhesion to that contained in Mr. Firth's proposed measure.

I do not discuss that measure here; I refer to it only in its bearing upon the above points laid down by Mr. Gladstone: It proposed that London should be henceforth divided into forty municipal districts, and that each should elect six members of the Municipal Council—240 in all. The suggested districts are named in the first schedule of the Bill, and are as follow, and arranged in the following order:—

"The Metropolitan Municipal Districts.

" Strand	Chelsea
Westminster	Kensington

Paddington	Poplar
Portmanbury	Clapton
Marylebone	Stoke Newington
Holborn	Hackney
Camden Town	Highbury
Islington	Canonbury
Clerkenwell	Kentish Town
Shoreditch	Hampstead
Bethnal Green	Hammersmith
Whitechapel	Fulham
Bow	Wandsworth
Stepney	Lambeth
Lincolnhouse	Brixton
Bermundsey	Camberwell
Deptford	Streatham
Southwark	Greenwich
Newington	Woolwich
Kennington	The City District."

If this is not "*degrading*" the City of London, it is difficult to say what the term implies. The City, which enjoyed autonomy before Parliament became an institution, which possesses *local* government so complete that it has within its limits 232 representatives, is to be deprived not only of its status as a City, but even of its name, classed among the newly created districts of the metropolis, accorded six representatives (one aldermen and five councillors) out of 240, and relegated to the bottom of the list, below semi-rural parishes or fractions of parishes such as Highbury, Clapton, Stoke Newington, and Streatham respectively. And this is the "district" which, as has been recently shown,* contributes by its commercial superiority nearly as largely to imperial taxation as all the rest of the Metropolis aggregated, and more than the seventeen largest Cities and Towns in England; whose contribution to local taxation amounts to between a seventh and an eighth of the whole Metropolis; and whose rateable value exceeds that of every other incorporated City and Town in England and Wales!

But to revert for the last time to the question at the head of this paper—What is the opinion of the Corporation of the City in reference to the Municipal Government of London?

To this I may safely reply—

1. The Corporation will, amidst so many uncertainties as to the meaning of the term, wait until the form and shape of the thing signified is discernible.

2. Should the proposed Municipal government assume the form of

* Vide "The City Census Report" Longmans, Green & Co., also "Population and Relative Position of the City of London," CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January, 1882.

absorbing all London and all its governing bodies into one vast corporation, I entertain little doubt that such a proposal would not meet with the approval of the Corporation of the City, chiefly for the reasons set out in the Report of the Commissioners of 1853—*i.*, enormously strengthened as those reasons are by the enlarged area and greatly increased and increasing number of the inhabitants of the Metropolis. Because, in brief, it would render *local* government impossible.

3. Should the proposed Municipal government assume the form of conferring corporate independence upon the outlying parliamentary boroughs of the metropolis, the past conduct of the Corporation indicates that it would gladly hail such enfranchisement—provided, of course, it should be desired by those proposed to be incorporated.* That such would be its feeling may be gathered from its action, so recently as 1879, when the inhabitants of the parish of West Ham,† who had recently received a park of eighty acres from the Corporation, approached the Court of Common Council with a request that the Court would aid them in procuring from the Government a Charter of Incorporation. The Court at once, and with unanimity, agreed to the prayer of the petitioners, and provided counsel to lay the claims of the parish before the Commissioner who sat to receive evidence thereon.

The enfranchisement of the ten parliamentary boroughs outside the City—a modern Decapolis—would necessitate the creation of a central corporation by delegation or federation, for effecting objects in which the whole Metropolis may be concerned, or for aggregate action in the name of the whole of London. That the Corporation of the City would readily fall in with any reasonable scheme for securing such aggregate action, I have elsewhere and long since expressed an affirmative opinion, and I cannot do better than repeat it in concluding this paper:—

“Such a Corporation should be in a position to provide the requisite accommodation for aggregate action, public receptions, festivity, and so forth; such a Corporation should be possessed of the prestige and weight which rank, beauty, antecedents and traditions can alone supply; such a Corporation should have acquired administrative capacity by long years of experience and practice; such a Corporation should be able to afford proof that it had been prominent beyond all other bodies in reference to Metropolitan improvements in the past; such a Corporation should be representative of the whole—in other words, of AGGREGATE LONDON; such a Corporation should embrace within its jurisdiction the largest amount of population, rateable value, commercial and trading importance, and a preponderating share of wealth. All these elements combined in one Corporation would mark it as entitled to take rank, not *above* the others, but as *pari passu* *inter pares*; the position would be accorded to it naturally, as of right of precedence; such a Corporation—whilst others possessed their Mayors—should be presided over by its Lord Mayor, who would enjoy the rank and dignity conferred by law—taking precedence, within his jurisdiction, of every subject in the realm; such a Corporation should be privileged, on all occasions of public importance, to go

* The law enables parliamentary boroughs to petition the Crown for charters of incorporation. It does not appear that any one of the metropolitan parliamentary boroughs has at present availed itself of this provision of the law.

† West Ham lies in the Superintendent Registrar's District, 200,752 inhabitants. Croydon has also petitioned for incorporation, with 112,161 inhabitants.

to the foot of the Throne; such a Corporation, in short, would be the CORPORA-
TION OF THE CITY, REINFORCED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE METROPOLIS, so as
to possess all necessary powers, privilege and dignity, and to become, for all
purposes of aggregate action, the *corps de la tête* of Municipal representation.

"The greater portion of the difficulties which have been suggested in relation
to efficient Municipal action in the Metropolis would vanish before such an
arrangement. Men of sufficient social position, standing and acquirements would
come forward, seeing within their reach the rewards of public service. Some
would be induced to seek the office of Councillor in the local Municipality, some
the higher dignity of Alderman; whilst the latter office, leading directly as it
should, to the dignity of Mayor of a local Corporation, would place before the
occupier of that position the possible attainment of the highest Municipal post in
the Metropolis. Such a Corporation would draw to it many members of the
Imperial Legislature;—it has been ascertained that there are no less than *sixty-eight*
Members of Parliament who occupy offices within the City; of these a certain
proportion would inevitably be attracted to take part in such a Municipality, and
thus afford ample opportunity for the exposition of local administrative affairs in
the House of Commons. We purposely abstain from details in this place. It is
principles for which we are contending, and those principles founded on the
ancient and long tested institutions of the City of London adapted to their new,
enlarged and altered circumstances.

"We speak not in the name of the Corporation of that City; nor do we know
what they may think of suggestions for which we are alone responsible; but we
know enough of the public spirit which animates the members of that body to
feel assured that they would rise to the occasion, and take their proper position—
the front, where some one must lead. To be absorbed into a Board elected by
the Vestries, to remain standing aloof if London extra be incorporated, to submit,
after centuries of independence, to the control of a Board at Whitehall, would
be to them impossible, and, if possible, intolerable. They would, we believe,
march with the times, adapt themselves to their new position, accept their fresh
responsibilities, and maintain proudly, and perpetuate, so far as in them might
lie, the fair fame, the freedom, and the dignity of their ancient City."—*Statistical
Indication of the City of London*, 3rd edition, pp. 189-191.

The above was in type when the organs which usually reflect the
opinions of the present Government made definite statements to the
effect that the Cabinet had decided in the direction of one great
County or Municipality, to be erected on the ruins of every existing
metropolitan institution; and further, that the preparation of a Bill
on those lines had been entrusted to Sir William Harcourt.

With all deference to well-informed journalism, I venture to doubt
the entire accuracy of these notifications. Were such a policy to pre-
vail it could only result in the further postponement of a great settle-
ment. The genius of English statesmanship has been ever to conserve,
repair, and extend rather than to clear a *tabula rasa* in order to rebuild
from the foundations. In eloquent words, spoken while I write,* I ex-
press my convictions as to the policy which will ultimately decide this
question. "We English people display our love for the continuity of law
in our country, not by a foolish resistance to change, but rather by
restraining ourselves from any desire to shatter in pieces the outgrown
forms of an earlier civilization."

BENJAMIN SCOTT.

* Mr. Arthur Arnold, M.P.

THE RISE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS.

GREAT BRITAIN has long been pre-eminent for the numbers, influence, and enlightenment of her middle class, the steady growth of which is the strongest proof of her welfare. Other nations are likewise advancing in this respect, for there has been a general "levelling up" in the last thirty years,—due to railways, Free Trade, and other causes,—which has been accompanied by a more equable distribution of public wealth, a diminution of the sum of human misery, and increased productiveness of labour. How much this period of transition has affected the United Kingdom, or how far we may be in advance of France, Germany, Russia, Spain, or Italy, are questions on which it is customary to form vague opinions, as if no sources of information existed whereby a precise gauge could be determined. And yet the task is as simple as Columbus's egg, if any one will take the trouble to ascertain these three points:—First, The increase in wealth and numbers of the three classes that compose society, since a certain date, in the United Kingdom. Secondly, The same as regards the principal countries of the Continent. Thirdly, A comparison of our own and other countries in respect to the said classes.

I. DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

When social reformers assert that "the rich are growing richer, the poor poorer," they do not think it necessary to bring forward a single proof in support of their fallacy. But when we turn to the records of the Probate Court and compare them with the Registrar-General's death-roll we find the reverse to be the truth. Let us, for example, compare the years 1840 and 1877, which show that there has been indeed an enormous increase in the numbers and fortunes of the rich, but also that the ratio of persons dying with money in reference to population is just doubled,

and that there has been as great a diffusion of wealth as if one-half of the estates held by members of the House of Lords had been divided among the people. In order to distinguish the three classes I may be permitted to designate as the rich all persons who left £5,000 or upwards at their death, the middle class all between £100 and £5,000, and the working class all under £100, of whom the Probate Court takes no cognizance. The figures will then stand thus:—

	1840.	Ratio.		1877.	Ratio.
Deaths over £5,000 . . .	1,989	1.63	...	1,178	3.36
From £100 to £5,000 . .	17,936	15.25	...	36,438	27.33
Working class . . .	97,675	83.06	...	92,441	69.31
Total* . . .	117,600			133,560	

Now, as the ratio among the living is the same as among those who die, we find that in 1840 there were only 17 per cent. of the families in the United Kingdom above the reach of want, and that the ratio had risen to 31 per cent. in 1877. It will be, of course, objected that the value of money has changed, which is certain, the sovereign having lost half-a-crown (see note at the end of this paper); but even if we discount this, the ratio of persons in the upper or middle classes will be almost 27 per cent., or more than half as much again as the ratio of forty years ago.

If the rich have doubled in numbers, so has the wealth of the kingdom, and the increase of our merchant-princes can only be regarded as most favourable, for it is to this class that the world owes such men as Peel, Colbert, Lorenzo de Medicis, &c., and among the *nouveaux riches* are often found the best patrons of arts and learning. The middle class, meantime, has not only recruited the ranks of the plutocracy, but also seen its own numbers doubled, thanks to the persevering energy of a portion of the working class, who have raised themselves in the social scale. At present there is little difference between England and Scotland in the relative strength of the middle class, but it was not so forty years ago, this class having quadrupled in Scotland in the interval. The following digest from the Probate returns, on the bases already laid down, shows the position of the classes in the three kingdoms then and now:—

	England.			Scotland.			Ireland.	
	1840	1877.		1840	1877		1840.	1877.
Rich . . .	2.10	3.70	...	1.01	3.24	...	0.43	1.40
Middle class . .	21.20	29.40	...	9.17	25.88	...	4.36	16.51
Working class . .	76.40	66.90	...	89.82	70.88	...	95.21	82.09
	100.00	100.00		100.00	100.00		100.00	100.00

In 1840 England possessed 86 per cent. of the aggregate wealth of the United Kingdom, but her share fell to 83 per cent. in 1877, as

* Being one-fifth of the number of deaths in each of the years cited, which is about the average of bread winners or heads of families that die.

appears from the amounts of property on which probate or succession duties were paid, viz. :—

	Amount proved.		Average per inhab.	
	1840.	1877.	1840.	1877.
	£	£	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
England . . .	47,100,000	108,150,000	... 3 1 0	4 8 0
Scotland . . .	3,060,000	16,090,000	... 1 3 0	4 11 0
Ireland . . .	1,450,000	7,220,000	... 0 11 0	1 7 0
United Kingdom .	£54,610,000	131,460,000	... 2 1 0	3 19 0

It is remarkable that Scotland possesses more wealth for population than England, and has become the richest country in the world, though so poorly gifted by Nature. Her fortune has quintupled since 1840, being now double that of Ireland. We may search European annals since the time of Alexander of Macedon, and we shall find nothing to equal the rise of Scotland in the above period, but it is a fact of which Scotchmen seem unaware; at least they never mention it.* The total value of the three kingdoms, computed from the Probate returns, was made up as follows :—

	Millions £.		Average per inhab.	
	1840	1877.	1840.	1877.
England . . .	3,320	6,552	... £210	262
Scotland . . .	196	970	... 81	277
Ireland . . .	308	438	... 38	83
United Kingdom .	3,824	7,960	... 147	239

The increase of wealth per inhabitant is much less striking in England than in the sister kingdoms, the condition of the latter having undergone a marvellous change. Forty years ago Scotland swarmed with beggars to such a degree that the sheriff's declared the state of the country was most alarming, and the farmers were so poor that they bled their cattle and cooked the blood for food. In Ireland three-fourths of the population went barefoot, and lived in hovels unfit for human habitation. Now all that is changed, and such is the prosperity of the bulk of the people that the savings-banks deposits increased 32 per cent. between 1870 and 1880.

Returning to consider the United Kingdom as a whole, it may be interesting to see how wealth was distributed among the three classes at the dates in question, viz. :—

	No. of Families.		Millions £.		Average per Family.	
	1840.	1877.	1840.	1877.	1840	1877.
Rich . . .	86,833	222,500	... 2,507	5,728	... £28,820	£25,803
Middle class .	782,100	1,824,400	... 1,126	1,834	... 1,430	1,005
Working class .	4,341,067	4,629,100	... 191	398	... 44	86
	5,210,000	6,676,000	3,824	7,960	735	1,194

The average fortunes of the rich are 11 per cent. lower, those of the

* Neither do they observe the decrease of crime in Scotland: the convictions in the years 1840-42 averaged 1,120 per million inhabitants yearly, and in 1876-80 only 570 per million, a decline of nearly 50 per cent., owing to which sixteen Scotch prisons have been recently closed for want of occupants.

middle class 30 per cent. lower, the result of the spreading of wealth over a larger numerical area, while the condition of the working classes has improved 100 per cent. It is astonishing that, while the population of the island of Great Britain has risen 63 per cent. since 1840, the wages of workmen and even of maid-servants are now 50 per cent. higher. The consumption of food per inhabitant is the best test of improvement in the working classes, viz.—

	1840.	1880.
Tea, oz.	22	73
Sugar, lbs.	15	54
Wheat „	269	358
Meat „	84	118

At the same time the increase of depositors in savings-banks has been from 3 per cent. of population to $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and the ratio of paupers has fallen to 3 per cent. of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, the lowest known since the beginning of the century. As a further instance of improvement, the persons unable to sign the marriage register fell from 12 per cent. in 1840 to 23 per cent. in 1878.

This “levelling up” of the middle and lower orders has been as gradual and steady as the growth of national wealth, as we shall see by considering the number of houses in the United Kingdom, and the proportion rated over £20 per annum :—

	Nat. wealth. Millions £.	No of houses in U Kingdom.	Rated over £20.	Ratio of same.
1840	3,824	4,507,500	244,300	5.40
1860	5,215	4,864,800	519,200	9.60
1870	6,880	5,157,900	754,100	12.80
1880	8,420	5,868,600	1,002,400	14.50

According to this standard it would appear that persons in affluent or easy circumstances, compared with population, are three times as numerous as in 1840. Moreover, this upward tendency is specially remarkable during the recent years of partial depression (but of general advancement), as shown by the life assurance policies, viz. :—

	1875.	1880.	Ratio to Families in U. Kingdom.
			1875. 1880.
Persons insured	754,200	879,700	11.10 13.10
Amount	£362,000,000	£422,000,000	£54 £64

It would be easy to quote many other proofs that the diffusion of wealth which the Probate returns indicate is beyond all doubt or controversy, and that so far from the rich growing richer, they are not individually so wealthy as before, while the proportion of persons in middle fortune has doubled, and the condition of the working-classes improved in even greater degree than the growth of capital.

II.—DIFFUSION OF WEALTH ON THE CONTINENT.

In studying the condition of countries it will be invariably found that wherever the middle class is most numerous, the public fortune

is most evenly distributed, and the national prosperity highest. Thus we find that the class in question is three times as numerous in France as in Germany, and twice as numerous in the latter country as in Italy or Spain, while the ratio in Russia is lowest of all, being hardly one-tenth of what it is in Germany. The returns of income and of house valuation enable us to ascertain the numbers of the rich and middle-class, and to arrive at their percentage in the general population, that is, compared with the total number of families in each country, viz. :—

	Rich	Percentage of population	Middle class.	Percentage of population.
France . .	158,210	2.05 ...	1,666,700	21.64
Germany . .	119,803	1.28 ...	686,250	7.30
Italy . .	30,983	0.55 ..	203,223	3.57
Spain . .	25,120	0.72 ...	136,100	3.88
Russia . .	21,746	0.15 ...	123,200	0.75

There is no general standard of wealth, one Russian noble having an average income equal to four Spanish dukes, five and a half Italian princes, or six German barons, while the fortunes of the middle-class vary in a similar manner. The above is simply a "conspectus" of the strength of the well-to-do classes on the Continent, of which we shall form a better idea by visiting, with our mind's eye, the various countries in succession.

France.—The classification of houses is the only guide we have in this country for the assessment of incomes, but it is perhaps nearly as accurate as could be desired, viz. :—

	Families.	Average income.	Amount in millions £.
1st class . .	158,210	... £800	... 127
2nd „ . .	1,666,700	... 200	... 333
3rd „ . .	5,879,310	... 85	... 505
	7,704,220	... 125	... 965

According to the tables of transfer of property, on which D'Audiffret and De Foville naturally lay much stress, it appears that the national wealth has multiplied threefold in forty years, having risen from 2,580 to 7,900 millions sterling—that is, from £75 to £213 per inhabitant. At the same time there has been a wider diffusion of wealth, the Cotes Foncières showing that large estates have diminished by 10 per cent., and those of medium size increased 15 per cent. The following return does not include any estate of less than an hectare ($2\frac{1}{2}$ acres), such being merely pauper holdings, and stands thus :—

	1842.	1858.	1881.
Over £40 tax . .	16,310 ...	15,870 ...	14,774
Under £40 „ . .	6,077,690 ...	6,416,130 ...	6,928,226

It appears that since 1842 there have been cut up 1,536 large estates into 851,000 peasant farm-holdings. Even if we accept the French theory that the number of proprietors is exactly half that of Cotes Foncières, we still find 125,000 peasants have become landowners by means of thrift and industry. Nor have the working-classes in the

towns been less remarkable for these good qualities, since the savings banks show the following progress :—

	1840.	1860.	1880.
No. of depositors . . .	311,000 ...	1,126,000 ...	3,851,000
Amount . . .	£6,822,000 ...	13,511,000 ...	51,211,000

This, however, only represents a small part of the popular savings, for when the loan of 1872 was emitted the number of French subscribers was 934,000, most of whom evidently purchased the stock for an investment, as we find the persons regularly enrolled as holding *rentes* in their own name (without taking to account those payable to bearer) have increased from 866,000 in 1870, to 1,252,000 in 1878. Herein we see how widely wealth is becoming diffused among the people, the annual accumulations since 1875 having averaged 135 millions sterling, and the product of every tax exceeding the Ministers' estimates by 20 or 30 per cent.

Germany.—The poll-tax and income-tax returns for Prussia and Saxony embrace exactly two-thirds of the population of the empire, and if we allow due proportion for the remainder, the earnings of all classes will stand thus :—

	Families.	Total income. Millions £.
Over £5,000 . . .	861 ...	9
£1,000 to £5,000 . . .	13,336 ...	26
£300 to £1,000 . . .	106,614 ...	53
£100 to £300 . . .	686,250 ...	110
Under £100 . . .	8,581,947 ..	652
	<hr/> 9,389,008	<hr/> 850

Such has been the increase of wealth in Prussia that the number of persons over £150 per annum has more than doubled in twelve years, while the advancement of the working classes is shown in the latest returns of the Schultz-Delitsch Co-operative Workmen's Societies, viz. :—

	1860.	1870.	1880.
Societies . . .	133 ...	740 ...	3,123
Members . . .	31,600 ...	314,700 ...	1,120,000
Reserve Funds . . .	£80,000 ...	£2,200,000 ...	£8,560,000

These societies have not only elevated the working classes, by encouraging habits of thrift, but also saved them from money-lenders in times of any passing need: the loans made in this manner last year amounted to 20 millions and the co-operative purchases to 140 millions sterling. The savings-banks further show the improvement of the masses, viz. :—

	1860.	1870.	1880.
No. of depositors . . .	1,470,000 ...	2,230,000 ...	4,100,000
Amount . . .	£16,350,000 ...	£45,110,000 ...	£105,320,000

More eloquent, however, than any of the above figures is the simple fact that the average consumption of meat per inhabitant was 48 lbs. in 1859, and 84 lbs. in 1880.

Austria-Hungary.—We have returns of rural proprietors, but no guide to the incomes of urban populations, which compels me to omit Austria from the list of classified countries under inspection. The rural assessments are as follows:—

	Land owners.
Over £10 tax	56,514
£20 to £10 „	162,218
£8 to £20 „	584,300
£4 to £8 „	675,100
Under £4 „	4,673,092
	<hr/> 6,151,224

Like the Cotes Foncières in France, it is supposed that these holdings are exactly double the number of owners, and that the whole of Austria-Hungary is held thus:—

	Number		Acres.		Average.
Nobles	56,514	...	62,000,000	...	1,100
Peasants	3,431,000	...	72,000,000	..	21

Only thirty-three years ago the peasants did not own an acre of land in this vast monarchy, for it was not until 1849 that the present Emperor introduced the same reforms that Stein had inaugurated in Prussia forty years before. The moral and material progress made by the common people in recent years may be measured by the following figures:—School children in 1840 were five per cent. of population, and in 1876 over nine per cent. Savings-banks deposits in 1870 were 40½ millions, and in 1880 nearly 85 millions sterling.

Italy.—The income-tax returns for 1879 are voluminous, and may be reduced to four heads, to which must be added the peasantry, when the whole will stand as follows:—

	Families		Total income. Millions £.
Over £2,000	462	...	5
£200 to £2,000	8,021	...	8
£80 to £200	22,510	...	3
Under £80	203,223	...	12
Peasants	5,432,100	...	214
	<hr/> 5,666,100	...	<hr/> 242

The lower orders have in late years evinced a growing spirit of industry and economy, notwithstanding the tremendous expenditure of the Government for soldiers and ironclads, which weighs heaviest on the peasantry. Happily the grist tax was abolished last year, and so much has the general condition of the people improved that the other taxes produced much more than the estimates, and covered the deficit that otherwise would have resulted. The savings'-banks confirm this favourable turn of affairs, and show as follows:—

	1860.		1870.		1880.
No of depositors	960,000	...	1,340,000	...	1,820,000
Amount	£6,130,00	...	£14,360,000	...	£28,080,000

Ten more years of peace will suffice to put Italy on the high road to prosperity.

Spain.—The Registro Catastral, a species of Doomsday Book, gives us the rent-roll of every man in Spain, from the Duke of Osuna, with his 400 farm-bailiffs, down to the humblest Gallego, and also the number of *patentes* which each trade or profession pays annually, not omitting a single water-carrier in Madrid nor a gipsy shepherd of the Alpujarras. From the amount of *patente*, or licence, we can estimate the income, and reduce the whole population under four heads, as follows:—

Class.	Number.	Average incomes.	Amount. Millions £
Over £20 tax . . .	25,120	£880	22
£5 to £20 tax . . .	136,110	140	19
£1 to £5 tax . . .	761,200	63	48
Under £1 tax . . .	2,576,410	37	96
	3,498,840	53	185

The average income is low, and the country has suffered lamentably from civil wars, but still more from a barbarous Customs system which checks legitimate trade, to the benefit of *contrabandistas*. There is, nevertheless, a silver lining to the cloud, for the industrious farmers of Biscay, Catalonia, and Andalusia are steadily rising in the world; the number of landowners having increased from 274,000 in 1840 to 596,000 in 1875, irrespective of a still larger number of the peasantry and middle class who have purchased house-property in the towns and villages. Since the accession of King Alfonso there has been a notable improvement in the condition of the country; the importation of coal and machinery has trebled, the exports have risen 40 per cent., and the moral advancement is no less striking. Last year the number of letters sent through the post-office, compared with population, was five times greater than in 1846, the ratio of persons who can read has doubled, and the school children, as compared with 1861, have increased 75 per cent.

Russia.—If Peter the Great could have built up a middle class as easily as he raised his capital on the banks of the Neva he would have indeed proved the father of his country. The empire may be said to consist of princes and peasants, viz.:—

	Number	Millions £.	Average income.
Princes . . .	24,746	92	£3,800
Merchants . . .	123,200	25	200
Peasants . . .	16,254,100	526	33
	16,402,046	643	39

Yet even here we have a great improvement to record, for only twenty years ago the serfs were bought and sold like cattle, and now they 149 million acres of land, valued at 300 millions sterling. The emancipation may be summed up thus:—

6,117,000	Crown serfs received	84,000,000	acres.
8,584,000	others have purchased	55,000,000	"
1,551,000	are still paying for	10,000,000	"
16,251,000	have obtained	149,000,000	"

Although the farms are less than ten acres for each male peasant, the measure has produced such an advance in agriculture that the export of grain in the years 1875-79 was seven times greater than it used to be before the emancipation.

III.—GENERAL COMPARISON AND RESULTS.

In the preceding pages I have shown the numerical progress that the various nations have made in many important particulars, but there are many other points in which figures are of no assistance, and yet unquestionable proofs of the "levelling up" of the social strata. Why do we no longer see heggars sold by auction in Holland, or women yoked to the plough in Belgium, or little chimney-sweeps smothered in London chimneys, as forty years ago? Simply because of the rise of the middle class. And if England is still ahead of the rest of Europe she owes her proud position to the fact that no other country has so numerous a middle class as ours.

The following table shows the ratio of each class, and average income, in the various countries.

	Ratio.				Average		
	Rich.	Middle	Working		Rich.	Middle	Working
United Kingdom .	3.36	27.33	69.31	...	£1,500	200	100
France . . .	2.05	21.61	76.31	...	800	200	85
Germany . . .	1.28	7.80	91.42	...	734	160	76
Italy . . .	0.55	8.57	95.88	...	520	60	40
Spain . . .	0.72	3.88	95.40	...	880	110	48
Russia . . .	0.15	0.75	99.10	...	3,800	200	33

This is a sectional view of society, showing the thickness of the three strata, a consideration of the highest importance in studying the phenomena of everyday life. But there is another matter of not inferior interest, the ratio of collective income in the various countries falling to each class, which is shown as follows:—

	Millions sterling.				Ratio		
	Rich.	Middle	Working.		Rich.	Middle	Working
United Kingdom .	334	468	463	...	26.40	37.10	36.50
France . . .	127	323	505	..	18.20	34.40	52.40
Germany . . .	88	110	652	...	10.35	12.95	76.70
Italy . . .	16	12	214	...	6.66	5.00	88.34
Spain . . .	22	19	111	...	11.90	10.30	77.80
Russia . . .	92	25	526	...	11.10	3.20	81.70
Total . . .	679	967	2,504	...	16.40	23.35	60.25

It is worthy of special notice that in countries where the earnings of the working class form the bulk of the national income, as in Russia and Italy, the people are not so well fed or prosperous as in those where the working class figures for less, such as Great Britain

and France. The manifest inference is that a nation composed chiefly of hewers of wood and drawers of water is not to be desired, and that the more we endeavour to make machinery, as in England, supply the place of manual labour the more we exalt the masses and improve the condition of society.

There are, indeed, some well-meaning people, who say that it is a mistake to improve the lower orders, and that they were happier before. Did not Goldsmith see the peasants dancing on the banks of the Loire when they were too poor to eat bread? But if he visited France a few years later, he would have been convinced that dancing peasants are no proof of a nation's prosperity. We must elevate the masses, morally and socially, not for philanthropy or Quixotic sentiment, but for the same motive that we carry out sanitary improvements—the instinct of self-preservation.

M. G. MULHALL.

Note on the Depreciation of Money.—The average cost of maintaining a family of five persons is now almost 15 per cent. greater than in 1840, which is the same as to say that money has depreciated 13 per cent., since £100 now buys no more than £87 would have done in 1840. The following is compiled from Tooke's prices for the average of 1836-40, and the Board of Trade prices for 1876-80:—

Yearly consumption for family of five persons.	1836-40. £ s. d.	1876-80. £ s. d.
Meat, 600 lbs.	16 5 0	24 8 0
Wheat, 30 bushels . . .	11 12 0	8 5 0
Sugar, 280 lbs.	4 10 0	3 0 0
Tea, 20 lbs.	2 7 0	1 10 0
Butter, 60 lbs.	2 10 0	3 10 0
Coal, 5 tons	2 12 6	2 12 0
Iron, 10 cwt.	3 3 0	1 10 0
Cotton cloth, 150 yards .	3 15 0	2 3 0
Woollen cloth, 40 yards .	10 2 0	6 1 0
Linen cloth, 50 yards . .	1 16 0	1 15 0
Servant	12 0 0	18 0 0
House-rent	9 10 0	16 0 0
Taxes and rates	12 12 0	17 10 0
	£92 14 0	£108 4 0

The consumption is according to the present average, but it was much lower per inhabitant in 1840. The rent is the ratio derived from the Government valuation, divided by the number of houses existing in the two periods.

HAS SCIENCE YET FOUND A NEW BASIS FOR MORALITY?

TO ask whether Science has yet found a new basis for Morality, or even to answer that question in the negative, is a widely different thing from saying that Morality cannot exist without religion. It is still more widely different, if possible, from imputing immoral tendencies to Science. No sane being doubts that the tendency of truth of every kind is moral, or that the tendency of falsehood of every kind, if persisted in, is immoral. But we are not bound to accept at once as science everything that is tendered as such by scientific men on subjects with which perhaps they have not long been familiar, and at a time when the excitement created by great discoveries is sure to give birth to a certain proportion of chimeras. If we were, we should have to accept the theory of the Automaton Man, which has been pressed upon us by the very highest scientific authority with a confidence bordering on the despotic, and that of the "Citizen Atoms," which, according to Haeckel, while diffused through space, concerted among themselves the structure of the world. Nor in any case can we allow ourselves to be hurried headlong by the current of new opinion into negative any more than into positive conclusions; above all, when the abjuration of a belief involves not merely a change in treatises of philosophy, but the greatest practical consequences, such as the abolition of religion. For abolished religion ought to be, and must be, as soon as it is proved to be founded on falsehood; the proposal of freethinkers, like Renan, to keep up the system as the means of restraining the vulgar and protecting the refined enjoyments of the cultivated, being no less shallow and, in an age of educated artizans, impracticable than it is repugnant to morality. We may accept with admiration and gratitude Darwin's scientific discoveries without feeling ourselves obliged to draw from them inferences which the discoverer himself has not drawn. We may recognize the breaches

made by science, history, and criticism in the evidences not only of Christianity but of Natural Religion; we may admit with sadness that the world is at present left without positive proof, in a producible form, of articles of belief deemed but a few years ago as indisputable as they were fundamental; yet we may decline at once to pronounce that the religious sentiment in man is devoid of meaning, and that the evidences are absolutely incapable of rational reconstruction. Doubt, frankly avowed, and coupled with a resolve under all perplexities to be patient and see what the future of inquiry may have in store, is the attitude, as I am persuaded, of many men of science in whose characters caution and reverence have a place, as well as of many thoughtful and cultivated men of the world.*

* I take thus the first available opportunity, of saying that a paper professing to be a critique of three articles of mine—two in *Macmillan's* and one in the *Athletic Monthly*,—on subjects akin to that of the present paper, by Miss Louisa Bevington, which appeared in the *Portsmouth Review* of August last, was as complete a misrepresentation of the import of those articles, of their spirit, and, above all, of the attitude of their writer towards science and scientific men as angry prejudice could produce. The most recent of the three articles attacked had appeared in the *Athletic Monthly* a year and nine months before this sudden outpouring of the vials of philosophy west; the immediate motive for which it is difficult to divine. The nature of my offence however is apparent enough. In her exordium, Miss Bevington discloses her intention of suppressing what she is pleased to term the "noisy literature" of people like me who accept Darwin's scientific discoveries, and yet refuse, as at present advised, to draw inferences which, as has been said in the text, Darwin himself has not drawn, and which he has given us no reason for believing that he is disposed to draw. She hardly displays the spirit of the philosophy of which she is the devotee. The highly evolved ought to have patience while inferior creatures are going through the necessary stages of their evolution. I am charged with "reading Evolutionism into the views of persons not commonly credited with paramount scientific authority, for the purpose of taking it out again ethically besmudged and reeking with the blood of the weaker peoples." If the charge were true it would justify any amount of denunciation, and almost any mixture of metaphors. But the passages of my three articles on which Miss Bevington founds it and which she represents as the main purport and substance of the articles, though in truth they are of the most censorious kind, and comprise in all only three or four sentences, do not relate to evolution at all: they relate to the doctrine of the moral inequality of races, and their different claims to legal protection, put forth by Professor Tyndall at the time of the Jamaica affair. Professor Tyndall, not Dr. Darwin, is the "eminent man" to whom I allude as I have thought that anybody who remembered the Jamaica controversy would have known. To the scientific doctrine of evolution I gave the frankest and most unhesitating acknowledgment "that it was unspeakably momentous, and that great was the debt of gratitude due to its illustrious authors." Thus Miss Bevington does not quote. But she satisfies her sense of justice by alluding to the passage as "certain ethical admissions favourable rather than not to the evolution hypothesis." I am incapable of such folly as ascribing immoral consequences to any genuine discovery of science. Science, in collaboration with historical philosophy and literary criticism, is breaking up religious beliefs; and the break-up of religious beliefs is attended, as experience seems to show, with danger to popular morality. To say this, and to illustrate it historically, as I did in the *Athletic* is a very different thing from saying that science is immoral. The inroads made, not more by science than by the other agencies and influences enumerated, on the Evidences of Religion have been recognized by me in the article on "The Prospect of a Moral Interregnum," with a freedom which must, I should think, have shown anybody not blinded by philosophical antipathy, that it would be absurdly unjust to identify me with reactionary and obscurantist orthodoxy. My position, frankly avowed in all the articles is that of doubt. I think I may venture to say that no one who is acquainted with me, and knows what my course has been on University questions and questions of education generally, will deny my loyalty to genuine science. Instead of disparaging the morality of scientific men, I have expressly recognized their moral superiority as a class, only pointing out that we cannot reason from their case—that of the multitude. To those of the number who served on the Jamaica Committee, we paid the best tribute in my power by saying that they were "among the foremost spirits of humanity on that occasion"; as Miss Bevington finds herself compelled with manifest reluctance to admit. There can be no harm in saying that the passage was used in the second *Macmillan* article to satisfy Mr. Herbert Spencer, who, as I learned in conversation with him, had misconstrued, strangely as it appeared to me, a passage in

He must be a scientific optimist indeed who refuses to admit that society has come to a critical juncture. That the rule of human life may ultimately be placed on grounds wholly independent of religion is a possibility which, once more, is not here disputed, though it is reasonable to wait for the demonstration of experience. But the interval may be one of serious disturbance. To use an undignified comparison, the crustacean may be sure to get another shell, but he will be soft in the meantime. It seems impossible to question the fact that the morality of the mass of the people, at all events, has hitherto been greatly bound up with their religious belief. Ecclesiastical dogma may have had no effect on them; perhaps it has had worse than none, inasmuch as it has put forms in place of moral realities—an evil equally great whether the forms are articles in irrational creeds or outward observances. But can it be maintained that the belief in an All-seeing Eye—in infallible, inflexible, and all-powerful Justice—in a sure reward for well-doing and a sure retribution for evil-doing—has been without influence on the conduct of the mass of mankind, or that its departure is likely to be attended by no consequences of importance? There are two miners, say, by themselves, and far from human eye, in the wilds of the Far West: one has found a rich nugget, the other has toiled and found nothing. What hinders the man who has found nothing, if he is the stronger or the better armed, from slaying his mate as he would a buffalo, and taking the gold? Surely, in part at least, the feeling, drawn from the Christian society in which his youth was passed, that what is not seen by man is seen by God, and that, though the victim himself may be weak and defenceless, irresistible power is on his side. I say in part only; I say at present only; and, once more, I do not prejudge the question as to the possible appearance of an independent and self-sustaining morality in the future. We dwell too exclusively on the restraining principle. Who can doubt that religion has, as a matter of fact, largely impelled to virtue; that it has formed

the first. I assured him that I felt, and had always expressed in public and private, the greatest admiration and gratitude for the noble conduct of Mr. Huxley and others of that school in the *Humanitarian* business, and that if there was any possibility of misapprehension on the subject, I would take the first opportunity of removing it. In what respect I failed to fulfil my promise I am at a loss to see. I could not say that science was the main support of the movement in the country; the main support of this, as of the Ant Slavery movement Miss Bevington would have found, if she had carried her statistical researches a little further, was the Christianity of the Free Churches. What a political clergy might do from political motives, could in no way affect religion. That in the case even of the men of science, a philanthropy, the offspring of the Christianity in which we have all been nurtured, was likely to be the inspiring influence rather than Anthropology, was an opinion for which I had my reasons, and which at all events was not offensive. In the interest of scientific truth Miss Bevington does not shrink from affecting to believe that I am assailing science when I deprecate the invasion of Afghanistan in quest of "a scientific frontier." Nor does she shrink from making up a quotation out of two passages, one of which is taken from an article in *Nature*, the other from an article in the *Athletic Monthly*, and which, if they relate to the same controversy, do not relate to the same persons. The tone of the article in the *Fortnightly* was such as could hardly fail to act as a warning against too ready an acceptance of its statements. But anything published in so eminent a journal goes forth with some authority, and the idea, that a large circle of readers might be led utterly to misapprehend my feelings towards science and men of science, gave me, I confess, some pain.

characters at once of great force and of great beneficence ; that it has sustained philanthropy and social progress ? Who can doubt that many good and noble works have been, and are still being performed, from love of God and from a love of man which is inspired by belief in our common relations to God ? Who can doubt that heroes and reformers have been led to face peril, to risk their lives in the service of their kind, by the conviction that they were doing the Divine Will, and that while they were doing it they would be in the Divine keeping ? Would it be so easy even to man a life-boat if all the ideas and all the hopes which centre in the village church were taken out of the seaman's heart ? Go to the beach ; tell the men that if they sink there will be an end for ever of them, and of their connections with those whom they love ; are you sure they will not be rather less ready to take an oar ?

Hundreds of thousands have suffered death for their religion. Is it conceivable that the belief for which they died can have had no influence on their lives ? Is it conceivable that the influence can have been confined to the martyrs ? Is not Christendom almost coextensive with moral civilization ? And does not the whole face of Christendom—do not its literature, its art, its architecture, show that religion has been its soul ? So, at least, thought that eminent Agnostic who pronounced the eighteen centuries of Christianity a retrogression from the happy and scientific age of Tiberius, and by that strange burst of anti-theistic frenzy showed that we may have to be on our guard against a fanaticism of hostility to religion as well as against a fanaticism of religion.

The opinion of those who are confident that no moral disturbance is coming, but, on the contrary, a great and universal improvement in morality, might have more weight with us if we were sure that their eyes were turned in the right direction. But their observation is apt to be limited, or too much directed to the circle of scientific men around them. Scientific men are pretty sure to be above the average in point of morality ; they have dedicated themselves to a high calling, they are elevated by its pursuits, they are free from the more violent passions, and removed from the coarser temptations. For the signs of change we must look rather to the scenes on which men struggle for wealth or power, and the social regions in which the common vices prevail. We must look to the multitudes, who being now told that they have no hope beyond this world, are apparently making up their minds to have as large a share of the goods and pleasures of this world as their force will give them. Communism, Intransigentism, and Nihilism, are not well represented in scientific reunions. They who sat round the dinner table of Helvetius, and congratulated each other on the coming of an age of reason and happiness, were the destined victims, not the workers, of the guillotine.

Moreover, as has been said before, the intellectual world, at all events,

is still in the twilight of religion. That expression is indeed too weak in the case of the Positivists, who, not only call themselves a church, but make good their claim to the title by sermons which would do the highest honour to any pulpit, and, though they prefer the name of Humanity to that of God, must be really worshipping a Deity, not an abstract term, which would be as deaf to prayers or praise as a stock or a stone. An abstract term, in truth, would be rather less susceptible of adoration than that which, like a stock or a stone, has at all events a real existence. But even the man of intellect who rejects all churches and all worship has still sentiments, hopes, and a conscience formed under the influence of Christianity. The same thing is indicated by the repudiation of the name Atheist, and the adoption of the strange term Agnostic. Blank absence of belief or inclination either way is probably an impossible frame of mind; in nine cases out of ten, when a man calls himself an Agnostic, he most likely means that he retains his belief in the existence of a God, though without being able to present the proof distinctly to himself. The very term law, which physical science continues to use, though we can physically be cognizant of nothing beyond general facts, has a theistic significance, and carries with it a certain sense of religious elevation and comfort. Small probably, as yet, is the number of those who have fairly looked in the face Blind Force and Annihilation.

But to the present question. A heroic physician—we remember to have come across the case in some Italian history—finding that a new and mysterious plague is ravaging his city, devotes himself to the preservation of his fellow-citizens, shuts himself up with a subject, takes his observations, consigns them to writing, and feeling the poison in his own veins, goes calmly to the hospital to die. On the other hand, a man, between whom and a great fortune there stands a single life, takes that life in such a way as to escape suspicion, gets possession of the fortune, and instead of a life of drudgery to which he would otherwise have been doomed, passes his days in the healthy development of all his faculties, in the enjoyment of every pleasure, intellectual and social, as well as physical, amidst the troops of friends and grateful dependants with which his hospitality and munificence surrounds him, and after an existence prolonged by comfort, ease, and immunity from care, dies universally honoured and lamented. Why is the first man happy, and the second miserable? Theism, on its own hypothesis, has an answer ready. What is the answer of Agnostic science? We must prefix an epithet, because without it a distinction drawn between Science and Theism begs the question. A rational Theist maintains that Theism is Science.

We are likely to find the answer, if anywhere, in the "Data of Ethics," by Mr. Herbert Spencer—a book belonging to a series which has earned for its author, from Darwin himself, the title of "our great philosopher;" and which every one, whether he accepts its general conclusions or not,

will allow to exhibit powers of acute criticism, and to be written in a most lucid and attractive style.

Mr. Spencer commences, as might have been expected, not with humanity, but with the molluscs, and treats men simply as the last (he says the highest, but we have a *careat* to enter against that phrase) of the Evolutionary series. His tests of right and wrong in the actions of the most evolved of animals, as in the case of the least evolved, are pleasure and pain—pleasure denoting that the action is favourable, pain that it is unfavourable, to the vitality of the organism. His "supreme end" is "increased duration," together, if we understand his phraseology rightly, with increased intensity, "of life." An authoritative conscience, duty, virtue, obligation, principle, and rectitude of motive, no more enter into his definitions, or form parts of his system, than does the religious sanction. Of that which constitutes moral beauty, he has no word. Actions of a kind purely pleasant are absolutely right. The highest instance of right conduct is a mother suckling her child, because "there is at once to the mother gratification, and to the child satisfaction of appetite, a satisfaction which accompanies furtherance of life, growth, and increasing enjoyment." That the action is a mere performance of a function of nature, involving the exertion of no high quality, does not lower its place in the scale. Conduct, even the noblest and most heroic, which has any concomitant of pain or any painful consequence, is, to that extent, wrong, and the highest claim to be made for such conduct is that it is the least wrong which under the conditions is possible. We need not shrink from the hypothesis, or even commit ourselves to the rejection of it. Possibly the conclusion ultimately reached may be that Man is nothing but the highest mammal, and in that case the hypothesis will be true. The present question is, whether it affords a new basis for morality.

Applying the tests, then, to the cases mentioned, we find that the action of the Italian physician is at least partly wrong: it gives him pain, and instead of prolonging or intensifying, terminates his own life; it is ethically inferior to that of a Kaffir woman suckling her child. On the other hand, the action of the murderer is at least partly right: to himself it is unquestionably productive of a great deal of pleasure, and by releasing him from toil which might have been injurious to his health, it very likely prolongs his life, and certainly intensifies his enjoyment. The benefit extends to his family, and to all those who will profit by his judicious and liberal use of the wealth which comes into his hands. If the murdered man was a fool, a niggard, or a selfish voluptuary, who would have made no use of his riches or have used them ill, it really may be said that all the visible and calculable consequences of the action are good. One human life, indeed, is sacrificed, but from Mr. Spencer's point of view nothing can be said about the indefeasible sacredness of human life. Sacredness in general, and the sacredness of human life in particular, are religious conceptions, and as such have

no place in his philosophy. Man may be "the highest of mammals," but is there any assignable reason why you should not put him, as well as any other inconvenient mammal, out of your way? When a stag gores his fellow-stag to death, that he may have exclusive possession of the does, we do not think that he does anything wrong, but, on the contrary, regard his action as a striking instance of the law of natural selection carried into effect through the struggle for existence. Mr. Spencer may say, and does say, that a few æons hence, by the progress of evolution, or, to use his own formula, by "our advance towards heterogeneity," matters will be so adjusted, and men will have become so sensible of altruistic pleasure, that it will be not less disagreeable to you to kill your neighbour than to be killed yourself. But the murderer, if this is pressed upon him, will say, "A few æons hence I shall be out of the way; I will do that which, as it brings me present pleasure, with increased duration and intensity of life, is, as far as I am concerned, right." It is not very apparent what answer could be made. We are in quest, be it observed, at present, not of a moral horoscope of humanity, but of motives which, by making the men of our day—not the Herbert Spencers, but the ordinary men—do good and abstain from evil, shall save the world from a moral interregnum.

Pleasure is relative to the organism. There is no such thing as a type or ideal of perfection. This also Mr. Spencer lays down with the same distinctness with which he lays it down that pleasure and pain are the sole and universal tests of right and wrong in conduct. The master will perhaps be somewhat startled by seeing his twofold doctrine developed under the fearless hands of one of his disciples. Dr. Van Buren Denslow, the author of "Modern Thinkers," is one of the Americans who, sometimes with more of mother wit than of erudition, are grappling vigorously, and in a practical spirit, with the great problems of the age. His work is introduced with a preface by Mr. Robert Ingersoll, the foremost teacher of Agnosticism on that continent. The Doctor is a profound admirer of Mr. Spencer, whom he depicts, in grandiose language, as assisting in the majesty of science at the birth of worlds. But he wants to push the Agnostic principle to its logical conclusion, which, according to him, is, that there is no such thing as a moral law, irrespectively of the will of the strongest:—

"It is generally believed to be moral to tell the truth, and immoral to lie. And yet it would be difficult to prove that nature prefers the true to the false. Everywhere she makes the false impression first, and only after years, or thousands of years, do we become able to detect her in her lies. . . . Nature endows almost every animal with the faculty of deceit in order to aid it in escaping from the brute force of its superiors. Why, then, should not man be endowed with the faculty of lying when it is to his interest to appear wise concerning matters of which he is ignorant? Lying is often a refuge to the weak, a stepping-stone to power, a ground of reverence toward those who live by getting credit for knowing what they do not know. No one doubts that it is right for the maternal partridge to feign lameness, a broken wing or leg, in order to conceal her young in

flight, by causing the pursuer to suppose he can more easily catch her than her offspring. From whence, then, in nature, do we derive the fact that a human being may not properly tell an untruth with the same motive? Our early histories, sciences, poetries, and theologies are all false, yet they comprehend by far the major part of human thought. Priesthoods have ruled the world by deceiving our tender souls, and yet they command our most enduring reverence. Where, then, do we discover that any law of universal nature prefers truth to falsehood, any more than oxygen to nitrogen, or alkalis to salts? So habituated have we become to assume that truth-telling is a virtue, that nothing is more difficult than to tell how we came to assume it, nor is it easy of proof that it is a virtue in an unrestricted sense. What would be thought of the military strategist who made no flints, of the advertisement that contained no lie, of the business man whose polite suavity covered no falsehood?

"Inasmuch as all moral rules are in the first instance impressed by the strong, the dominant, the matured, and the successful upon the weak, the crouching, the infantile, and the servile, it would not be strange if a close analysis and a minute historical research should concur in proving that all moral rules are doctrines established by the strong for the government of the weak. It is invariably the strong who require the weak to tell the truth, and always to promote some interest of the strong. . . .

"Thou shalt not steal, is a moral precept invented by the strong, the matured, the successful, and by them impressed upon the weak, the infantile, and the failures in life's struggle, as all criminals are. For nowhere in the world has the sign ever been blazoned on the shop doors of a successful business man, 'closed because the proprietor prefers crime to industry.' Universal society might be pictured, for the illustration of this feature of the moral code, as consisting of two sets of swine, one of which is in the clover, and the other is out. The swine that are in the clover, grunt, 'Thou shalt not steal, put up the bars.' The swine that are out of the clover grunt, 'Did you make the clover? let down the bars.' 'Thou shalt not steal' is a maxim impressed by property holders upon non-property holders. It is not only conceivable, but it is absolute verity, that a sufficient deprivation of property, and force, and delicacy of temptation, would compel every one who utters it to steal, if he could get an opportunity. In a philosophic sense, therefore, it is not a universal, but a class law; its prevalence and obedience indicate that the property holders rule society, which is itself an index of advance toward civilization. No one would say that if a lion lay gorged with his excessive feast amidst the scattered carcasses of a deer, and a jaguar or a hyena stealthily bore away a haunch thereof, the act of the hyena was less virtuous than that of the lion. How does the case of two bushmen, between whom the same incident occurs, differ from that of the two quadrupeds? Each is doing that which tends in the highest degree to his own preservation, and it may be assumed that the party against whom the spoliation is committed is not injured at all by it. Among many savage tribes theft is taught as a virtue, and detection is punished as a crime. . . . Having control of the forces of society, the strong can always legislate, or order, or wheedle, or preach, or assume other people's money and land out of their possession into their own, by methods which are not known as stealing, since instead of violating the law they inspire and create the law. But if the under dog in the social fight runs away with a bone in violation of superior force, the top dog runs after him bellowing, 'Thou shalt not steal,' and all the other top dogs unite in bellowing, 'This is Divine law and not dog law;' the verdict of the top dog, so far as law, religion, and other forms of brute force are concerned, settles the question. But philosophy will see in this contest of antagonistic forces, a mere play of opposing elements, in which larceny is an incident of social weakness and unfitness to survive, just as debility and leprosy are; and would as soon assume a Divine command, 'Thou shalt not break out in boils and sores' to the weakling or leper, as one of 'Thou shalt not steal' to the failing struggler for subsistence. So far as the irresistible promptings

of nature may be said to constitute a Divine law, there are really two laws. The law to him who will be injured by stealing, is, 'Thou shalt not steal,' meaning thereby 'Thou shalt not suffer another to steal from you.' The law to him who cannot survive without stealing, is simply, 'Thou shalt, in stealing, avoid being detected.'

"So the laws forbidding unchastity were framed by those who, in the earlier periods of civilization, could afford to own women, for the protection of their property rights in them, against the poor who could not. . . . We do not mean, by this course of reasoning, to imply that the strong in society can, or ought to be governed by the weak: that is neither possible, nor, if possible, would it be any improvement. We only assert that moral precepts are largely the selfish maxims expressive of the will of the ruling forces in society, those who have health, wealth, knowledge, and power, and are designed wholly for their own protection and the maintenance of their power. They represent the view of the winning side, in the struggle for subsistence, while the true interior law of nature would represent a varying combat in which two laws would appear: viz., that known as the moral or majority law, and that known as the immoral or minority law, which commands a violation of the other."

This is strong doctrine, and the passage seemed worth extracting at length. It is curious, both as a specimen of the practical tendencies of a certain school of thought, and as a reply to the historical scepticism which refuses to believe that the teaching of the Sophists really was what it is represented to have been by Socrates and Plato. It would also seem to be a pretty conclusive answer to those who deride the apprehension of a moral interregnum, and feel confident that society is going to sail, without interruption or disturbance of its rule of conduct, out of the zone of theistic into that of scientific morality. It appears that between one state and the other there may be an interval in which the question will be not between the moral and the immoral, but between the top and the under dog.

The Marquis of Steyne is an organism, and, like all other organisms, so long as he succeeds in maintaining himself against competing organisms, is able to make good his title to existence under the law of natural selection. He has his pleasures: they are not those of a St. Paul, or a Shakespeare, or a Wilberforce, but they are his. They make him happy, according to the only measure of happiness which he can conceive; and if he is cautious, as a sagacious voluptuary will be, they need not diminish his vitality, they may even increase it both in duration and intensity, though they may play havoc with the welfare of a number of victims and dependants. He may successively seduce a score of women without bad consequences to himself. Why is he doing wrong? In the name of what do you peremptorily summon him to return to the path of virtue? In the name of altruistic pleasure? He happens to be one of those organisms which are not capable of it. In the name of a state of society which is to come into existence long after he has mouldered to dust in the family mausoleum of the Gaunts? His reply will furnish the Anthropologist with a fine illustration of the faculty of facial expression. Suppose you could induce him to try a course of virtue, or of altruism, if the term is more scientific, what in

his case would be the practical result? Would it not be a painful conflict between passion and conscience, or perhaps, in the terms of the Evolutionary philosophy, between presented sensations on the one hand, and represented or re-represented sensations on the other? Is it not probable that he would end his days before that conflict had been brought to a close? Its fruits, however imperfect, would, of course, be both happy and precious in the estimation of Theism; but in the estimation of the philosophy embodied in the "Data of Ethics," what could they be but pleasure, unquestionable pleasure, lost, and pain, pain of a very distressing kind, incurred? And so with other organisms, which, as Dr. Van Buren Denslow would say, are pursuing their peculiar and congenial, though conventionally reprobated walks of life. The assassin, the robber, and the sharper have their status in nature, as well as any other members of the predatory tribes. It is possible that by the gradual triumph of Industry over Militarism, and the general progress of Evolution, those changes which Mr. Spencer confidently predicts may be brought about. The wolf may become as the lamb, and may even in the general competition for altruistic pleasures tenderly conjure the lamb to eat him. At present he is a wolf—a wolf with two legs it may be, and with the other physiological attributes of the highest of the mammals—yet as much at liberty as the lowest of the mammals to gratify his appetites so long as he does not eat any one who will disagree with him.

The author of the "Data of Ethics" discusses, in three lively and interesting chapters, Altruism and its relations to Egoism. But Dr. Van Buren Denslow flouts all this as "theological," and wonders that his sage should have allowed himself to be so much affected by the atmosphere of modern Christianity. The doctor hits the nail hard as usual, and there seems reason to suspect that he hits it on the head. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," is commonly cited as the precept of the Gospel. But the full commandment is, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself." Supposing the Theistic hypothesis to be true, and the communion of the Christian Church to represent a reality, to love one's neighbour as oneself is rational: if the two are members of each other, each in loving the other loves himself, and there is no need of any elaborate comparison or arbitration. But on any other hypothesis it seems difficult to press the claims of Altruism on an Egoistic organism. You must alter the organism, or wait till it is eliminated by Evolution. If a man is selfish, his pleasures will be selfish; and there, so far as we can see, according to the philosophy of the "Data of Ethics," is an end of the question.

Hear once more Dr. Van Buren Denslow:—

"The unphilosophical element in Herbert Spencer's scheme is its dogmatical assumption that there is a moral law, philosophically deducible by argument from the facts of nature; that this moral law is unique and single, not dual, though all

the forces of nature whose study is to lead up to the knowledge of this law are dual and not single; that while at some points it may not yet be clearly definable, yet all the facts indicate both its existence and its philosophical deductibility from nature. On this point he says, p. 282: 'For reasons already pointed out a code of perfect personal conduct can never be made definite. Many forms of life, diverging from one another in considerable degrees, may be so carried on in society as entirely to fulfil the conditions of harmonious co-operation. And if various types of men, adapted to various types of activities, may thus lead lives that are severally complete after their kinds, no specific statement of the activities universally required for personal well-being is possible. But though the particular requirements to be fulfilled for perfect individual well-being, must vary, along with variations in the material conditions of each society, certain general requirements have to be fulfilled by the individuals of all societies. . . . Perfection of individual life hence implies certain modes of action which are approximately alike in all cases, and which therefore become part of the subject-matter of ethics. That it is possible to reduce even this restricted part to scientific definiteness, can scarcely be said. But ethical requirements can here be to such extent affiliated upon physical necessities as to give them a partially scientific character. . . . That it will ever be practicable to lay down precise rules for private conduct in conformity with such requirements, may be doubted. But the function of absolute ethics in relation to private conduct will have been discharged, when it has produced the warrant for its requirements as generally expressed [*i.e.*, that the individual should so promote his own pleasure as not to mar the pleasure of others]; when it has shown the imperativeness of obedience to them; and when it has thus taught the need for deliberately considering whether the conduct fulfils them as well as may be.'

"While Spencer gives away reluctantly nearly his whole position here (for of what value is an ethical system which can shed no light on the path of private duty?), yet the small portion he retains is retained unjustly, and must be surrendered. An ethical system which boils down into an exhortation to all men to promote their own interests, has no ethical quality left in it; for, as we have seen, the mere doing of that which is clearly essential to self-preservation pertains to business and not to morals; since, to have a moral quality, an act must raise the question, *Is it right?* which mere attention to business does not raise, any more than the flight of birds, the falling of water, or the explosion of gases."

The nearest thing to an authoritative and universal rule which we get in the "Data of Ethics," is the assertion that "the life of the social organism must, as a rule, rank above the lives of its units." Supposing even that society is in any but a figurative sense an organism with a life of its own distinct from those of its members, this canon, as it stands in Mr. Spencer's pages, appears to be almost as much a dogma and as little supported by demonstration, as anything in the Athanasian Creed. Prove to a man, if you can, that to enjoy his own pleasure he must avoid interfering with the pleasure of others, obtain the co-operation of his fellows, and pay a certain tribute to the interests of society. But to tell him that where there is a question between the life or the pleasure of the Social organism and his life or pleasure, the claim of the Social organism must rank first, is to tell him what, we venture to think, you will not be able to prove with any arguments supplied by the "Data of Ethics," the reasonings of which, like the promptings of nature apart from Theism, point rather the other way. The chapter on the Sociological View of Ethics is not, at least I have not found it, the

clearest in a book generally remarkable for perspicuity : but if I do not mistake, it forecasts a diminution of the claims of society on the allegiance of the individual man, in proportion as Militarism gives way to Industry, and the need of protection against the violence of other social organisms becomes less.

In one remarkable passage Mr. Spencer seems practically to avow the inability of his principle to settle what have hitherto been deemed the plainest questions of morality :—

"In men's wider relations frequently occur circumstances under which a decision one or other way is imperative, and yet under which not even the most sensitive conscience, helped by the clearest judgment, can decide which of the alternatives is relatively right. Two examples will suffice. . . . Here is a merchant who loses by the failure of a man indebted to him. Unless he gets help he himself will fail; and if he fails he will bring disaster not only on his family but on all who have given him credit. Even if by borrowing he is enabled to meet immediate engagements, he is not safe; for the time is one of panic, and others of his debtors by going to the wall may put him in further difficulties. Shall he ask a friend for a loan? On the one hand, is it not wrong forthwith to bring on himself, his family, and those who have business relations with him, the evils of his failure? On the other hand, is it not wrong to hypothecate the property of his friend, and lead him too, with his belongings and dependants, into similar risks? The loan would probably tide him over his difficulty; in which case would it not be unjust to his creditors did he refrain from asking it? Contrariwise, the loan would very possibly fail to stave off his bankruptcy; in which case is not his action in trying to obtain it practically fraudulent? Though in extreme cases it may be easy to say which course is the least wrong, how is it possible in all those medium cases where even by the keenest man of business the contingencies cannot be calculated? . . . Take, again, the difficulties that not unfrequently arise from antagonism between family duties and social duties. Here is a tenant farmer whose political principles prompt him to vote in opposition to his landlord. If being a Liberal, he votes for a Conservative, not only does he by his act say that he thinks what he does not think, but he may perhaps assist what he regards as bad legislation: his vote may by chance turn the election, and on a Parliamentary division a single member may decide the fate of a measure. Even neglecting, as too improbable, such serious consequences, there is the manifest truth that if all who hold like views with himself are similarly deterred from electoral expression of them, there must result a different balance of power and a different national policy: making it clear that only by adherence of all to their political principles can the policy he thinks right be maintained. But, now, on the other hand, how can he absolve himself from the responsibility for the evils which those depending on him may suffer if he fulfils what appears to be a peremptory public duty? Is not his duty to his children even more peremptory? Does not the family precede the State? and does not the welfare of the State depend on the welfare of the family? May he, then, take a course which, if the threats uttered are carried out, will eject him from his farm; and so cause inability, perhaps temporary, perhaps prolonged, to feed his children? The contingent evils are infinitely varied in their ratios. In one case the imperativeness of the public duty is great and the evil that may come on dependants small; in another case the political issue is of trivial moment and the possible injury which the family may suffer is great; and between these extremes there are all gradations. Further, the degrees of probability of each result, public and private, range from the nearly certain to the almost impossible. Admitting, then, that it is wrong to act in a way likely to injure the State; and admitting that it is wrong to act in a way likely to injure the family; we have to recognize the fact that in countless

cases no one can decide by which of the alternative courses the least wrong is likely to be done."

In the first case nothing, according to common conceptions, could appear more certain than this, that a man has no right to borrow money under any circumstances, or for any purpose whatever, unless he is sure that he can pay, or, at least, has fully apprised the lender of the risk. In the second case, it seems equally clear that in the exercise of a public trust public duty ought to prevail over all private considerations, and that, though a man may be justified in abstaining from voting if the State fails to afford him protection against the tyranny of his landlord, he cannot possibly be justified in voting wrong. But we can easily see how, in both cases, the philosophy of the "Data of Ethics" breaks down. It finds itself involved in a hopelessly bewildering calculation of the relative amounts of pleasure and pain attending either line of conduct in its bearing on the sensation of the agent and of other people. Whether any other philosophy capable of distinct statement holds good is, of course, a different question, as we bear in mind throughout.

By the very method of his inquiry the author of the "Data of Ethics" is cut off from any appeal to human morality as essentially distinct from that of other animals. He is committed to the position that the conduct and ethics of man are merely an evolution of those of the molluscs. When he takes a woman suckling her child as his highest type of a right action, it is difficult to see why he might not as well have taken any other mammal. The sentence would run just as well, "Consider the relation of a healthy cow to a healthy calf. Between the two there exists a mutual dependence which is a source of pleasure to both. In yielding its natural food to the calf the cow receives gratification, and to the calf there comes the satisfaction of appetite—a satisfaction which accompanies furtherance of life, growth, and increasing enjoyment." There is a *caveat* , as was said, to be entered against "higher" and "lower," applied to the earlier and later products of evolution; they carry with them the suggestion of a moral difference which might form a foundation for ethics. But, if the evolutionist were asked why the later and more complex was higher than the earlier and simpler organism, we apprehend his only answer would be, that it was higher because it was later and more complex. If the pleasures of the other animals are less intense so are their pains, and from a large class of the pains which beset humanity they are altogether free. A seagull lives, it is said, longer than a man: it has found a sphere in which it has few enemies; it knows no care for the morrow, no moral effort, no moral conflict, no strivings after an unattainable ideal. At least it gives no sign of anything of the kind. Why is it to be dubbed lower?

Besides the list of pleasures denoting the conduciveness of the action to vitality, there may be said to be in the "Data of Ethics" a set of characteristics derived from perfection of evolution. Such are "adjustment of an action to an end," "definiteness," "exactness," "heterogeneity," "complexity," "multiformity," subordination of immediate

to remote objects and of motives connected with presentative to those connected with representative and re-representative sensations, all regarded as placing the highest mammal at the top of the ascending scale; while the molluscs, with whose rudimentary ethics Mr. Spencer sets out, are at the lowest. Such, also, are the criteria stated in the terms of Mr. Spencer's special and, to common minds, mysterious theory of the movement of evolution, his "rhythms," and his perfect state of "moving equilibrium." Mr. Spencer, as he has eloquently avowed, thinks the First Napoleon about the greatest enemy of his kind who ever lived. Yet in which of the attributes of perfect evolution did Napoleon fall short? Were not his actions as admirably adjusted as possible to their evil ends? Was he not in the highest degree "punctual," methodical, and exact? Was any man ever more multiform in his activities or heterogeneous in the parts which he enacted? Did any man ever keep his eye more steadily fixed on remote objects or play a longer game? No one can question the vastness of his brain-power, and his historian boasts that his head was the largest and the best-formed ever submitted to the investigation of science. History cannot pretend to say anything about his "rhythm," but during a considerable part of his life, at all events, he may be said to have been in moving equilibrium, for he was always on horseback, and had so loose a seat in his saddle that he rode merely by balance, and when the horse stumbled was apt to be canted over its head, though the Powers of Evil always preserved his neck. He is a figure to be noted by Agnostics, for though he lived before Positivism, he was a perfect Positivist. He had, as he tells us himself, shut all religious ideas out of his mind as hindrances to action; he had learned to discard metaphysics and philosophy altogether as the dreams of ideologues; he insisted on positive education, and he took his own propensities as the parts of his nature which were to determine his conduct without respect for any moral conventions. There is a curious *jeu d'esprit* (such, no doubt, it is) which connects, across the gulf of centuries, Bonaparte with that other great Positivist before Positivism, Machiavelli. It is a copy of the "Prince," supposed to have been found in the Emperor's carriage at Waterloo, with a running commentary by his hand, showing the correspondence of his own policy with Machiavellism; and the likeness is very striking.

Are not "punctuality," and whatever it denotes, as much shown in keeping a guilty assignation or a rendezvous of crime as in appearing at the hour fixed for a charity meeting? Was "the adjustment of an action to its end" ever more exact, were the qualities which adjust actions to their ends ever more signally displayed, than when Ravallac, having marked his opportunity and chosen his position well, drove the knife, which he had chosen with care and thoroughly sharpened, at a single stroke into the heart of a king whose life was the hope of the world?

Mr. Spencer, in his present work, wisely forbears touching the question of Moral Necessity. So far as the "Data of Ethics" is concerned, therefore, he avoids the reef marked by the wreck of the

Automaton Man. The reasonings by which Automatism is supported, it may be noted by the way, are simply a reproduction of those of Jonathan Edwards, who was not in quest of truth, but of a philosophic basis for his Stygian dogma, and was himself half conscious that he had reduced his own argument to an absurdity when he found himself logically compelled to ascribe to the All-Good the personal authorship of crimes; for, of course, it could signify nothing to the question of agency, if no new spring of action was interposed, how long the chain of mere instrumentalities might be. He was right in asserting moral causation, which is given us by consciousness, and without which the moral world would be a chaos. His fallacy lay in the assumption that moral causation was the same as physical. What has been inappropriately called Free Will may be roughly defined as the difference given us by consciousness between moral and physical causation. Though it is the most certain, as well as the most momentous, fact of our being, we shall probably never succeed in precisely formulating it by any phrase that we can devise, even supposing it to be fixed, and not to be increasing, with our ascent from a lower to a higher, from a more material to a more spiritual life.

Though not a declared Automatist, however, Mr. Spencer is, by virtue of his general philosophy, a Necessarian. He holds that evolution, which is the order of the universe, "consists in a change from an indefinite coherent homogeneity to a definite coherent heterogeneity, through continuous differentiations and integrations." The universe may well have heaved a sigh of relief when, through the cerebration of an eminent thinker, it had been delivered of this account of itself. Yet it must be a curious universe if this is its secret. As the Yankee said of the enormously rich church with a very scanty congregation, it must be doing the smallest business on the largest capital of any concern in this State. Man, the insect, aims at producing things which we feel to be noble, and which, according to the measure of his span, will endure; but the power of the universe does nothing but turn the homogeneous into the heterogeneous, and back again through the same treadmill round of differentiations and integrations, every round ending in the same fatal "equilibration," and total wreck of all the results of the process. The higher the fruits, the more senseless the destruction. What set the homogeneous moving in the first instance, and made it become the heterogeneous? This would be the question which we should have to ask if the law were tendered as a physical explanation of the origin of the world. Why, we might also ask, is the coherent to be called the heterogeneous, and the incoherent the homogeneous? Might not the terms as well be reversed? But it is enough here to say that the theory is mechanical necessarianism, and that as such it is

* We have always suspected that with regard to the sociological portion of Mr. Spencer's theory of Evolution, and perhaps even with regard to the whole theory, a very considerable part had been played by our old friend the Division of Labour. Adam Smith knew the bounds of his discovery; it could be called. Though the employments of men diverge and multiply, the unifying influences of civilization generally on the members of a community are greater than the diversifying influences.

scarcely reconcilable, in a scientific point of view, with the high strain of ordinary morality and the passionate denunciations of wrong which we find in such passages of Mr. Spencer's work as this :—

"Such a view (of the progress of Altruism) will not be agreeable to those who lament the spreading disbelief in eternal damnation; nor to those who follow the apostle of brute force in thinking that because the rule of the strong hand was once good it is good for all time; nor to those whose reverence for one who told them to put up the sword, is shown by using the sword to spread his doctrine among the heathens. The conception set forth would be received with contempt by that Fife-shire regiment of militia, of whom eight hundred, at the time of the Franco-German War, asked to be employed on foreign service, and left the Government to say on which side they should fight. From the ten thousand priests of the religion of love, who are silent when the nation is moved by the religion of hate, will come no sign of assent; nor from their bishops, who, far from urging the extreme precept of the master they pretend to follow, to turn the other cheek when one is smitten, vote for acting on the principle—strike, lest ye be struck. Nor will any approval be felt by legislators, who, after praying to be forgiven their trespasses as they forgive the trespasses of others, forthwith decide to attack those who have not trespassed against them, and who, after a Queen's Speech has 'invoked the blessing of Almighty God' on their counsels, immediately provide means for committing political burglary."

This is enough to show that whatever the writer's moral system may be, his own moral sentiment is strong. But, surely, it is a splendid inconsistency. The Bishop and the Fife-shire militiaman were in certain stages of evolution, or, in other words, of progress from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous, through the necessary differentiations and integrations. The episcopal organism in its state of comparative homogeneity could no more help being fond of converting Afghans, by killing them and burning their cottages, than a tiger can help wanting to eat the Bishop, or the Buddhist sage in Mr. Arnold's "Light of Asia" can help wanting, in the immensity of his benevolence, to be eaten by the tiger. Bishop and militiaman alike will surely give their censor the crushing answer, that they could not possibly be more differentiated or nearer the perfection of moving equilibrium than they are, without breaking the Spencerian law.

Another strong point, which any organism indisposed to altruism might make, is the warrant apparently given to purely selfish action by the struggle for existence. "In large measure," says Mr. Spencer, "the adjustments of acts to ends which we have been considering are components of that 'struggle for existence,' carried on both between members of the same species and between members of a different species; and, very generally, a successful adjustment made by one creature involves an unsuccessful adjustment made by another creature, either of the same kind or of a different kind. That the carnivores may live, herbivores must die; and that its young may be reared, the young of weaker creatures must be orphaned." Why, a Borgia or a Bonaparte will ask, is the law to be confined to the case of carnivores and herbivores? Do not I equally fulfil it by making a prey of the herbivores of humanity, or by destroying in any way I can other *carnivores* who happen to stand in my way? If my acts are well

adjusted to these ends, as Machiavelli says they are, why are they not good? The result will be that survival of the fittest which science proclaims to be the decree of nature. Is it not difficult to find an answer which will not involve what Dr. Van Buren Denslow derides as Theistic Altruism?

The motive power to which, at bottom, Mr. Spencer's ethic mainly appeals in urging to moral effort or self-restraint, is the hope of a future social state, which in his, as in other Agnostic philosophies, fills the void left by the discarded hope of a future life. Here, again, he is confronted by the logical consequences of his mechanical necessity: what must come will; we need not make any effort or forego any gratification to bring it about; the "co-operation" which he speaks of is needless or, rather, illusory; nor is it in our power to forestall the process of evolution. Apart from this, however, the prospect of a social goal indefinitely distant, and to be attained not by the individual man but by humanity, influences only highly educated imaginations and refined natures, if it greatly influences even these. What does Bill Sykes, what does a director of the Glasgow Bank, what does William Tweed, what does Fiske, or St. Arnaud, or St. Arnaud's employer care about the fortunes of humanity a million of years after he as an individual being has ceased to exist? What impelling force, to keep that side of the matter in view also, will such visions have with the multitudes of common people, unread in the "*Philosophie Positive*," on whose conscientious performance of duty society depends, and whose goodness is the salt of the earth. The philosophers of the ultra-evolutionary school put out of sight, in the scientific sweep of their social theories, two commonplace facts—individuality and death. Death some of the philosophers of the last century thought might be abolished: those of the present appear to think that, if we will all be quiet and refrain from ill-omened words, it may be hushed up. They constantly quote Spinoza's saying, that true wisdom concerns itself not with death but with life. Spinoza had inherited the creed of religious secularism, which in his active intellect took the form of Pantheism, without, however, losing its essential character as a belief generated at a stage before the wisdom or the folly, as the case may be, which concerns itself with death and the life beyond death, had come into the world. But does anyone seriously believe that man can now be put back into that infantine state in which he once passed his days like the other animals, without spiritual aspiration, and, like them, lay down at last to sleep without hope or fear? What a clearance of art, architecture, poetry, philosophy, and history does a return to contented and dreamless secularism imply! Yet the other part of the undertaking is even more arduous. That men should be made to feel themselves members one of another, granting the theistic hypothesis, is not absolutely impossible; it may even be said that, tremendous as the obstacles were, in a space of time very short compared with the total duration of the race, an appreciable, if not a great, progress has been made. At least it will hardly be denied that in

philanthropy the world at the present day is more advanced than it was in the reign of Tiberius. Of that, Mr. Spencer's own sentiments are proof enough. In no ancient writer is there to be found a protest like his against the oppression of the weaker races. But to get this sensible warm motion to lose itself in a mere generalization, whether the generalization be humanity, animality,—which for all that we can see has just as good a claim as humanity,—or simply evolution, and to be content with the prospective welfare of this generalization instead of thinking about its own, does seem to us absolutely impossible, unless it be in the case of a very extraordinary temperament, or during the brief continuance of an artificial mood. Besides, all ends sooner or later in a physical catastrophe; in the catastrophe, according to Mr. Spencer, of equilibration: and how can it be expected that people will be animated to moral effort by the idea that they are "co-operating with evolution in producing the highest form of life," when evolution itself flings all the results of so much differentiation and integration back into homogeneity with the recklessness of a child overturning its castle of sand?

There surely goes a good deal of quasi-religious faith to the making of this evolutionary millennium. We have in effect to assume that all the agencies of progress now at work will continue in full force, notwithstanding the departure of the beliefs with which some of them have been hitherto bound up, and that no new evils will emerge. Unhappily, the last part of the assumption is contradicted by the evidence alike of the sanitary, social, and political spheres. That physical nature will become kinder to us there seems no reason to believe. The author of the "*Data of Ethics*" does not promise that she will: he says that flood, fire, and storm will always furnish occasions for the display of heroism—heroism which there will no longer be any very tangible motive for displaying. On the progress of science we may count; and this is so important as to make us feel that humanity altogether has at last struck into the right path. Yet if we shut our ears for a moment to the peans which are being sung over telegraphs and telephones, we become conscious that while science has been making miraculous strides, the masses have not yet made strides equally miraculous, either in character or in happiness.

Mr. Spencer seems to expect unbounded improvement from the final ascendancy which he confidently anticipates of industry over war. He is no doubt aware that the distinction between the Military and the Industrial types of society is familiar, though his use of it as a universal key to history is new. There never can have been a purely military state of society; somebody must have produced, or there would have been nothing for the warriors to pillage; nor is the difference between the ancient community, in which there was a warrior caste of masters with an industrial people of slaves, and the modern community, in which there is an industrial people of citizens with a standing army of professional soldiers, though most momentous, quite so radical as Mr. Spencer assumes. The most perfect type of a purely industrial community, perhaps, is China; not a very encouraging example, as the

Chinese, besides their servility, their unprogressiveness, and their total lack of political life, are untruthful, vicious in some other respects, mean, and, as their punishments show, abominably cruel. In London and our other great commercial cities, the military element is trifling, even taking in the volunteers; yet of vice and unhappiness there is surely enough. Biographers at some future time, seeking in Mr. Spencer's Works materials for a life of the great philosopher, will find that he evidently had experience in his own person of some of the special evils of industrialism, such as plumbers who make business for builders, and crockery-breaking servant girls, to whom he was compelled to apply that article of his Ethical code which forbids you, when your crockery is concerned, to allow your line of conduct to be decided by Altruism alone. These are but trifling instances of an industrial depravity over which jeremiads innumerable have been chanted, and which in its consequences even to life is hardly less destructive than war. The final transition will also be a most critical affair. A society wholly destitute of military force and without martyr spirit, which can hardly exist apart from religion, will be at the mercy of any surviving six-shooter of the past.

In a recent number of this Review there was an article by Mr. Spencer on "The Industrial Type of Society,"* to which was appended a note drawing a comparison between the morality of religious communities and that of savages who have no religion. The Christian era was represented as a hideous succession of public and private atrocities, innumerable and unmeasurable, of bloody aggressive wars, ceaseless family vendettas, bandit barons and fighting bishops, massacres—political and religious—torturings and burnings, assassinations, thefts, lying, and all-pervading crimes. Nor was this description confined to the past. We were called upon to read the police reports, the criminal assize proceedings, the accounts of fraudulent bankruptcies, political burglaries, and criminal aggressions at the present day. With this picture we were invited to contrast the honesty, the truthfulness, the amiability, the mild humanity of the Bodo, the Dhimals, the Lepchas, the Santals, the Veddahs, the Arafuras, and the Hodas who have no notion of God or belief in the immortality of the soul. Decisive judgment was given in favour of the savages by the philosopher, whom we cannot suppose to have been indulging in mere rhetoric. But it will be allowed that the Christian nations are in general respects, and notably in every thing pertaining to science, the most civilized. If in the most important matter of all they have retrograded to this extent, what becomes of the hope of civilization?

Yet Mr. Spencer himself sees the promised land of Evolutionary adjustment and felicity from a very advanced Pisgah. His man is a man in a suburban villa with a good business in the City, who has only to be content with a sufficient income, avoiding the moral gulf of work, and that of "snatching a hasty sandwich," instead of regular luncheon every day. Alas! to say nothing of

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, October, 1881.

in the past have lived and died in slavery and misery of all kinds, how many centuries must elapse before the question between a hasty sandwich and a regular luncheon becomes a practical one for any appreciable portion of mankind! To do too much office-work is bad for health, and therefore, as Mr. Spencer most truly says, bad in every way; but how many are there who must either do too much work or starve! It is not healthful to be on the wintry Atlantic clinging to the frozen shrouds, to pant all day beside the fiery furnace, to be delving in the dark mine, to be sitting as a cab-driver exposed to all weathers, to be toiling as a farm-labourer with overtasked sinews from dawn to dusk. Of the labour which is the lot of most men, and in which their lives are almost entirely spent, very little is, like that of the artist, relieved by any sense of enjoyment; the bulk of it is drudgery and nothing else. Schopenhauer exaggerates, of course. Were it not so, the end, in spite of his super-subtle objection to the exertion of will in self-destruction, would be universal suicide. There is happiness in life; above all, the happiness of affection, though it is in this that we most keenly feel the sting of death. Yet if this life were all, and if enjoyment were the object of being, it would be difficult to deny that the Pessimist had a formidable case, or that the world, on the whole and for the majority of mankind, was a failure. It is, at least it may be, otherwise if the Theistic hypothesis is true, if the secret of the universe is not mechanical but moral, if the paramount object is the formation of character, and if the results of effort are to endure, in any form whatever, beyond the physical catastrophe of the planet. Trying to be good is within the power of a galley-slave; and it is conceivable that by being ever so little better than himself the most abject of mankind may cast into the moral treasury a mite more precious in the estimation of the Author of our moral being than the effortless virtue of a horn seraph. In touching upon such points we feel that the criticism which repels a physical account of morality is not merely destructive but conserves something on which it is possible that a rational theology may hereafter be partly based.

In short, while we find, as was said before, in the "*Data of Ethics*" much that is acute, much that is eloquent, much that is interesting, we do not find in it a new basis of morality. We do not find a practical answer to the question which was put at the beginning. We do not find anything that, on the mass of mankind, is likely to act as a strong inducement or as a strong deterrent. We do not find anything that can be relied on to save society from the danger of a moral interregnum. An exaggerated interpretation is not to be put upon that phrase. Society will hold together, and the milkman will go his round. For that, daily needs, habit, human nature, the examples of China and Japan, both of which are Agnostic, sufficiently answer. Society has held together during former intervals between the fall of one morality and the rise of another; but it has been in rather a sorry way. Things have righted, but before they have righted there have been times

to which nobody wishes to return. The continuity of history is indisputable; yet it is not such as to preclude very terrible convulsions; and surely the doings of Nihilism, which in its speculative aspect is clearly a product of the present disturbance of religious and, at the same time, of ethical beliefs, are warning enough of the existence of subterranean fires. Once more, it is not from the personal tendencies of the distinguished party which surrounds an intellectual tea-table that we can gather with certainty those of the masses inflamed by fierce passions and goaded by animal wants, or even those of genius itself, like that of Napoleon, in pursuit of selfish aims. That all will be well in the end, Theists, at any rate, must implicitly believe; yet the day of salvation may be distant.

"It is strange," says Mr. Spencer, "that a notion so abstract as that of perfection, or a certain ideal completeness of Nature, should ever have been thought one from which a system of guidance could be evolved." Call the notion abstract, and the remark may be true. But it is certain that a personal type, or supposed type, of perfection, has furnished Christendom with guidance, with a rule of life at all events, up to this time. The sudden disappearance of that type must fill all, except the most serenely scientific minds, with misgivings as to the immediate future, it being admitted by "our great philosopher" that there is nothing to be put in its place.

There are one or two points which, though not strictly pertinent to the present inquiry, it may not be wholly beside the mark to notice. One of these relates to the Theistic notion of morality, which we cannot help thinking the author of the "Data" misapprehends, so far as rational Theists are concerned. "Religious creeds," he says, "established and dissenting, all embody the belief that right and wrong are right and wrong simply in virtue of divine enactment." In another passage he represents the religious world as holding that "moral truths have no other origin than the will of God." There is a fallacy in the term "will." A law is not made by the will of the legislator; it is enforced by his will, but it is made by his nature, moral and intellectual, the goodness or badness of which determines its quality and the salutariness of obedience. Wise advice given by a father to his children is useful in itself, not merely because he gives it. Moreover, what a rational Theist may be said to hold is simply that our moral nature points true to that of Him in whom we have our being; that He is with us when we do right, against us when we do wrong; that our well-doing moves His love, our evil-doing His aversion. There is nothing apparently more absurd in this than in believing the same thing with regard say to a friend, or even with regard to the community of which we form a part, and the good-will of which is a motive and a support of our rectitude. Nor is there any sort of necessity, so far as this belief is concerned, for entangling ourselves in a metaphysical labyrinth by going behind the Divine Nature and speculating on the possibility of its having been other than it is? Being is an inscrutable and overwhelming mystery: there is no more to be said.

That religion had its origin in primæval worship of the ghosts of ancestors or chiefs, and that, these ancestors or chiefs having been ferocious cannibals, we are hence enabled to account for the belief in propitiation by self-torture and the other diabolical characteristics of modern creeds, is a theory which Mr. Spencer habitually propounds as certain and almost self-evident. Scientific the theory may be, and on questions of science the utmost deference is due to its inventor's authority: that it is historical must be denied. In truth, when it appeared some of us could not help being reminded of Voltaire's prompt explanation of the fossil shells found on mountain ranges, and adduced by ecclesiastical writers in proof of the Deluge, as cockles dropped by pilgrims from their hats. Euhemerus explained the Greek mythology in some such way, but his explanation has not been applauded. Not in the Hebrew Scriptures, not in the Rig Veda, not in the Zendavesta, not in any of the monuments of primitive religion which philological science has been placing before us, not in any important mythology, whether Greek or of any other nation, can we find the slightest confirmation of the cannibal chieftain view. Everything seems to show that the earliest religious impressions were those made by the great powers of Nature, especially by the Sun in his glory; and that this was the real origin of natural religion; though, be it remembered, there must have been a religious impressibility, however rudimentary, in man, otherwise religious impressions could not have been made. As man advanced, the Power seen through his moral nature became, instead of those seen with his eyes, the paramount object of his worship. There would surely be something utterly preposterous in the supposition that Evangelical Christianity was a survival of the primitive worship of dead chieftains. Mr. Spencer seems to have swallowed whole Mr. Tylor's theory of Animism, and to have given it an application which was not given it by its acute and learned author; for Mr. Tylor, if I do not misunderstand him, would allow that Nature-worship was the origin of religion. The result, at all events, historians will say, is an unhistoric presentation of the most important subject in the history of opinion. In his volume on "Ceremonial Observances," Mr. Spencer maintains the surprising thesis that ceremony was primordial, and that politics and religion (or to use his exact expression, political and religious control) were developed out of it by divergent evolution. His proof is the similarity of the modes in which reverence is shown to gods and to political rulers, and which, he says, denotes, the kinship of the two sets of observances and their community of origin. In tracing this similarity he allows his fancy a pretty free range, as, for example, when he identifies the visit of a worshipper to a temple with a morning call paid to a great man, and the payments made for the support of a Christian clergy with sacrifices to a heathen deity. But it does not occur to him that man, being provided with only one set of organs of expression, is obliged to use them in the case of a ruler as well as in that of a god, and may do so without at all confounding in his mind the different characters and

claims of the two. The abject adulation which deified the Roman emperors is a proof of this, not a contradiction ; for the adulators were perfectly aware that they were giving to a man that which properly belonged to a god, and in the profanation lay the very point of the sycophancy. So with regard to the names of God, which Mr. Spencer thinks we shall be much startled by finding to have been originally descriptive words, and to have expressed superiority. Man has no celestial vocabulary. However distinct his conception of God might be from his conception of anything else, he would have to use the same words to express his reverence in this case as in that of a father or a chieftain. We do not see that the question as to the origin of religion is in any way affected by this discovery. Men speak now of the majesty of the king and the majesty of God, of the honour due to one as well as of the honour due to the other, without any confusion of ideas as to the respective natures and claims of the two beings. The most startling thing surely would have been to find a name for the Deity, unconnected with anything else in human thought or speech, a linguistic *nérolite*, as it were, dropped from the sky.

Mr. Spencer's view of the origin of religion is perhaps not unaffected by his extreme notion as to the importance and influence of militarism, of which he sees everywhere the malign traces. According to him, the Home Office, when it crops the head of a convict (and washes him) is unwittingly perpetuating the custom of taking trophies by cutting off the hair. When you give a man a lower seat at table, or in an assembly, the Survivalist sees in the act a desire to have the force of gravity on your side in the conflict for which everybody is mentally preparing. There is something rather laughable in the idea that the high table on a dais in a college hall is a military vantage ground, from which the "Don" may be able to make an onslaught on the undergraduates with the force of gravity on his side. Between Sun Myths and Survivals there will soon be no room left for any natural belief or action.

The twist, as many readers will deem it, extends to every subject connected with religion, among others to that of Asceticism, at which Mr. Spencer tilts ever and anon with a good deal of vehemence, and of its connection with Christianity. Religion is represented as still imbued with the belief, derived from bloodthirsty ancestors, in a diabolical God, who is to be propitiated by self-torture. Nothing of the kind is to be found in the Gospel, in the Apostolic Fathers, or in any form of Evangelical Christianity. Jesus was denounced by his enemies for not being an ascetic. Paul lived a life of self-denial and voluntary exposure to suffering and peril ; but it was not for the purpose of self-torture, it was, like his celibacy, for the purpose of propagating the Gospel, as a soldier undergoes toils and privations for the sake of victory, or a man of science for the sake of a discovery. Even the Baptist was not a self-torturer, he was a reformer preaching by austerities. Launched into the world, Christianity felt the influence

of the various currents of thought and tendency—Hellenic, Roman, Alexandrian, and Oriental—nor did it escape that of the Fakirism which had been generated in the mud of the Ganges. The monks of the Thebaid were Fakirs, and may be left to Mr. Spencer's mercy. But so was not Benedict, or Bernard, or Anselm. Western asceticism on the whole corresponded to its name, which denotes not self-torture but self-training—the self-training of the spiritual athlete. Its central idea was that of liberating the soul from the shackles of the flesh in order to its complete union with the Deity. Chimerical it was, no doubt, and extravagant in some of its manifestations, but it was not diabolical, nor did it point to anything diabolical in the nature of the ascetic's God; and it is by no means clear that in such a case as that of Anselm, it would not have stood Mr. Spencer's test of pleasure, though the pleasure would have been of a peculiar and perhaps fantastic kind. It was compatible with immense usefulness, social, educational, and even industrial; for monasticism in its prime was a great agricultural improver. Moreover, as alchemy helped to give birth to chemistry, asceticism may have helped, by conquering the brutish appetites which hold unlimited sway over the barbarian, to give birth to rational temperance. No portions of the "Data of Ethics" are better worth reading than those in which the writer inculcates attention to health, both for our own sakes, and for the sake of the offspring to whom our constitutions are to be transmitted; and preachers, if they wish to be practical, might do a great deal of good by dwelling oftener on the last point. But, waiving the theological form of expression, it is difficult to put the duty of caring properly for the body higher than it was put by the apostle who called the body the temple of the Holy Spirit. And though no one wishes to detract from the dignity of physiological science, or to underrate the benefits which a diffused knowledge of it might confer, it is certain that the temperance, soberness, and chastity which Christianity has laboured not without effect to inculcate, are keeping unscientific people in perfect health with the cheerfulness which attends it, while even a thorough knowledge of physiology seems often to be of little avail for self-management.

In conclusion, I must say again that I am not here contending that Theism or that Christianity is true, nor do I blink the tremendous difficulties with which at this moment the proof of both of them is beset. I stand up for history, and decline either to reject existing beliefs before they are confuted, or to accept new beliefs before they are proved. There is nothing in this inconsistent with the most grateful veneration for science, or the most perfect willingness to embrace any kind of truth. *Vincit veritas, ruat cælum.* Only, if the catastrophe does happen, it will surely be better, with such spirit as we can summon, to confront the void, and not to try to delude our souls by putting figments in the room of that which has been lost.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

THE REVISED VERSION AND ITS ASSAILANTS.

*"Id in fœcis omnium molestissimum erat quævis fœces
verborum et monumini inaptum erat in intellectu."*
— Bacon, *Nov. Organum*

THE attacks made upon the Revised Version have been so numerous and so severe that any one who feels the extreme value of the work is justified in coming forward to express, at least for himself, his deep sense of gratitude to the Revisers. One critic has ventured to say that scarcely one independent writer has raised a voice in their favour. Another asserts that their most unqualified admirers are to be found among ladies and Dissenters;—and that even *their* opinion is by no means universally favourable. Here are a few of the recent criticisms:—They have made more than 36,000 changes, or, on an average, more than two a verse, yet "they have hardly ever changed a sentence without spoiling its English."* Their "harsh, prosaic, uncomfortable, confused, undignified, pedantic, unidiomatic, and sometimes nonsensical English is so ingrained into the whole book that it is impossible to treat the defects as occasional blemishes."† Their principles of revision were freely arraigned as "fundamentally wrong as well as contrary to their instructions." One critic—Dr. Malan—or, as he is introduced by the Quarterly Reviewer with a flourish of trumpets, Dr. Solomon Cæsar Malan—confining himself to seven chapters, sums up his judgment on one of those chapters in the remark that "the Revisers have made sixty changes in it; of these, one is good and one is admissible, all the rest (fifty-eight) appear either ill-judged or unnecessary." Another—Dr. Field—"has examined 104 of the changes made in the Revised Version. Of these he finds that eight are questionable; thirteen unnecessary; nineteen faulty;—sixty-four changes for the worse."‡ Still more unmeasured is the language of the Quarterly Reviewer. He has evidently scented

* Sir E. Beckett, p. 18

† *Ibid.* p. 192

‡ So says the *Quarterly Review*, January, 1882, p. 18. Any one, however, who has read with admiration the "*Olum Norwicense*" of Dr. Field must feel quite sure that Dr. Field would be the last person to endorse the Reviewer's general indictments or to approve of his style.

the battle from afar. He leaps into the arena with unmistakeable delight in the fray, and not content with raising his war-whoop and brandishing his tomahawk in a style which is perfectly terrific to quiet persons, he indulges in the shout of confident victory before a single combatant has met him on the field. The most sacred of our institutions have, it appears to him, been "constrained, each in turn, to submit to the ordeal of hostile scrutiny, sometimes even to bear the brunt of hostile attack." Now, however, "the very citadel of Revealed Truth is observed to have been reached, and to be undergoing systematic assault and battery."* The Revisers have, in defiance of their instructions, produced an entirely new Greek Text, in which "the Textus Receptus has been departed from by them far more than 5,000 times, almost invariably *for the worse*."† With regard to one of the most famous of their changes,‡ in the humble judgment of the Reviewer, "if the Church of England, at their bidding, were to adopt this and thousands of other disfigurements of the sacred page—depravations with which the Church Universal was once well acquainted, but which, in her corporate character, she has long since unconditionally condemned and abandoned—she would deserve to be pointed at with scorn by the rest of Christendom."§ Misled throughout "by the unsatisfactory decrees and eager advocacy of Drs. Westcott and Hort," they "have constructed a Text demonstrably more remote from the Evangelistic verity than any which has yet seen the light."||

But all this is nothing! Encouraged by the success of a second edition, and elated by the cheers of his partisans, the Quarterly Reviewer warms to his work. He mingles pathos with denunciation. He weeps as he slays. "Who was to suppose that the instructions given to the Revisionists would be systematically disregarded? Who was to imagine that an utterly untrustworthy Greek text, constructed on mistaken principles, would be the fatal result? Who was to foresee that, instead of removing the plain and clear errors of the one version, the Revisionists would themselves introduce a countless number of blemishes unknown to it before? Above all, how was it to be imagined that they would have sown broadcast over four continents doubts as to the truth of Scripture which it will never be in their power either to remove or to recall?"¶ "Their ill-advised practice" of recording in the margin certain of the blunders of ancient authorities "can only result in hopelessly unsettling the faith of millions."** "Alas! how many a deadly blow at Revealed Truth hath—" the reviewer becomes archaic and prophetic as the iron tears fall in showers down his cheeks while

* *Quarterly Review*, No. 304, Oct. 1881, p. 307.

† *Ibid.* p. 366.

‡ The all but certain reading of *ὅς* for *ὅτι* in 1 Tim. iii. 16. Even Bishop Wordsworth—and all readers who have studied the subject will know how much that "even" means—has abandoned the reading *ὅτι*, and one of the first Greek scholars in England—Canon Kennedy—has said that "it is now abandoned by all Anglican divines."

§ *Ibid.* p. 365.

|| *Ibid.* p. 364.

¶ *Quarterly Review*, No. 305, Jan. 1882, p. 2. The italics are the Reviewer's.

** *Ibid.* p. 2.

he contemplates the depravity of the offenders whom he has been laying low—"hath been in this way aimed with fatal adroitness, which no amount of orthodox learning"—the reader will note the beautifully modest and truly theological spirit of those words—"will ever be able to parry, much less to repel!"* And, again, "Alas for the learning which comes abroad only to mislead the blind, and to perplex the weak, and to unsettle the doubting!" But the iron tears are soon wiped, and we begin to hear once more the war-whoop. "Morbid striving after etymological accuracy, added to a calamitous preference for a new text." "These are a handful of the less conspicuous instances of a change in the English; every one of them being either a pitiful blunder or else a gross fabrication." "Changes which convict a majority of their body alike of an imperfect acquaintance with the genius of the Greek language and of scarcely even a moderate appreciation of the idiomatic proprieties of their own." "Is the Church of England to be dragged through the mire also and made ridiculous in the eyes of Christendom?"† "Lamentable lack of critical judgment;" "fidgetty anxiety;" "offensive pedantry;" "uncouth phraseology;" "jerky sentences;" "the work before us is an utter failure;" "bad taste and singular lack of judgment;" "this unfortunate production;"—these are a few of the Reviewer's—shall I say *criticisms*? He lays the Revision down "convinced that the case of their work is simply hopeless." "Every characteristic feature of the work of the Revisionists offends us as well in respect of what they have left undone as of what they have been the first to venture to do." "Displeasure," "sadness," "annoyance," "disappointment," "concern," "surprise," "disapprobation," are but faint expressions of his feelings. Even the fact that "the EVIL ONE has been actually thrust into the Lord's Prayer," is not "a set-off," but is apparently "the most injudicious and unwarrantable innovation in this unhappy volume." The chief solace to the Revisionists must be that "this work of theirs will discharge the office of a warning beacon," to convince men of the danger of "venturing too near the same wreck-strewn shore."

We have not been informed that these articles in the *Quarterly Review* were written by a lady; but if they were, "the lady protests too much methinks." I hope that even those of the public who have not the requisite training to be able to enter with personal knowledge into the merits of the controversy will not for a moment be misled by all this sound and fury, which, if it does not "signify nothing," admits, at any rate, of being very calmly and very decisively answered. Even one who cannot pretend to have had the leisure necessary to a lifelong study of the subject could furnish a reply to the Reviewer's allegations, sentence by sentence, and page by page. There are not a few of the

* *Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1882, p. 10.

† It appears that this will be the serious consequence of the marginal annotation to Acts xxviii. 1:—"Some ancient authorities read Melitene!"

Revisers who, if they thought it worth while to speak, could refute most of his assertions with an overwhelming mass of demonstration. Fortunately he has written in a style which refutes himself. The most unlettered Englishman who reads over the names of the Revisers will regard the Reviews as a melancholy exhibition of bigotry and prejudice. Who—or, if I may borrow the italics of the Quarterly Reviewer, *Who*—are the scholars and gentlemen thus wildly, arrogantly, and indiscriminately arraigned? Among them—although the Reviewer gives it as *his* opinion that they “have shown themselves singularly deficient in their critical acquaintance with Greek” (!)—were not only some of the most consummate Greek scholars in England—such as the Bishop of Salisbury, the Deans of Rochester, Ilandaff, and Lincoln, Canon Kennedy, and Prebendary Humphry; but others, who, in addition to unrivalled scholarship and accuracy, have, like the Bishops of Gloucester and Durham, Professors Hort and Milligan, and Canon Westcott, devoted their lives to sacred studies. Combined with these were men so learned, so dispassionate, so eminent, alike in literature and theology, as the Archbishop of Dublin, the Archdeacons of Dublin and Oxford, Prebendary Scrivener, Dr. Angus, Dr. Moulton, Dr. Vance Smith, and others scarcely less competent for their task. There is not one of these whose separate opinion is not to the full as valuable as that of the Reviewer, be he who he may. Their *collective* opinion, or the opinion of a majority of two-thirds of them, has the very highest authority. Nor must it be forgotten that during their lifetime they had the aid of such men as Dr. Eadie, Dean Stanley, and Dean Alford. Plato somewhere makes the remark, that “it is not reasonable to assume that a wise man is talking nonsense”:—is it even possible to conceive that twenty-four of our best English scholars, carefully and impartially chosen, should, with a host of previous versions in their hands, and all the aids of nineteen centuries of learning before them, sit for some 3,000 hours over a period of ten years, and after five or six careful revisions, produce a work so hopelessly bad as the Quarterly Reviewer, to his own satisfaction, has made out? If I am not very much mistaken his diatribe will be ranked hereafter among the choicest specimens of literary curiosities.*

It will rank, for instance, with the similar outcry of the scholarly but impracticable Hugh Broughton, in 1611. Broughton was a man of violent prejudice and eccentric erudition. He was extremely piqued that he had not been placed among the translators, and he perhaps

* Is it quite possible to resist a little indignation with a strong admixture of another and different feeling, when one reads such sentences as “it is high time for every faithful man to bestir himself, *ut quid det mentis expensam operis*”? Desperate indeed will be the condition of the Republic when it calls for the aid of such a Dictator as the Quarterly Reviewer, and such axes and fasces as those which he has displayed. The Revisers “must experience at the hands of the Church nothing short of stern and well-merited rebuke.” They have received the thanks of Convocation and to all the Reviewer’s talk it is more than sufficient to oppose the words of the Bishop of Lincoln: “The Revised Version . . . ought to be in the hands of every student of God’s Word.” “They (the Revisers) are entitled to the reverential homage of the whole Anglican Communion.” (On the Revised Version, pp. 31, 32.) The Quarterly Reviewer and the Bishop of Lincoln—(*Tri creditis, Quirites*?)

suspected that his own arrogance and perversity had been the cause of his exclusion. He was still more piqued because the translators rejected the one suggestion (on Gen. iv. 26), which he had sent to them. *Hinc illae lacrimae!* "The late Bible," he writes, "was sent to me to censure, which bred in me a sadness which will grieve me while I breathe. It is so ill done. Tell his Majesty that I had rather be rent to pieces with wild horses than any such translation, by my consent, should be urged on the poor churches of England." Such was the reception originally given by a few irate scholars to "our matchless, our incomparable," Authorized Version! Does one not catch the very accent of the Quarterly Reviewer who was to come? Human nature is the same in all ages, and history repeats itself.

The Revisers will not be in the least surprised, nor at all hurt, by the chorus of animadversion and the burst of ingratitude and abuse with which their work has been received. "Zeal to promote the common good, whether it be by devising anything ourselves, or revising that which hath been laboured by others, deserveth, certainly, much respect and esteeme, but yet findeth but cold intertainment in the world. It is welcomed with suspicion instead of love, and with emulation instead of thanks: and if there be any hole left for cavill to enter (and cavill, if it doe not finde a hole, will make one) it is sure to bee misconstrued, and in danger to be condemned. This will easily be granted by as many as knowe story, or have any experience. For was there ever any thing projected that savoured any way of newnesse and renewing, but the same endured many a storme of gaine-saying, or opposition? . . . As oft as we do any thing of note or consequence, we subject ourselves to every one's censure, and happy is he that is least tossed upon tongues; for utterly to escape the snatch of them it is impossible." So wrote the Translators of 1611. The Revisers of 1881 might use the same words. The Translators prophesied that they would meet with "uncharitable imputations;" and Hugh Broughton, with others, fulfilled their prophecy. Thomas Ward, for instance, accused them of blasphemy, most damnable corruptions, intolerable deceit, and vile imposture; and he tells us, just as the Reviewer does, that he made these charges "not under the dictates of passion, but the just resentment of a zealous mind." The previous quotation shows that the only difference between the Reviewer and such men as Hugh Broughton and Thomas Ward is that the intervening centuries have, to a very slight extent, modified the ferocity, though hardly the bitterness, of his expressions. The Authorized Version won an easy victory over such attacks, and so will the Revised.*

It is, however, positively refreshing to turn from the Reviewer to Sir Edmund Beckett, who, though he hits hard, hits in a thoroughly English way, and shows nothing of that most repellent of all phenomena

* For some account of these half-forgotten critics see Dr. Eadie's "English Bible," ii p. 271.

—the wrath of an aggrieved theologian. The Quarterly Reviewer can be refuted as fully as he desires as soon as any scholar has the leisure to answer him. It is not from the smallest dread of encountering his arguments that they are here left on one side. My present task is only to say a few friendly words in reply to Sir Edmund Beckett. I am sorry that they can only be a few, because there is scarcely one of the instances selected for animadversion in which it would not be possible to show that the Revisers had the wisest reasons for the changes which they have made. But Sir Edmund's book contains 194 pages, and in twenty pages it will be obviously impossible to meet him point by point. All that I can attempt will be to say a word in answer to those charges which he evidently regards as the strongest and most important. In doing this, I shall be under the great disadvantage of not being able to illustrate the immense *positive* merits of the Revision. I will, therefore, ask the reader to bear in mind that I am here only engaged in the disagreeable task of answering objections chosen out of a limited area. If I were dealing with the positive and not the negative side of the question, it would be easy to produce scores of instances in which the New Version has rendered services which appear to me to be quite inestimable to the cause of religion and of truth. Sir Edmund complains of those clergymen whose view of liberty it is "to make their parishioners submit to whatever their ministers like to put upon them." Now, as far as reading the Revised Version in church is concerned, I, for one, have always meant to wait until the law, in some form or other, has authorized us to do so; nor should I dream of forcing it, without necessity, upon a reluctant congregation. Nevertheless, I cannot but believe that there must be large numbers of cultivated men and women in every congregation who, in spite of the infinite charm of association and familiarity which they find in the stately and beautiful rhythm of the Authorized Version, do not for a moment admit that the New Version—tested as it has been by deliberate and careful reading—is so harsh and uncouth as some have asserted. Even if it were, they would yet rejoice that at last they were allowed to hear what the Apostles and Evangelists really wrote; to substitute what is correct for what is incorrect, and what is literal for much that is inaccurate and wrong. In spite of the wild "theological" talk of the Quarterly Reviewer about "unsettling the faith of millions," &c. &c. (*nostri ielas λαιόθυγοι*!) it is certain that no questions of faith or doctrine are altered by the New Version.* On the other hand, it would be easy to produce a hundred instances in which the force and truth and beauty of the original have been made to shine out to such an extent as has never been equalled in any translation since the words of revelation came fresh and burning from apostolic hearts.†

* "Not one of these 36,000 changes affects one tittle or iota of the Christian faith." Bishop of Lincoln, p. 7

† In Archdeacon Allen's gravamen to Convocation he specifies, "as undoubted instances in which the Authorized Version is wrong and the Revised Version right," John x. 16; the

It will be best in our limited space to leave aside all general questions of text. In spite of Dean Burgon's essay on the subject, the minds of most scholars are quite unalterably made up on such questions as the authenticity of the last twelve verses of St. Mark and other passages on which Sir Edmund touches, and about which the Quarterly Reviewer manifests especial fury. The whole question of the text has been dealt with by Drs. Westcott and Hort with such profound knowledge and such masterly power, in their second volume that those who are really able to study the subject, and who have taken the trouble to do so, need not be misled by either shouts or syllogisms. They will there find that all the Reviewer's remarks have been amply answered by anticipation, and answered by scholars and divines who are to him "as captain is to subaltern." Sir Edmund's objections are mainly confined to mere questions of translation, and it is on those questions that I wish to say a word on the other side. If the Quarterly Reviewer is the Hugh Broughton of critics, Sir E. Beckett resembles Dr. Gell. For Dr. Gell criticized the English of the Authorized Version as Sir Edmund does that of the Revised. He complained of the inversions of the Translators, their supplemental terms, the obtrusion of their personal opinions, and their insertions in the *margin* of what he held to be the better and truer renderings. The complaints now urged against the Revisers are in many instances to the same effect.

I. Sir Edmund says, for instance, that many of the alterations "*are due to modern rules about the meaning of using or omitting the Greek definite article*;"* and he thinks that the New Testament writers did not always observe these rules, "because, if they did, they sometimes wrote nonsense." In saying this he reminds us of the outcry of Archbishop Standish, who, with a flood of tears, declared at St. Paul's Cross that he was not going to be sent to school by "a shallow and pretentious Grecian" like Erasmus.

But what does Sir Edmund mean by "*modern rules*?" The only question is, whether the rules are true or not. The rules as to the use of the Greek article are founded on the inductions of the ancient Greek grammarians, corrected and expanded by that study of the language itself, and the usage of its best writers, which has been ten times more profound and thorough since the days of Bentley than it ever was before. The New Testament is written in Hellenistic Greek—that is, Greek as currently spoken after the days of Alexander even by those who were not Greeks by birth. Now, not only has our general knowledge of the Greek language become far more accurate than it was at any previous period, but the specialities of the Hellenistic dialect have been thoroughly mastered by the labours of many successive grammarians and lexicographers. Writers will, of course, differ from each

omission of 1 John v. 7, Matt. vi. 23, ix. 17; Luke xvi. 8, 9, xxiii. 15, Acts xxi. 16; Rom. viii. 20, 1 Cor. iv. 4, ix. 29, 2 Cor. viii. 1; 1 Pet. iii. 21. But in truth the careful reader of the original might find such instances on every page.

* P. 13.

other in all matters which affect extreme nicety of usage, since languages themselves differ so widely that some, like the Latin, have no articles at all.* And yet it was this very want of an article in Latin which caused some of the defects of the Vulgate, and consequently led our own Translators into error. But two axioms may be definitely laid down, and on both of them the Revisers have acted:—the one, that in the vast majority of instances the reason for the expression or omission of the article by the New Testament writers is easily ascertainable; the other, that where the reason is ascertainable, it is the simple duty of the translator to represent the meaning of the original writer, and not to abandon it for the sake of supposed euphony, or because he fancies that he can improve upon the original. His duty is not to amend but to translate. "*Aliud est esse vatem, aliud esse interpretem.*"

1. Now, as Sir Edmund's objections are based again and again on the attention paid by the Revisers to the article, I will examine, almost at random, some of his instances. The remarks which apply to these instances apply to many more. It would be easy to show that there are many cases in which the restoration of the article omitted in our Authorized Version gives some important or valuable result;† but I will content myself with following Sir Edmund in instances which he has selected for special animadversion out of the books of St. Matthew, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Revelation of St. John.

a. Matt. v. 15, "Neither do men light a lamp (λύχνον) and put it under the bushel (τὸν μωδόν)." Why—such is the complaint—should the Revisers have substituted "lamp" for "candle," and why should they have put "*the*" before "bushel"? The answer is precisely the same as must be given to scores of these objections. It is because λύχνος means "a lamp," and not "a candle;" and because St. Matthew wrote "*the* bushel," not "*a* bushel." If local colouring and correct archæology be of any value at all—nay, even if it be of no value—the translator has no right to put an incorrect term when he has a correct one ready at hand. "*The* bed," Sir E. admits, is quite intelligible, "because that is one known piece of furniture; but what is '*the* bushel'?" The answer is that "*the* bushel" is used because in general there was but one of these measures in the poor houses from which our Lord and His hearers came; and that, since He used the article, nothing but ignorance of Greek could excuse an accurate translator for passing it over.

b. Matt. v. 32, "*The* hell of fire." "Nobody," says Sir E., "ever

* "*Articulus Græcæ superfluous,*" says Scaliger, "*nobis nullus!*"

† The restoration of the article by the Revisers is interesting historically in Matt. ii. 4, iv. 5, 9, 22, v. 1, Mark v. 13; Luke xiv. 17, xviii. 11, xxiv. 10; John iii. 10, viii. 3; Acts ix. 2, 2 Thess. ii. 3; 1 Cor. v. 7, ix. 4; 2 Cor. ii. 6, 17, xii. 13, 18, Rev. viii. 13. It is important doctrinally in Matt. xii. 41, xiv. 12; John v. 33; Gal. iii. 10 *scq.*; Rom. v. 2, xii. 19 and *passim*; Col. i. 19; Heb. xi. 10; Jas. v. 20. Bentley pointed out more than a century ago the theological loss that results from the neglect of the articles in Rom. v. 15, 19. The wrong insertion of the article in the A.V. is objectionable in 1 Tim. vi. 10, 2 Cor. iii. 16, &c. Instances might be endlessly multiplied.

heard of it before." Alas, no! If they had, and still more if the Revisers had here had the courage to follow the direct and undeniable example of our Lord, by *transliterating* into English the technical Hebrew word Gehenna, which He would not translate, but (*because it was technical*) *transliterated* from Hebrew into Greek—then a vast amount of glaring and dangerous error might have been dispelled. For what is the true and only proper translation? Not even "the hell of fire," but "the *Gehenna* of fire," as the Revisers rightly render it in the margin. Not "the hell of fire," because the connotations of the word "hell," in *its most important particulars*, are—as I have elsewhere proved beyond the possibility of a doubt*—in direct contradiction to those of the word "Gehenna." "Hell"—in the popular dogmatism even of learned theologians—means a punishment exclusively everlasting: "Gehenna," the technical Hebrew word used by our Lord and His Apostles, meant—as a matter of the most absolute certainty—a punishment *normally terminable*. Sir Edmund could have chosen no instance which more decisively shows the importance of the Greek article, and the fatal results which may follow from carelessness in rendering it.

c. Matt. xi. 2, "The Christ." Sir Edmund says that the Revisers "seem always to have introduced '*the*' before Christ in the Gospels," and considers that this has been done "in a manner quite unnatural and offensive, considering that Christ has for nearly nineteen centuries now been a proper name." But Sir E. has here unwittingly given the very reason why the accuracy of the Revisers is not only correct, but really important. In the Gospels the word "Christ," with scarcely a single exception, is *not* a proper name, but the designation of an office. Herod did *not* ask the Sanhedrin "where Christ should be born," but "where *the* Christ"—i.e. the promised Messiah—"should be born." St. John did not hear in prison the works of Christ, but *Messianic* works—the works of *the* Messiah. The fact that "Christ" became a proper name, even within the New Testament epoch, is one of the silent indications of the rapid growth of Christianity. The passage of the word "Christ" from the designation of an office to the name of a Person is determined by the great landmark of the resurrection from the dead. That landmark, obliterated by the A. V.,† is restored by the Revisers.

d. Matt. xiii. 3, 7, "The sower went forth to sow." "What sower?" asks Sir E., and quotes the Bishop of Lincoln in condemnation of the article, although St. Matthew used it. Of course we have all known since we were boys of the use of the "generic article," which Bishop Wordsworth, Dr. Malan, and others think a sufficient ground for condemning the Revisers for making this change. But our Lord said "*the* sower," just as He said "*the* thorns," and "*the* rock," because He was following that Divine method which characterized his teaching, of *drawing lessons from that which He and his hearers saw before their eyes*.

* "Mercy and Judgment," pp. 190-221.

† For brevity's sake I will henceforth allude to the Authorized Version as the A. V.

There was the sower actually sowing before them! There, as I have seen on the spot, is *the* trodden path, and *the* thorne, and *the* rocky ground, and the birds of the air, which the Speaker pointed out, as He emphasized, through the witness of the eyes, the instruction of the soul. It is never safe for the translators of a sacred book to be inaccurate for the sake of euphony, or associations, or fancy, or *a priori* reasoning, or anything else. Had they been so in this instance, we should have lost some of the gracious *pictures* which enable us to reproduce in all its original vividness that beautiful scene. We do not want familiar inaccuracy or pretty-sounding error;—we want what Jesus said.

e. Heb. vi. 16, "*The* oath is final for confirmation." "What oath? Here is an article gone mad!" Well, if so, the article went mad in the original. No doubt the writer could have said "*an* oath" if he had so desired; but he said—and therefore the Revisers had no choice but to say—*the* oath. What oath? Is it very difficult to answer, "the oath to which men always appeal as a final resource?" In this case the change is not very important, but Sir Edmund's criticisms affect the writer not the Revisers. They had simply no *right* to obliterate the article which he used.

f. Heb. ix. 27, "It is appointed unto men once to die, and after this *cometh* judgment." "As if there could be the smallest doubt that it meant *the* judgment!" I humbly submit that there is every doubt; nay more, that there is positive certainty that it does *not* mean "*the* judgment," in the sense in which that word is popularly understood. By abandoning the article which King James's translators here incorrectly inserted, the Revisers help, as they have done in so many other places, silently to remove deep-seated errors. At the death of each of us there follows "*a* judgment," as the sacred writer says; *the* judgment, the final judgment, may not be for centuries to come. In the *omission* of that unauthorized little article from the A. V. by the Revisers lies no less a doctrine than that of the existence of an Intermediate State.

Nothing could be easier than to follow Sir Edmund through all the other instances in which he criticises the insertion of the article by the Revisers. In every instance it is defensible; in the great majority of instances necessary; in some it was profoundly important. The criticisms really fall on the New Testament writers, not on the Revisers.

"Ignoscit corvis, vexat censura columbas."

II. But if Sir Edmund is angry with the attention paid by the Revisers to the "modern rules"—in other words the *correct* rules—for rendering the article, he is still more so with their observance of the modern rules—in other words the only rules there are—about the tenses, and especially the aorists. He says, that "the Evangelists and Apostles clearly did *not* mind these aorists and articles and particles as good scholars may expect them to have done, because we find that it sometimes make nonsense or confusion to assume that they did;" and he refers to a number of instances to prove his astonishing point.

i. I reply, generally, that the Apostles and Evangelists demonstrably *did* attend to the difference between aorists and perfects; that they would not have been writing Greek at all if they did not; and that in nearly every instance the reason of their usage can be explained and justified. It is perfectly true that in *some* instances the idiomatic usage of English differs from that of Greek; and that in a *few* instances the *practical* distinction between the meaning of one tense and the other is so small that either might have been used. But the highest authority in Hellenistic grammar—Dr. Winer—says, “It cannot be distinctly shown from *any* passages that could be adduced that the aorist stands for the perfect;” and those who have carefully studied the tenses of the New Testament are well aware that this is the case. The Quarterly Reviewer and Sir E. Beckett may be as vexed, or surprised, or indignant as they like, but the obliteration of the Greek aorist in the A. V. has undoubtedly altered the perspective of some Christian truths, and concealed one of the most marked characteristics of apostolic thought. Nothing can more decisively prove the radical distinction between aorists and perfects—aorists expressive of actions which took place at some indefinite moment in the past, perfects expressive of actions just completed, or of which the effects are still permanent—than that the sacred writers, in not a few passages, use the two tenses by way of contrast in the very same clause, and always with an accurate discrimination of their meaning. Thus we find:—

John i. 3, “Without Him *was* not anything *made* (ἐγένετο) which *hath* been made (γέγονεν).”

1 Cor. ix. 22, “I *became* (ἐγενόμην) to the weak as weak. I *have* become (γέγονα) all things to all.”

Col. i. 16, 17, “In Him *were* all things *created* (ἐκτίσθη); all things *have* been created (ἐκτίσται) through Him and unto Him.”

2 Cor. vii. 13, 14, “We *have* been comforted (παρηκολήμηθα) and we *rejoiced* (ἐχάρημεν) in the joy of Titus, because his spirit *has* been refreshed (ἀναπλήρωται)” &c.*

And as for the aorist, taken alone, it is remarkable that whereas in our A. V. the verbs expressive of great crises of the Christian life are always rendered by perfects (“I *have* been crucified with Christ,” “He *hath* quickened me,” “Ye *have* been sealed,” “He *hath* saved us”), in St. Paul, on the other hand (and therefore in the Revised Version), all these acts are looked on, as Bishop Lightfoot justly points out, “as summed up in one definite act in the past; *potentially* to all men in our Lord’s Passion and Resurrection, *actually* to each individual man when he accepts Christ, is baptised into Christ.”† Is it right that a conception so profound and remarkable should simply disappear

* For other instances see 2 Cor. v. 17, xvii. 17, 18. 1 Thet. iv. 9, 10, 14.

† See Rom. vi. 1, Col. ii. and in Gal. ii. *passim*, Eph. i. 1, 13, ii. *passim*, &c. All these “baptismal aorists,” which, as the Bishop of Derry says, “show that St. Paul surveys the whole field of spiritual life from a baptismal point of view,” are obliterated in the A. V. In some instances this neglect of the aorist is theologically disastrous, as in 2 Cor. v. 14.

because of sheer carelessness about the rendering of tenses? When St. Paul says that "Christ *was buried* (ἐτάφη) and *hath been raised* (ἐγήγερται)" he emphasizes by a touch the fact that the death and burial of Christ were, so to speak, but for a moment, while his Resurrection means nothing less than infinite, permanent, and continuous life. To me, then, it seems that the translators *could not but* notice the distinction between perfects and aorists, and that for their faithfulness and accuracy in this respect they deserve, not bitter complaints, but grateful recognition.

ii. And besides this general answer, I reply specifically that I have not observed one of the instances adduced against the Revisers in respect of this change in which they would have been justified in leaving untouched the loose renderings of the A. V. For instance:—

a. Matt. ii. 2, "We *saw* his star in the East, and *are come*." Bishop Wordsworth, of St. Andrews, and others, protest against this. Yet nothing but custom blinds us from seeing that the "we have seen" of the English Version is incorrect. It is incorrect, in the first place, because the Evangelist wrote εἶδον and not ὤπακον. It is incorrect, secondly, because it conceals the fact that the Magi had not seen the star just before, but had seen it in the far land from which they came.

b. Matt. ii. 15, "Out of Egypt *did I call* my son." What could the Revisers do but alter the incorrect rendering of the A. V.? The Greek is not ἐκάλεσα but ἐκάλεσα. The A. V. confuses the entire meaning of the passage, and hides the invariable method of St. Matthew in his references to Old Testament prophecies. Hoshea's reference (Hosh. xi. 1) is to the *calling forth of the Israelites from Egypt*; and St. Matthew only adduces the passage as a prophecy on that principle of interpretation which regarded as Messianic the whole cycle of events in the history of Israel. It is by a restoration of the tenses actually used that we may expect, in this and hundreds of other texts, to rekindle a light of understanding which has long faded away in those fogs of arbitrary and fantastic exegesis which are to many who would arrogate to themselves the exclusive title of "theologians" as the very breath of their nostrils. We do not want that sort of theology. We want truth. We do not want either tradition or ecclesiasticism, or St. Augustine, or St. Thomas Aquinas. Still less do we want the elaborate fictions of hosts of later commentators. We want the sweet air of Heaven and the pure light of day.

III. Similar reasons for the Revisers' accuracy might be offered again and again, and scores of passages might be adduced in which they thus restore some deep and unnoticed thought of the sacred writer. And, surely, the last who ought to complain are those who have so loudly proclaimed their adhesion to what Faber calls the "grotesque fanaticism" of letter-worship, which I am glad to see that Sir Edmund Beckett repudiates. Of course if it were true that, in seeking for

accuracy, the Revisers have sacrificed English idiom, or if it were true that they have (as Sir Edmund reiterates) ever perpetrated "nonsense," by *failing* to be faithful—then their changes would be indefensible. But we deny the sacrifice of English idiom, however rigidly that phrase be interpreted; and if there be "nonsense"—which we deny most emphatically—then it lies in the words of the original, not in the exactness of the reproduction. It is true that we in English sometimes use perfects where Greeks used aorists, not of course because the perfect is the same thing as the aorist, but because we look at the same acts from different points of view. This the Revisers have seen, and have allowed for. But that is no reason why we should not retain the original aorist when there is absolutely nothing in our own idiom to prevent us from doing so. The charge of "wooden pedantry," so often brought against the Revisers, really applies to those who would clamp the English language into a rigid formalism which its genius repudiates. The English language is a living organism, not a dead product.

Now we are only following the instances which our critic has adduced, and he naturally imagines that he has got a strong point in the scornful remarks which he makes about the rendering of certain tenses in the Epistle to the Hebrews. So, at first sight, he has; but his apparent strength turns out to be a special weakness.

Heb. ix. 18, "The first covenant *hath not been* dedicated without blood."

Heb. vii. 6, "He . . . *hath* taken tithes of Abraham."

Heb. x. 28, "A man that *hath set at naught* Moses' law died without mercy on the word of two or three witnesses."

Heb. xi. 5, "For before his translation, he *hath witness bore* to him that he had been well-pleasing to God."

Heb. xi. 17, "Abraham, being tried, *hath offered up* (marg.) Isaac."

Now here, doubtless the reader will think that Sir Edmund has a plain case. He says that in these passages we have the "favourite sacrifice of sense to tense;" proofs that the New Testament writers "did not know" or "at any rate often disregarded" the "rules for interpreting the several past tenses;" "nonsense;" "confusion;" "bad English;" and so forth.

Yet how simple is the answer!

The use of the tenses in these and other passages of the Epistle to the Hebrews is a marked speciality of the writer's mind and method. It is as little idiomatic—in other words, as little *normal*—in Greek as in English. Why did the writer express himself in this unusual way? For the simple reason that it was a part of his idiosyncrasy, a part of his training, a part of his philosophy to regard the words and events of Scripture as *permanent and present things*. Such usages of the perfect are not found in other New Testament writers, because they had not this mental peculiarity. St. Paul, for instance, does not write thus. This remarkable peculiarity of mental vision, shown in his use of tenses, is a

clear proof of the Alexandrianism of the author of the Epistle, and another of the *many* proofs that the writer is *not* St. Paul. If the English be "nonsense," "confusion," &c.—which we deny—it is so only because it faithfully preserves a hitherto unnoticed and obliterated peculiarity of the original; a peculiarity full of critical, historical, and psychological value. Several of the sacred writers have idiosyncrasies of expression. St. Matthew is fond of participles, St. Paul of repetitions, St. Mark has a peculiar structure of sentences, St. John has unusual causal connections. Were all these marks of individuality to be ruthlessly expunged? Here is a plain and clear issue for the English public. What did they desire in the New Revision? Did they want truth, accuracy, humble fidelity, and the minutest care; or did they want their ears to be pleased by the retention of incorrect and familiar rhythms? Did they desire to have truth or tradition—to hear the word of God, or to be answered according to their idols? Did they want a correct *sumpsimus*, or their erroneous but pleasing *mumpsimus*? So much blame has been heaped upon the Revision and the Revisers that one who was not a Reviser, and whose only strong suggestion—like Hugh Broughton's of old—the Revisers partially rejected, may be permitted to say that when, after all these voices, there is peace, he firmly believes the Revised Version will inaugurate a new era of Scripture knowledge, far truer, because far less artificial and traditional, than that which has hitherto prevailed.

IV. Let us pass to another large class of renderings to which *seriatim* Sir Edmund Beckett objects. I will put several of them together that the reader may judge for himself:—

Matt. iii. 7, "Ye *offspring* of vipers."

„ vii. 13, "The *narrow* gate."

„ xiii. 2, "All the multitude stood on *the beach*."

„ xiv. 26, "It is an *apparition*."

Acts xxvii. 27, "The sailors *surmised* that they were drawing near to some country."

1 Cor. xiii. 1, "A *clanging* cymbal."

On all these changes we have severe reflections, but again I ask what else could the Revisers have done? "*Strait*" is now an archaism for "narrow," and since it is almost universally mistaken by the people for the unmeaning "straight," the Revisers wisely altered it that its important sense might be better understood. The Greek words, γεννήματα, αἵματος, φάντασμα, mean, and mean exactly, what the Revisers have put as their English equivalents—"offspring," "beach," "apparition." They do not exactly mean "generation," "shore," "spirit." Those English words have other equivalents in the Greek of the New Testament. In each instance we have a distinct gain. "Generation of vipers," besides being inaccurate, was vague; "*offspring of vipers*" means, as the original meant, that they were "*serpentes e serpentibus*." "*Beach*" calls express attention to the extraordinary accuracy of the Evangelists. It is the

exact word for the exact spot at which the event referred to took place, and it suits no other spot on the whole lake. Again, an *apparition* means, as in the Greek, something purely phantasmal. The word is confused with all kinds of other speculations when it is, as in the A. V., carelessly rendered as though it were "spirit." Sir Edmund supposes that "*surmise*" is a new word, but we already have "surmisings" in the A. V. "Clanging cymbal" is indefinitely nearer the true meaning of the grand onomatopœia used by St. Paul—χαλκὸς ἀλαλάζων—than the weak and incorrect "tinkling" to which we are accustomed.

V. Let us take another batch of specimens.

a. Matt. ix. 9, "Matthew sitting at the place of toll."

"Why not the old *custom*?" is the question asked. Principally, of course, because the word is τελώνιον, not φόρος. But "what was the toll for?" and the critic, being unaware of the simple answer to his own question, makes merry over the change. "Perhaps," he says, "they do not know, as any lawyer could have told them, that a toll is the opposite of a tax or custom, and that 'a toll' is a 'payment for transit or carriage.'" Exactly so; and therefore it would have been positively wrong to follow the A. V. in rendering τελώνιον as though St. Matthew had written φόρος. The Revisers knew this, and also knew, what Sir Edmund clearly does not know, that there was "a toll," in the strictest sense of the word, at that very spot. By restoring the correct version the Revisers furnish one more proof of the accuracy of the Apostolic eye-witness. How could they have been justified in translating a word by that which Sir Edmund tells us is its very opposite?

b. Matt. ix. 23, "*Flute-players*." Why not the old "minstrels"? Because the Greek is αὐληταί, and because the Revisers had no right to substitute the vague for the specific, or to conceal from us the glimpse thus given of ancient customs.

c. Matt. x. 19, "*Be not anxious* how or what ye shall speak."

Matt. vi. 34, "*Be not therefore anxious* for the morrow."

Sir Edmund thinks that the old "*Take no thought*" "obviously expresses the meaning better." "Take no thought" is an archaism for "Be not anxious." But to the thousands who are unaware of this it involved a dangerous mistranslation of μὴ μεριμνήσητε. The first text became to ignorant ministers an excuse for gross carelessness; the second became to unthrifty artisans an exhortation to improvidence. "Anxious" is, I believe, the only modern word introduced into the Revised Version; but was there not a cause?

d. Matt. xv. 6, "Ye have made void* the word of God, because of your tradition." In other words, for the sake of their traditional ignorance, which they took for knowledge, they emptied of its significance the word of God. They could not under any circumstances make it of none effect by their traditions, as the A. V. makes them do.

* ἀνυπόστατον. I do not see why the Revisers have here deviated from the aorist. It refers back to the time when the school of "Tradition" had grown up.

c. Matt. xxiv. 8, "All these things are the beginning of *travail*." Sir Edmund Beckett ventures to call this "one of the most absurd of their alterations;" he adds that "if it were to be really understood in the proper sense here it would be *outrageous nonsense*." Here, as in multitudes of other criticisms, we see, at a glance, that Sir Edmund is writing from a standpoint of knowledge far inferior to the Revisers'. "Ne auctor ultra crepidula." It is always dangerous, as Coleridge phrased it, to *ultra-crepidula*. For if "*travail*" be "*outrageous nonsense*," it was "*outrageous nonsense*" deliberately uttered and as deliberately translated. The answer here is not only that ὥδινς means "*travail*" "*birth pangs*," and nothing else, and that it would have been inaccurate and unfaithful to render it by the vague and, in this instance, unmeaning "*sorrows*;" but that, for a long period, the troublous times which were to precede the Messianic advent had been known by the specific name of "*the birth pangs*," or "*travail-throes*" of the Messiah. The phrase, which is a literal rendering of the Hebrew חבלי המשיח, had a most peculiar technical and historical significance, long lost to English readers, but now restored by the carefulness of the Revisers.

f. Matt. xxvii. 38, "*Robbers*." "The Revisers had much better have left 'thieves' alone: for there is no such peculiar infamy attached to highway robbers as Revisionists assume." Revisionists have assumed nothing, but have simply distinguished, as the Evangelists have invariably done, between κλέπται, "*thieves*," in Matt. vi. 19, &c., and λῃσται, "*robbers*." Judas was a thief; Barabbas was a robber. The old mistranslation, besides the inexcusable want of accuracy, utterly confuses the chief significance which the Crucifixion had to many who witnessed it. Not even the Romans, not even the Pharisees, not even Herod dreamed of degrading our Lord to the level of a "*thief*;" they chose to class him as a *political incendiary* like their *Sicarii*, and bandits—followers perhaps of the school of Judas of Gaulon—whom they crucified on either side of him.

g. Rev. vii. 2, "*The whole moon became as blood*." The critic here is extraordinarily hypercritical, not upon the Revisers, but upon St. John. St. John, in the true reading, wrote "*the whole moon*," or rather "*the moon, over all her surface*," simply because he is contrasting what happened at the opening of the sixth seal with the darkening of a *third part* of her surface after the blast of the third trumpet.

h. Rev. xiii. 1, "*Diadems*." Why diadems, instead of the old crowns? For the very simple reason that throughout the Apocalypse "*crowns*" (στέφανοι) belong chiefly to the Lamb and to his Saints, while "*diadems*" are the recognized insignia of the Wild Beast and his votaries. There is as great a distinction between "*crowns*" and "*diadems*" as between Immortalities (ζῶα) and Wild Beasts (θῆρια), which are unfortunately confounded together in the A. V. Nay, more: is Sir Edmund aware that no small part of the question as to the interpretation of the Apocalypse hinges on this very word—the word

diadems—in its special and technical sense? If not, I will leave him to seek further enlightenment.

i. James ii. 19, "The devils also believe and *shudder*." This rendering is the plea for recurrent mirth. But if St. James wrote "shudder" what could the Revisers do? And, however much the critic may laugh, St. James *did* write "shudder." The word *πρίσσωσι* is unique, as "shudder" is; and "shudder" is a good English word, and is its exact equivalent. If St. James meant "tremble," he could have used, as the other sacred writers do again and again, the common Greek verb *τρίβωσι*. What is there in the version, except its unfamiliar accuracy, to excite any one's laughter? The laughter is at St. James. Would it not be better to learn the lesson which he intended—that there is an awful difference between the fear which may be full of reverence and holiness and the coarse sense of physical repulsion, the horror of devilish antipathy?

j. Heb. vii. 3 and 6, "Without *genealogy*." It is not true that Melchizedek was without *descent*, in the ordinary sense of the word: it is both true, definite, and a correct version to say that he was without (recorded) *genealogy*.

k. Heb. viii. 1, "Now in the things we are saying the *chief point* is this." This is pronounced to be flat and erroneous. Yet two things are certain—namely, 1, that *κεφάλαιον* may mean a "chief point;" and 2, that it *must* have that meaning here, as both Theophylact and Suidas observe, because what the writer of the Epistle proceeds to give is a chief point and is not, in any sense of the word, a *summary*.

l. Heb. xi. 19, "From whence he did also in a *parable* receive him back." Here, again, the critic thinks that he understands the ignorance of the translators, but is in reality only ignorant of their understanding. He pronounces the Revised Version to be puzzling, ridiculous, and wrong. It is in reality an accurate preservation of a "remarkable Alexandrian allusion, and forms one of the characteristic touches in which the letter abounds."

m. Rev. xiv. 6, "Another angel flying in *mid-heaven* having an eternal gospel to proclaim." Sir Edmund seems to regard '*mid-heaven*' as a piece of "finery." But, as is so often the case, he is criticizing St. John, not the Revisers. St. John here uses *μεσσηπάνηνα*, a word absolutely unique. Which were the Revisers to do—to retain his peculiarity by an exact English equivalent, or, as Sir Edmund suggests, to efface it by "in the midst of heaven"? They use the words "a gospel," not "the Gospel," because St. John does. He is not alluding (as Sir Edmund supposes) to "the Gospel," but to the *special* message which follows. They call the gospel "eternal," not "everlasting," because *αἰώνιος* never necessarily involves (though it may connote) the notion of endlessness, but even, in many instances, absolutely excludes it.

n. Rev. iv. 6, "*Living creatures*." It is fairly wishing that the critics of the Revisers should find fault with the of "*living*

creatures" for the ruinous mistranslation "Beasts." Owing to the modern connotation of "beasts," the word had become singularly degraded and unfortunate in such a juxtaposition. Further than that, it most unhappily obliterates the principle of allusive contrast on which the whole Book of Revelation hinges. The *θήρια*, or Wild Beasts, are the servants of Satan; the *ζῶα*, or Immortalities, are near the throne of God. The same word is used in the A. V. for two sets of Beings which, in the original, stand to each other in the utmost conceivable degree of contrast and opposition.

VI. It would be tedious to follow Sir Edmund Beckett through all his pages of almost unbroken fault-finding. Even in the few instances in which I agree with him in thinking that the Revision might be amended, it would still be easy to point out that the deviation from the A. V. may be supported by valid reasons. But I will proceed to examine the two instances, to one of which our critic thinks that "*the nonsense prize*" ought to be awarded, while "*the destruction prize*" ought to be assigned to the other.

I. He awards "the nonsense prize" to the Revised Version of Rev. xv. 6, "The seven Angels arrayed with *precious stones*, pure and bright," for the "clothed in pure and white linen," of the A. V. Now when Sir Edmund made merry over this new reading at the meeting in which he "ventured to throw a stone at these lapidaries," I endeavoured to show that the Revised Version was not, at any rate, "*an absurdity*" because Milton had also armed his Angels—probably with no reference to the reading of *λίθος* for *λίνον* adopted by the Revisers—in precious stone; and I quoted both—

* Though huge, and in a rock of diamond armed."

and

" Let each
His adamantine coat gird well."

Is this absurd or grotesque? If so, is Horace, also, absurd or grotesque, when he writes—

" Martem tunica tectum adamantina" ?

and Claudian, with his—

" Mavors adamantæ coruscat" ?

But those are "images—poetical images." One asks in amazement, and is not the Apocalypse full of "images—poetic images," from the first page to the last? But then "*λίθος* alone, without some adjective, never means a precious stone." Be it so: but here we have *two* adjectives, both eminently suitable to precious stones—namely, "pure and bright." And, lastly, how if "stone" and not "linen" were simply the true reading? If so, then Sir Edmund has been flinging more stones, not at the Revisers, but at St. John. "Stone" is, at any rate, the reading of A, C, of various Cursives, of ancient MSS. known to the famous Apocalyptic commentator Andreas, and of some first-rate versions. It is the less commonplace reading, and therefore—without laying any *undue*

stress on the sensible and recognized rule of "*faciliori lectioni præstat ardua*"—the most likely to have been altered. Sir Edmund objects that in this case St. John would have used the plural, "stones." But has he never noticed the partiality of the Seer for splendid monoliths of gems? When, in addition to these considerations, we read Ezek. xxviii. 13, in the LXX., and see that it was almost certainly in St. John's thoughts; and are reminded finally by Drs. Westcott and Hort that λίνον does not normally mean "fine linen" and that for "fine linen" St. John uses another word (βύσσινον), the new reading acquires the highest degree of probability, and even the critic can enjoy the splendour of the image; he is at any rate pouring his ridicule on that which St. John most probably wrote.

ii. The "*destruction prize*" is awarded to Rev. xiii. 10, "He that is unrighteous *let him do unrighteousness* still; and he that is filthy *let him be made filthy* still; and he that is righteous *let him do righteousness* still; and he that is holy *let him be made holy* still." The reader will see at a glance that, sublime and beautiful as is our A. V., the "*destruction prize*" must be awarded, not to the Revisers, but to King James's translators; or rather to the singularly corrupt text, or no text, of the Apocalypse to which alone they had access. For undoubtedly the true readings are ὁ ὑποβιβάζω (or ὁ ὑπανθίζω) and δικαιωσόμενοι ποιησάμενοι. And here, again, Sir Edmund gets out of his depth. It is abundantly clear that he has not grasped what the Revisers knew to be the true meaning. The incorrect version of the A. V. has misled him into the terribly false misconception, which he shares with the multitude, that the text is the strongest way of saying "*that he is condemned to eternal filthiness.*" God forbid! It is in reality an exhortation to repent during "the short time" which is left before the then immediate Advent of Christ in the close of the Old Dispensation—an exhortation only rendered more intense by the force of an irony which was adopted with merciful intentions.

VI. Instead of following the other objections step by step, let us take one passage, the one which has been most generally condemned, and to which even so friendly a critic as the Dean of Peterborough objects as spoiling the "*splendid sweep*" of the A. V. It is the remarkable opening passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews.

"God, *having of old time spoken* unto the fathers in the prophets, by *divers portions* and in *divers manners*, hath, *at the end of these days*, spoken unto us in his Son, whom He appointed heir of all things, *through whom* also He made the worlds, who being the *effulgence* of his glory, and the *very image* of his substance, and upholding all things by the word of his power, when *He had made purification of sins*, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; *having become* by so much better than the Angels, as He hath inherited a more excellent name than they."

Now in this passage undoubtedly the R. Version will at first sight—but, I am convinced, only at first sight—appear at its worst, because

we shall miss the stately eloquence of the A. V. with which we are so familiar. Much of the apparent harshness of the Revisers is, however, unreal. Our sense of it must be largely discounted. It is due, in no small measure, to the shock which we receive by the substitution of unfamiliar terms for others which association has made very dear to us. We must not forget that even our A. V. was assailed at the first appearance with reproaches exactly similar to those which are now used against the Revisers. The "bad English" of the A. V. was complained of in those days in exactly the same tone and spirit as the asserted "bad English" of our Revisers is complained of now. And in favour of this criticism is quoted the authority of Mr. Spurgeon and Mr. G. Washington Moon! Well, time will show! But if we are to have authoritative dicta about what is, and what is not, good English, I venture to think that the authority of such men as the Bishops of Durham and Gloucester, the Deans of Rochester and Llandaff, and Canons Kennedy and Westcott, not to speak of all the other Revisers, is incomparably superior to that of either Mr. Spurgeon or Mr. Moon.

Now in this passage Sir Edmund Beckett sees no difference of meaning to compensate for the loss of euphony. He calls "*by divers portions*" a bad translation; "*effulgence*" is "somewhat vulgar finery." "The image of a *substance*" appears to him an impossibility.

And yet the Revisers are in every instance indisputably accurate, and more accurate than the Translators; and their accuracy is a gain which repays us a thousandfold for the harshness—I am bold to say the purely imaginary harshness—of their diction. Πολυμερῶς does mean "in many portions"—i.e., fragmentarily; and it does not mean "at sundry times." The correct word brings out a most important truth, and one which is constantly forgotten to the utter ruin of all Old Testament interpretation. It was (in the true reading) "*at the end of these days*"*—i.e., at the close of the period of the Fathers—and not "in these last days," that God had spoken in His Son. In strict theological accuracy the worlds were made *through* (διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ) rather than "by" Christ—or in other words, He was the Instrumental rather than the Independent cause. *Effulgence*, besides at once marking an Alexandrian expression and conception, indicates the truth that Christ is not only "brightness," but derivative brightness—Light of or from Light; God of God, Son of the Father.† Since the modern meaning of the word "person" is the exact opposite to its philosophical meaning, the Revisers could hardly have left "person" uncorrected as a rendering of ὑπόστασις. Lastly—for in the other instances also there is no question as to their more faithful accuracy—"in His Son" points to an important theological distinction, and "*having become* better than the Angels," obviates the use of an expression which in the original of Heb. iii. 2 (τῷ ποιήσαντι αὐτὸν) was so startling to the Nicene orthodoxy of the Fathers that it endangered

* It was a technical Hebrew expression.

† The Revisers were driven to the Latinism, because there is no Saxon word corresponding to the Greek ἀναλόγημα and the German Abglanz.

the very acceptance of the Epistle, and was one of the causes which retarded the recognition of its canonicity. To those who want to know what the sacred writer really meant and really said, this is a crucial passage. Even if we concede that there is a loss in rhetorical grandeur we maintain that we are more than compensated by the gains not only to accuracy of expression, but to important truths.

VII. But Sir Edmund Beckett is a most uncompromising opponent. Many other changes that appear to us to be most certain improvements fall under his condemnation.

a. Thus he is apparently displeased with the Revisers for telling us in Heb. ix. 16, 17, that *διαθήκη* means both "covenant" and "testament." Now to careful students of the Epistle in the original nothing is more certain than that the writer *does*, in those two verses, change for a moment, and for the sake of introducing a single illustration, that meaning of the word which he has adopted throughout the rest of his letter. *Διαθήκη* means normally, and to Greeks, a *testament*, or will. To Jews, who were not familiar with wills, the word had normally the meaning of a *covenant*. Hence the writer, as a Jew addressing Jews, uses the word in the Jewish sense. But in those two verses it strikes him by way of passing illustration, that the other meaning of the word may also suggest a valuable thought. He freely avails himself of this double meaning because the Jews too were aware of it, as is proved by their transliteration of this very word in the sense of *will* in the Talmud. Further than this, Philo, the Alexandrian philosopher, who had exercised so deep an influence on the writer's thoughts, *had already set him the example of doing the very same thing*, by playing on the twofold sense of the word. The rendering of the word by "covenant" in these two verses would make the writer assert something which is perfectly false and meaningless. The true rendering of the Revisers, which gives us "covenant" throughout the rest of the Epistle, and "testament" only in these two verses, restores to us his argument in its true sense, and furnishes us with one more of the touches which throw light alike on the origin and on the characteristics of the whole Epistle.

b. Again, he is angry at the change in John x. 16, "*They shall become one flock, one shepherd.*" "What sort of language is that? No Greek can justify such English." We will assume that the Revisers have here restored the true reading *γινώσονται* for the *γινώσκονται* of the A.V. And, if so, what is there incorrect about the English? At present there are *many* flocks, and the flocks which are penned within them do not recognize that they are, and therefore almost cease to be in reality, but *one* flock. But they shall *become* one flock, and St. John might have added in a separate clause that they should be under one Shepherd. He does not do so, but prefers the shortened and far more vigorously suggestive expression. What right have the Revisers to amend his grammar and phraseology, or even to suppose that it wants mending? If *γινώσονται* . . . *εἰς ποιμήν* be correct Greek, then "they shall become one flock, one shepherd" is correct English. And correct, according to the sense of

passion, if not according to the lower syllogism of formal grammar, it most assuredly is. But, passing by the mere change from "there" to "they," necessitated by the adoption of the true reading, has Sir Edmund no word of gratitude for the divine and consoling truth—a truth how divine and consoling those of us know who are unutterably weary of the strife of tongues—that we shall all become one flock (*μία ποίμνη*) even though the flock may remain till the end of time divided into many folds; each fold (*ἀλλή*) separate indeed, but peaceful: parted by external divisions, but one in heart—owning "one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God and Father of us all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all."⁶

¶ I must end, because I have no more space at my command. If I have not considered all the variations from the A. V. to which Sir Edmund has taken exception, it is only because it would be at once needless and tedious to do so. If I have been right in what I have here advanced, I ask the reader to feel assured that on nearly, if not quite, every other point which has been selected for animadversion, there is a very strong, if not an absolutely conclusive, answer; and that besides the corrections which have been impugned, but which in every instance admit of strong defence, there are passages on every page from which, by universal admission, errors and inaccuracies have, for the first time, been swept away.

I do not, of course, pretend to say that I agree with the Revisers in every instance, and that there are not some things in their Revision—and some of great importance, though few in number—which I regret. But even where I differ from them in judgment, I do so with the extremest deference, and with the feeling that, after all, they—being so many and so competent—may be in the right. But here I will add this only: that from all who know the fatal force and fascination of words—who have learnt to realize the immense and inconceivable mistakes which are made by the ignorant (ay, and by the learned also) in reading Scripture—who wish to know what the Evangelists and Apostles really said, and as nearly as possible the manner in which they said it—who are aware of the manifold deficiencies of the Received Text, owing to the meagreness of the Apparatus Criticus which was alone at the disposal of the former Translators—the members of the Revision Committee deserve the deepest gratitude. In spite of the bitter attacks which have been made upon their Version, it will come to be regarded by ever-increasing numbers as one of the best boons which has been bestowed upon them by the learning, the fearlessness, and the faithfulness of the ripest scholars and divines whom the nineteenth century can boast.

F. W. FARRAR.

* "The translation 'fold' for 'flock' has been most disastrous in idea and influence. The obliteration of this essential distinction has served in no small degree to confirm and extend the false claims of the Roman See. It would perhaps be impossible for any correction now to do away with the effects which a translation undeniably false has produced on ecclesiastical ideas." Dr Westcott, *Speaker's Commentary*, on John x. 16. The remark applies to many another "obliteration of true distinctions" which the Revised Version has removed.

AGRICULTURAL DEPRESSION.

II.

IN the last number of this Review I directed attention to the facts, marshalled by Mr. Caird, and confirmed by other evidence, which prove that, during the last twenty years, there has been no decline, but, on the contrary, a progressive and a very great rise in the value of all the articles of home agricultural produce—with three exceptions; these three being wheat, wool, and bacon. I directed attention, in the second place, to the facts given us by Mr. Prout, which prove that even on the most intractable kind of soil, and with the one great staple which has been most affected by foreign competition, namely, wheat, the British farmer can prosecute his business not only with success, but with a very high rate of profit. From the first of these series of facts we can estimate the unreasonableness as well as the injustice of any proposal to reimpose duties on the importation of food as a means of protecting the British farmer. From the second series of facts we may come to some conclusions, not less important, on other proposals for the legislative protection of farming enterprise, which are put forward on its behalf as alternative demands.

It is in the interest of these demands for special protection, that Mr. Prout has detailed his own experience in his Essay on Profitable Clay Farming. And it is in the light which his Essay really does throw upon them, that its main value consists. Very naturally and very usefully Mr. Prout has always his own case in view. But that is a case, we must remember, in which the Owner is also the Occupier—the landlord is also the farmer. He is not only the tiller, but he is also the improver, and even the reclamer of the soil. The circumstances which in his own experience have united the two positions, tend inevitably to confound and confuse his view of a system of fact and of law in which the two positions are not generally united, but separate and

distinct. Nevertheless there have always been many cases in which those who hire the land belonging to others have also undertaken its permanent improvement and reclamation. This has been done on the well-known and familiar principle of Improvement Leases. The tenant undertakes, as a speculation, the improvement or reclamation under the protection of a contract, by which he secures the whole produce of the soil at so moderate a rent, and for so long a time, that by the value of that produce during that time he can reckon on being repaid the whole capital he has expended, with good interest, and with a good return for his own skill and labour. In short, he does the work for valuable consideration. The confident expectation of this return is his only inducement to undertake the operation. He may or he may not promise to undertake it in the Lease. Generally he does not promise, and is not asked to do so, for the best of all reasons—because it would be unnecessary. He reclaims or improves because it is his interest to do so. It makes no difference in the principle whether any particular reclamation or any particular improvement is part of his contract. Whether he undertakes to be bound to do it, or whether he undertakes to do it without being bound, he is equally induced to do it because he knows it will pay him well. In either case he is paid for it—paid for it, not as is commonly said, exclusively out of his own capital, but out of the co-operation of his own capital, which is comparatively small, with the capital of another man which is comparatively large. It is true that the owner's capital is not in this case lent to him in the form of money; but it is lent to him in the form of money's worth. And very often what the farmer gets out of this money's worth belonging to another man, may be far more than the return of his own capital at a good rate of interest and with a good profit. The purchase of land in this country does not generally pay well. But the improvement and reclamation of land does very often pay enormously. The tenant undertakes to reclaim land rather than to buy it, because it is a much cheaper and a much more remunerative operation. He could not afford the capital requisite for purchase; but he can afford the much smaller amount of capital—or the gradual labour—that in many cases may be sufficient for reclamation or for permanent improvement. And so he contracts with the Owner that he shall be the exclusive Occupant and possessor of the soil for a definite time, and at a definite rent. When that time is expired his undertaking ends, and his valuable consideration has been secured. Of course, there is another way in which a tenant may be reimbursed. He may bargain that his outlay shall be repaid him in money when the improvements have been completed, and before they have begun to bear their fruit. Or he may bargain that he shall be repaid in part at the termination of his tenure. But if his repayment is to take this form he cannot also have it in another form. He has no claim or expectation to be repaid twice over—once in produce, and a second time in money. If he is repaid

in money, then he cannot have the whole produce, as he would have had in the other case, because part of that produce he will have to pay as interest on the additional capital thus lent to him by the landlord. This interest will take the form of a corresponding increase of the rent, and then, in this case, he takes the place of an ordinary tenant, who simply tills and does not improve. Exactly the same rule applies to the case in which the tenant bargains for repayment of his outlay at the end of his lease. In this case also he will pay a correspondingly higher rent in proportion to the greater certainty of his remuneration from another source than produce. It is obvious that all leases, and all prolonged tenures at an unaltered rent, whether under a lease or not, involve the same principle, in proportion to these three elements of value: 1st, their length; 2nd, their cheapness; and 3rd, the remunerativeness of the improvements made. A time and a rent which would not pay for any Buildings may pay well for the direct and immediate returns on drainage. A time and a rent which will not pay for expensive drainage may pay well for cheap and easy drainage. A time and a rent which would not pay for any drainage at all might pay largely for the most costly tillage, and for the most costly manures. The varieties of circumstance are infinite, and so are the varieties of condition under which a tenant may in this way secure compensation for any operation he may undertake.

It is remarkable that in one portion of his essay Mr. Prout states the principle of these arrangements with perfect clearness. He even applies it to the figures of his own case, and thus makes the explanation of it more definite and clear. He divides his own outlay into two portions—one the portion which represents the improvements which he did as Owner, and the other the improvements which he did as farmer. He calculates that he laid out £4,500 in his capacity of landlord, and £2,700 in his capacity of farmer. He admits that if he had taken his farm from a landlord who had expended £4,500 on permanent improvements, he would have had to pay a rent greater than the former tenant had paid for the same land by an amount equal to 5 per cent. on that outlay. Instead of paying £560 for rent, he would have had to pay £785. And now we have Mr. Prout's explanation of the terms which would have repaid him for the £2,700 additional outlay which he made in his capacity of farmer. And here it is:—"To recoup the further £2,700 of tenant's permanent improvements, it is necessary either that the tenant shall be repaid that amount in cash, and thenceforth hold at competition rent, or that he shall continue the occupation at such an abatement from the full rent as will amount to the £2,700 in a prolonged term, say of 20 years." Nothing could be more admirably clear and precise than this explanation, both of the principle and of its application. It will be observed that the expectation put forth on behalf of the tenant is an expectation strictly limited to the repayment of his capital—that is to say, of the sum actually expended; and Mr.

Prout even omits to include any special mention of the interest or of profit on his skill which are undoubtedly also elements on which he counts. Moreover, when he does come, in the next sentence, to specify the rate of interest which he thinks that he, in his capacity of tenant, might fairly expect on his outlay of £2,700, he puts it at the very moderate figure of 5 per cent. There is no hint in this statement of the case that, as farmer, he would expect anything more than the same return of capital with interest and profit, which is the principle of remuneration in all other kinds of business. On the contrary, he expressly says that if the £2,700 had been repaid him "in cash," he would then have expected to pay for his farm the "full competition rent;" and he expressly says, also, that if he had not been repaid his £2,700, he would have expected no greater abatement from that full rent, and no greater prolongation of term, than would be sufficient to remunerate him on the same scale of expectation.

This being so, it is all the more unaccountable that when we come to that later portion of his Essay which deals more definitely with the "impediments" to success in farming, which he thinks may be removed by changes in the law, Mr. Prout adopts, apparently without knowing it, an entirely different doctrine. That doctrine is no less than this: that he, as tenant, ought to secure for himself the "whole added value" of the improved land—which must mean that he is to have the whole increase of produce not only during the term requisite for the return of his own capital with interest and profit, but for ever. He does, indeed, admit that some portion of this value may be "fairly claimed" by the Owner of the soil; but he allows this only on incidental grounds, and he treats it rather as a favour and a concession—an abatement from sound principle and equity, which it may be expedient to make in order to tempt the Owners of land to allow other men to improve their land. No two doctrines could be more distinct and even antagonistic than those implied in these two passages of Mr. Prout's essay. The first doctrine is the doctrine on which all other industrial occupations are conducted, the doctrine which must continue to regulate them so long as every man is free to engage in them on the terms which all his neighbours are ready and willing to accept. The other doctrine is one which rests on the principle that farmers must not only be protected from the competition of others of their own class, but must be protected in the form of artificial Bounties. The only difference between this system and the old system of Bounties is that the Bounties upon farming are not to be paid by the State, or by the public as a whole, but alone by the Owners of land which is let on hire. And the Bounty is to be the enormous one of ownership without purchase. Mr. Prout sees no difficulty in this doctrine, even when he has to express it in the most outspoken language. The claim which he would make in his capacity of tenant, and in respect to the outlay he has made in that capacity, is a claim which he avows has no relation whatever to the remuneration which that outlay may have otherwise secured—to the valuable consideration

for which it may have been undertaken. He may have been repaid for that outlay ten times over; but that circumstance don't matter at all—he has a right, he says, besides, and in addition, to a great deal more. “No matter,” he says, “whether they [the tenants’ improvements] have served his purpose or not, or whether he has derived satisfactory aid from these works in tending to the remunerative character of his business,” he demands, as of right, a great deal more, and the amount of that demand is the whole “added value” of the soil—with an abatement indeed, but an abatement not calculated on any principle, but only due to Mr. Prout’s generosity and good nature. “I am not greedy,” he says, speaking in his capacity of tenant, “in my expectations. . . . I am willing to part with as much as one-third of this added value, but my demand is for not less than two-thirds for myself.” As regards any contribution which the landlord may have made to the outlay on improvements, he is to be content with the maximum interest of 5 per cent. Even this is specially mentioned by Mr. Prout as a “handsome” rate, which in his calculations he has “allowed.” But as regards the tenant’s outlay, although it may be a much smaller sum, it is to carry any interest, however high, which two-thirds of the whole “added value” of the Owners’ land may amount to. This may be, not 5 or 10, but 20, or even 50 per cent. But no matter, the whole of these two-thirds are due by some Divine right to the Occupier; and even the remaining one-third, which Mr. Prout would leave to the Owner, is left to him on a very indefinite and a very precarious tenure.

It may well excite surprise that conclusions so extravagant should be adopted by a writer who, a few pages before, has dealt with the same matter in a manner both sound and rational. But we can trace the transition from the one doctrine to the other through the dark passages of ambiguous language. It is wonderful what transmutations take place in them. No alchemy is like it. Some general proposition expressed in words which have a double meaning—true in one sense, perhaps, but not true in another—is very often the tunnel through which men pass underground from sense to nonsense—from the most important truth to the most mischievous error. The general proposition on which Mr. Prout relies may be found in the following sentence:—“I am convinced that the greatest impediment to the extension of my husbandry over the heavy lands of the kingdom lies in the fact that no law yet provides any safeguard that a tenant shall obtain the full fruits of his enterprise.” I pass over the objection that it is not the business of the law to secure the “full fruits”—or indeed any fruits—for any kind of enterprise, otherwise than by respecting and enforcing all contracts between man and man. I pass over this, not because it is unimportant, but because it is not the particular error—it is not the ambiguity—which it lies in my way now to indicate. The special ambiguity which illustrates my present argument lies in the words “full fruits of his enterprise.” Even granting that it is the business of the Legislature to

secure to one particular kind of enterprise its "full fruits," the question remains—what are they? How are they to be measured? How are they to be defined? The Socialist doctrines in respect to the rights and the rewards of labour are largely founded on the same deceptive phrases. One of these doctrines is that no man should ever make any profit out of another man's labour. I recollect hearing this doctrine laid down with the most perfect good humour, and in the most perfect simplicity of mind, by a London artisan in a meeting held many years ago for the discussion of economical questions. He said he could never understand how it ever could be just that any man should derive profit from the labour of another. Now this doctrine rests upon the assertion—identical both in form and in substance with the assertion of Mr. Prout—that every labourer should enjoy the "full fruits," or the "whole fruits," of his labour. And under this assertion, again, it is assumed that the whole ultimate market value of any article produced by labour should belong to the immediate producer—to the labourer or the artisan. Upon this principle I do not know how much of the full value of Mr. Prout's drains would have gone to the labourers who made them. Luckily for Mr. Prout's great profits the doctrine has not yet been admitted that the "full fruits" of a drainer's labour should be anything more than the full price for which he had contracted to make the drains. It is under the plausibilities of phrases such as these that men forget the fact that the final value of all the products of industry depends largely on elements which the labourer does not supply, and to which sometimes he does not even in the least degree contribute. These elements of value may come from capital, or they may come from brains, or they may come from reputation—or from any one of the many ultimate sources of human enterprise, and energy, and skill. It is not surprising that the same deceptive phrases should now be leading up to kindred doctrines in that particular kind of labour which is represented by the farmer. Nothing can be more plausible than the proposition that "a tenant should obtain the full fruits of his enterprise." But neither can any proposition be more fallacious, if we count as part of the "tenant's enterprise" that which does not belong to him. Strictly speaking, of course, a tenant's enterprise, like the enterprise of every other man, is that which he himself has made it. Mr. Prout professes to be speaking of the relations between the Owner and Occupier of land, not as they may be modified by long connection and hereditary feeling, but as they ought to be when regulated by the principles of business. Nothing can be clearer than on those principles the "enterprise" of a man who hires anything that belongs to another, for the purpose of making money out of it, is an enterprise the "full fruits" of which are measured by the bargain which he makes. There is no abstract principle by which these "full fruits" can be measured in the case of the hire of land any more than the hire of any other article. But if there be any such principle, it is a principle which condemns as unjust the demand set up by Mr. Prout. It never can be just that a man who hires land

which he has been unable to acquire himself in ownership, should demand as the fruits of "his enterprise" results to which at the best that enterprise has made but a very small contribution, and to which another man, the Owner, has made a contribution of many times the value. The true ground on which to put the matter as one of business, is to say that he is entitled to no greater share of those results than that for which he has bargained beforehand, and which other men in the same profession have been or would be ready and willing to accept.

But even on the supposition that this share ought to be, or can be, regulated by law, or on any principle of natural equity, the share claimed for tenants by Mr. Prout is extravagant. And strange to say, the facts and arguments which demonstrate the injustice of his doctrine were never more clearly given than in the circumstances of his own case. He tells us what he paid and laid out as Owner, and he tells what he paid and laid out as Occupier. His outlay as Owner, first in purchasing, and then in draining and remodelling the farms, was £20,500. His outlay as tenant beyond the ordinary working capital of a farmer's tillage was only £2,700; and even his whole capital invested in the enterprise, at the highest possible estimate, including the unusual outlay on quasi-permanent improvements, and including also money in hand (which need not have been idle), as well as the value of implements and stock, was only £9,000. Upon this capital Mr. Prout as a farmer realized a return averaging 11 per cent. over a period of 13 years; and during the later years of this term his rate of profit was no less than 14 per cent. But taking the average of the whole term at 11 per cent., it follows that Mr. Prout had already secured in thirteen years a return of more than the whole amount of his capital of £9,000 with 5 per cent. interest; for actuaries tell us that 12 years at 11 per cent. is the term during which any given sum of capital is returned with 5 per cent. interest. It is clear, therefore, that if Mr. Prout, as tenant, had stipulated for a 21 years' lease, and if his rate of return had gone on as it had done during the last four of the thirteen years, he would have realized at the end of his lease an abundant profit, which profit would have constituted—as much in equity as in law—the "full fruits" of his enterprise.

I cannot help thinking that if any accident had happened to Mr. Prout to prevent him from going farther than his preliminary outlay of £4,500 on permanent improvements, and if he had been then obliged to let his farm to a tenant on a lease for the term of 19 or 21 years, he would hardly admit at the end of that term the arguments and the claim against himself as Owner, which in his imagination as a farmer he has stated on behalf of all those who hire agricultural land. At least when, by a similar effort of imagination, I put myself in the place of Mr. Prout's tenant, I don't much like the look of the argument which he would now put into my mouth. The claim which I as tenant would have to make against Mr. Prout, if I took this one leaf out of Mr. Prout's book, might be worded somewhat to this effect:—"My lease of 21 years

is out, but you must renew it at the same rent, if not for ever, at least for a much longer period. It is quite true that I have made out of your farm a very large profit. It is quite true that my profit has been due to your capital as well as to mine. It is quite true that you have contributed in actual money the sum of £20,500; whilst I have contributed in the form of permanent improvements only the sum of £2,700. It is quite true, also, that the natural capacities of the soil on which I worked are yours, and not mine. Nevertheless, I claim an exclusive right to at least two-thirds of the capital value which has been added to the soil by the co-operation of all these things together. The total increase of value has been large. I have been paying you 35s. an acre, and you could now relet it any day at 45s. The capital value of the estate was £20,500 when I hired it from you. It has now been valued at £31,000, showing an addition of £10,500. It is quite true that I have enjoyed the full profit of that increase during twenty-one years, and that this is all I bargained for. Nevertheless, I regard the whole of that increase as due to my skill and my capital; and, therefore, as belonging to me. It is all part of 'my enterprise,' and the whole of my enterprise is mine. But I am not greedy. I am willing to let you keep one-third of it. But two-thirds of it I absolutely claim. You have nothing to do with the profit I have already made. You must, therefore, either pay me two-thirds of the added value of your land, which comes to £7,000—if I leave your farm; or if I keep it you must continue my lease at its present rent for a period long enough to yield the same sum."

I think it possible that Mr. Prout, when his position as Owner became clearly separated from his position as Occupier, might be able to see distinctions of which at present he has only an occasional glimpse. He might probably see his way to some such reply as this to my demand as Tenant:—"Your demand is not just. In the first place, you have got all you bargained for, and in making that bargain you were a free agent. In the fulfilment of that bargain you have received the full fruits of your enterprise. Moreover, if you had not been content with that bargain, there were half a dozen other men who would have been too happy to take my land on the same terms. But, in the second place, if you think this a mere legal argument, I must resist your claim as being contrary to reason and equity. Your enterprise has been exceptionally profitable to you. To that success your own skill and science have indeed contributed. But you are mistaken when you argue that this contribution has been greater in proportion than the reward it has secured. Your enterprise depended on other elements, all of which were contributed by me, and not by you. The very first condition of it was derived from me. Your exclusive right to cultivate this farm, your exclusive enjoyment of its fruits for a long period of time, was a right which you derived from me. Again, during that time you were trading on a much larger capital than your own, which belonged to me, and which I

lent you at a very cheap rate of interest. But besides this larger capital of mine on which you traded, there were other essential conditions of your enterprise, and of your success in it, which were money's worth, and which were contributed by me. The peculiar qualities of the soil were mine; the situation of the farm was mine—so near to a great produce market that you had a ready sale for all your crops standing, and so near to a great labour market that you could hire and could dismiss your labourers just as you required for your peculiar mode of tillage. All these elements in your enterprise were elements not contributed by you as Occupier, but by me as Owner. I bought the farm, seeing and knowing all these advantages which attached to it. I calculated that my purchase-money and my permanent improvements, if lent to a farmer for a long term of years, would give a good profit to him and at the end of his lease would yield to me also a larger return. That was my enterprise. The whole of my enterprise is mine, as much as the whole of your enterprise has been yours. You have made a large profit, and now the time has come when I have a right, in equity as well as in law, to make my profit. You are welcome to retake the farm, but you must now pay for it whatever rent any other man is willing to give. I may be willing to give you some preference. But this is a matter of sentiment. The full market rent will still leave you the full average return on which farmers reckon. It will leave you, after all, a much larger return on your capital than it will yield on mine. The valuer I have employed estimates the farm now at a nett rental of £1,045. This is probably less than I should get in the open market. But you may take it at that rent. It will yield to me little more than 5 per cent. on my capital, after all; and it will still yield to you on your farming capital a higher rate of interest and an ample profit."

Now, if any one should doubt the justice of this reply, it is remarkable that there is another part of Mr. Prout's book which places the argument it contains in a more clear and definite light than any in which I have ever seen it presented before. It is a part of his Essay which puts before us very vividly one of the fundamental facts on which all this argument and all the usual practice depends. It fell in Mr. Prout's way to submit at certain dates the soil which he worked to scientific analysis by that eminent agricultural chemist, Dr. Voelcker. He did so in order to prove that his operations were not exhausting the soil, inasmuch as the soil was found to be as rich in the elements of plant-food after these operations had been conducted for many years as when they began. But Dr. Voelcker, in giving the results of this analysis, has presented in a most instructive form some conclusions to be drawn from the constitution of soils. I have referred to the qualities of the soil as the property of the Owner. But to many minds this idea is a hazy one, and conveys no definite impression. It is admitted, indeed, as a truth, but as a truth incapable of definite expression, and therefore of little or no practical application.

By not a few it is dismissed as a transcendental doctrine. Now, this is the truth which Dr. Voelcker brings out into the light of day, and which he shows to have a meaning both definite and practical. He not only reports to Mr. Prout the chemical elements in his soil, but he calculates from that analysis what is the total amount of those elements per acre, and so what are the total quantities of plant-producing material which are his property, and which he would lend to another in the letting of his farm. Every acre of clay land, then, it appears, such as that which Mr. Prout has bought, even if it is only 6 inches deep, contains on an average above 11,000 tons of matter. Taking only seven of the more important constituents which are the food of plants, Dr. Voelcker presents to us the fact that one of Mr. Prout's fields contained no less than 6,158 lbs. weight of phosphoric acid; 8,176 lbs. of potash; 30,464 lbs. of lime; 8,960 lbs. of magnesia; 1,344 lbs. of sulphuric acid; 22 lbs. of nitric acid, and 3,808 lbs. of nitrogen. Calculating, again, the quantities of those elements which are needed for a single crop of wheat, he finds that the same field contains enough of one of these materials to supply 118 good crops of wheat; enough of another of these elements to supply 212 crops; and as much of a third element as to supply 215 crops. These, then, and equally enormous stores of some other elements of plant-food, are what Mr. Prout bought when he bought his land. These are the stores—the tons of special material—of which that purchase gave him exclusive possession; it is this possession in which the ownership of land consists; and these are the stores of material, with all their actual and potential energies, which an owner lends to another man in the letting of his land. And now what does Dr. Voelcker tell us farther of the proportionate contribution of material which the farmer must supply in making these great stores available for his own immediate purpose,—if he is to leave them in the uninjured condition in which every borrower ought to return the articles which are lent to him? Mr. Prout's farming was very high farming indeed. He manured liberally, under the advice of Dr. Voelcker as to the ingredients which were necessary for these purposes. He applied probably more than three times the average quantity which is applied by farmers generally. And yet after all he required to spend only about 50s. an acre in order to produce crops which averaged in value from 48 to £12 6s. per acre. And here two things are to be noted—first, that the ingredients supplied by the farmer were so essentially of a temporary character, that they required yearly repetition, and secondly, that the whole of their value was, as a rule, returned in a single crop. Dr. Voelcker does, indeed, tell Mr. Prout that for the production of those handsome returns out of the stores which belonged to him as Owner, he had laid out more than was requisite for his purpose as a farmer. He believes that a considerable reduction might have been made in his manure bills without any diminution of his crops or any diminution of the richness of the soil.

We see, then, that under the strictest investigation, and under the most accurate scientific valuation, the elements in all farming enterprise which belong to the Owner, and which the Owner of land lends to a farmer, are beyond all comparison greater in value than the elements which the farmer himself supplies in the conduct of his "enterprise." This is true even when the farmer executes some costly permanent improvements, for these may very often be after all nothing more than very cheap means of access to the great stores of plant food which are lent to him by the Owner. But when, as in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, in England and in Scotland, the permanent improvements are executed by the Owner—so that the Owner supplies not only the stores of plant-food, but also all the means of access to them—then the elements in his own "enterprise" which the farmer contributes are comparatively very small indeed. In Mr. Prout's own case he puts down his "Working Capital" as only £3,122; and it is remarkable that in his table of "Yearly Returns" for the eleven years, 1868–1878 (both inclusive), there was only one single year in which he failed to realize from his crops a return of the whole of this capital with a profit, and sometimes a very large profit. In every year, with that one exception, the returns were greatly in excess of the working capital of £3,122. The average of the last four years showed an excess over direct outlay of no less than £1,263. It appears, then, that whilst the conditions contributed by Mr. Prout in his capacity of Owner were very large indeed, and admitted only of a small and a slow return, the conditions contributed by him as farmer were of very moderate value, and secured a return which was both large, sure, and rapid.

These facts and considerations will bring home to us the unreasonableness and the injustice of the proposal that a tenant who had hired Mr. Prout's clays, and who during that time may have executed upon them some improvements highly profitable to himself, is to be given by law, on account of those improvements, the power of selling that which is not his own—namely, the occupancy or the "holding" of Mr. Prout's clays after the termination of his own lease, and after his own outlays had been refunded with a large profit.

There are two ways in which a man who hires land from another can take precautions against preventible risks in his enterprise: one is that of hiring it for a term of years so long that with average seasons he can safely reckon on an adequate return: the other is that if he prefers a yearly tenancy he should stipulate for a definite scale of reimbursement for specific outlays, in the event of his desiring or being obliged to leave it before these outlays have been repaid. There may be, of course, a combination of both these methods. There may be leases securing a lengthened tenure of enjoyment at a specified rent, and also specified repayments of specified kinds of outlay. The system of occupation which stands between these two—the system of yearly tenancy without any written and definite agreement as to compensation for im-

provements in the event of removal—is, I think, unbusinesslike, and must tend to discourage improvement. I know that under it—such has been in England the splendid confidence in old relations—tenants have done a great deal; and I believe that in very few cases indeed has this confidence been betrayed. “It is magnificent, but it is not War,” was said of the Balaklava Charge. “It is splendid, but it is not Business,” may be said of this system of Tenancy. The risks it involves to an improving tenant when Estates are sold have often been pointed out; and if such sales are to be made more easy and more frequent these risks will become more real than hitherto they have been. Where there is no fixed duration of tenure there ought always to be some agreed-upon scale of compensation. In many counties in England this last method is covered by local customs of payments to outgoing tenants for tillages and for unexhausted manures. In some counties, as in Lincolnshire, these customs are founded on an intelligible principle, and have grown up as practical recognitions of an equitable claim; but in other counties, as in Surrey, these customs have degenerated, as they are very apt to do, into abuses most injurious to the interests of agriculture. The incoming tenants are often burdened by payments which have no relation to any value actually received, but which are more of the nature of arbitrary fines, sometimes so heavy that the letting of farms is seriously impeded. And this brings us to a very important question, and that is the question how far reimbursement of tenants for useful outlay can be best provided for in the event of their tenancy being determined prematurely, either by their own act or by the act of the Owner.

Now, in the first place, let us clearly understand that there is no law which places any difficulty or impediment whatever in the way of this being done by agreement. At the present moment in many parts of England, and in some parts of Scotland, when farms are out of lease, the hirers of agricultural land are in an exceptionally favourable position to make what terms they like. In some counties they are now actually hiring farms at, what I believe to be, panic-prices. Very often these farms do not require either new buildings or new drains. But if farmers get land at 17s. an acre which has hitherto been let at 30s. an acre, they may well be able to afford even a large outlay on improvements. These, however, if not made by the Owner should be made under a definite agreement with him. It is true that in the absence of agreement the law presumes that whatever is permanently fixed in or incorporated with the soil belongs to the Owner thereof. But it is equally true that any well-established usage or custom, and any written agreement between the parties, overrides this presumption at once. The presumption itself is not, as is vulgarly supposed, and, as is often said, the result of any law passed by “landlord Parliaments” in their own selfish interests. The superstitious reverence paid by some men to the “wisdom of our ancestors” is not more ignorant, than the opposite superstition, much more common

nowadays, that old-established axioms of law have had their origin in nothing better than "class legislation." The presumption that whatever is incorporated with the soil belongs to the Owner of it is a presumption not founded on any statute. No Parliament has enacted it. It is a presumption arising naturally out of the incidents of property in land as recognized in every civilized country in the world. It is the same principle which in respect to houses regulates the ownership of fixtures. It is a principle established by that application of judicial reason to facts, and to acknowledged doctrines, out of which the Common Law of England has been developed. But, after all, it is a presumption only,—a presumption generally consistent with facts, but which disappears not only in the face of any written agreement, but in the face of any local usage or practice which affords evidence of an opposite understanding. To reverse the presumption would be absurd. It would not be true as a matter of fact that in England or in Scotland, buildings, or fences, or drains have been generally executed by farmers, except for valuable consideration in the rent and in the other terms of tenure. To frame any Act of Parliament which could regulate with equity the interests of parties under all the immense variety of circumstances in which men may execute some works in or upon the land of others is obviously impossible. But there need be little or no difficulty in modifying the existing presumption of the law so as to make it more elastic, and so as to facilitate or even to necessitate those separate and personal bargains by which alone the equity of each case can be met. But neither any law nor any bargain can be made which will satisfy men's minds, unless there be a clear understanding on certain facts and principles which are fundamental in this matter.

In the first place, it must be seen and acknowledged that no individual farmer seeking to hire land will be able or ought to be able to get it upon terms which other men of his own class and profession consider to be extravagantly and unreasonably favourable to himself. He will be unable to do so, and he ought to be unable to do so, for the simple reason that some one or other of these half-dozen men will outbid him, and will be contented with terms affording them a more moderate return. For example, Mr. Prout if he had been a farmer only, and not also a proprietor, would not be able to hire the clays he now cultivates, on the principle on which he thinks he ought to be rewarded. That principle, as we have seen, is this,—that over and above any profit he may have made, however large, out of his crops during his term of tenure, he should be entitled also to some large share in the value of the Owner's stores of plant food, after his hiring of them had come to an end. I have already shown that in argument and in principle this demand is unjust. But I am now only pointing to the fact that it is a demand which in the open market could not be obtained. And Mr. Prout shows his consciousness of this fact by implying that if this demand of his as a tenant is to be enforced at all, it can only be enforced

by some arbitrary law, passed for his protection against the competition of his own class. But what must be the nature of any law which is to give him this protection and this privilege over others? It must be a law depriving all other men of the power of being content with less. I have spoken of there being some half-dozen men at least who think this demand extravagant, and who consequently are ready to hire these clays without making any such demand. Let us, for the sake of convenience, call three of these half-dozen men by the old familiar names of Brown, Jones, and Robinson. Brown says to the owner of the clays, "I will take this farm at the rent of 30*s.* an acre; and I will drain the land myself if I get a twenty-one years' lease at that rent." Jones says, "I will give you 35*s.* per acre for nineteen years, if you will assist me in draining by giving me the tiles, and by cutting the drains, whilst I will undertake to fill them in." Robinson says, "I require some more buildings, as well as complete drainage, the removal of some fences, and the enlargement of the fields; but I will do the whole myself, and pay you 40*s.* per acre, if you give me a lease of twenty-one years, and if you will repay me at the end of it two-thirds of the cost of the buildings, half the cost of the drainage if it is still efficient, and a certain proportion of my manure bills for the last four years." All these offers are on the type and pattern of offers which I have seen made by intelligent and enterprising farmers, not only before the late depression, but since it has been at the worst. They are all offers which on different data provide for a kind and degree of security on which both parties to the contract can calculate their liabilities and their risks. Now it will be observed that not one of these offers asks for anything beyond the term of the stipulated lease, and at the close of the stipulated time one of them asks only for certain definite repayments of actual outlay—a payment, be it observed, which has no reference whatever to any future value of the land. They all are founded on the probable value of the produce as compared with the rent, and with the other estimated outlay during a definite period of time; and on a calculation that during the stipulated time, and at the stipulated rent, they will have a return of their whole outlay with a good profit. Now, it will be observed that in making this calculation the amount of rent is the governing element. It is quite true that, as in Mr. Prout's case, the rent paid to the Owner may often be less than the aggregate outlays of all other kinds. But the rent is always the hinge on which the computation turns. If it is 25*s.* an acre, the tenant will be able in a given time to recoup himself with profit for a given outlay. If it is 30*s.* an acre he will only be able to recoup himself for a smaller outlay. If, on the other hand, he gets repayment of that outlay in money, he will give the 30*s.* of rent instead of the 25*s.* A law giving him that repayment in the form of money would have precisely the same effect, economically, as an agreement to the like effect. It would make the farm by so

much the more valuable, and worth therefore a correspondingly larger rent. On the hypothesis, therefore, that a farmer is unable to secure by bargain the repayment of a capital sum at the end of his lease, he must be equally unable to save himself from the proportionate dearness of his rent. Consequently a compulsory law, if it is to attain its professed object,—viz., that of securing to persons that which they cannot get by voluntary agreement,—must go the whole length of regulating by State authority all over the country, and under every variety of circumstance, the hiring price of agricultural land.

But the principle of Mr. Prout's demand goes much farther than even this. I have assumed that the limit of the farmer's claim is the return of his actual outlay, say on buildings, or on drainage, even although that return may have been made in another form out of surplus profits. But Mr. Prout's principle demands not only a return of the outlay, but also two-thirds of the capital value which will arise in future from the joint results of that outlay, and of the much larger capital of the Owner. How is this amount to be defined, and how is it to be secured?

And here we come on the remarkable circumstance that the spokesmen of the Farmers' Alliance contend strongly that it cannot be ascertained by valuation. The public, they say, are the best valuers, and whatever is obtained from the public for any given article by open competition—that, neither less nor more—is the true value of it. And in this I very much agree with Mr. Howard and Mr. Bear; but on two conditions—the first condition is, that the thing sold shall be capable of definition; and the second is, that it belongs to the man who sells it. If, for example, Mr. Prout had let his clays to a tenant, and that tenant were to sell his "whole interest" or his "whole undertaking," I should like to know before I bid for it in the open market what that "whole interest" or "whole enterprise" is. Does it include a right to compel Mr. Prout to be satisfied with a rent of 30s. an acre from me when he could get 40s. from other people? And if so, for how long? Does it include a right to acquire without purchase a large share in the capital value of Mr. Prout's clays? And if so, then what share? These questions must be determined before I can judge of the nature of the thing which is offered for sale, and consequently before I can estimate the price which I may safely offer. But these are precisely the questions which are never answered, or answered only by some vague phrase full of traps and ambiguities, when tenants claim to sell in the open market some little thing which may possibly be their own—along with a great deal more which is certainly not their own, but the property of another.

This is an argument against sale, perhaps it will be said; but is it any argument against valuation? It is an argument against valuation only in so far as we are using valuation with the same confusion of thought, and with the same ambiguities of meaning. For as the value of an article is that which the public will give, so the valuation of it is wh

selected man or men think that the public probably will give. This is the basis of all *bond fide* valuation. It is an estimate of the value which would be secured if the thing valued were sold in the market. Valuation is nothing more than an estimate of saleable value. Of course, therefore, it is equally dependent on a clear definition of the thing to be bought. It is no more possible for valuers to tell what the public ought to give, than for the public to tell what they will give, if the thing held up before them is not a thing at all, but only an ambiguous phrase. If Mr. Prout is to be called upon to pay his tenant at the end of a lease "the whole" of some remaining "interest" as determined by valuers, these valuers must have before them some rule to follow, some accepted and admitted definition of the "interest" which they are to value. Does the tenant's "interest" extend to anything beyond that for which he bargained? And if so, is it limited to the amount of his outlay? Or does it extend to a share for ever in the productive powers of Mr. Prout's clays—of those thousands of tons of plant-food which he bought, and which his tenant did not buy? And if so, is there any principle on which that share can be estimated? Is the tenant—supplying perhaps less than one-fifth of the capital supplied by the Owner—to have, in addition to the whole result during all the years of his lease, also two-thirds of the remaining result for ever? Do we mean that under the name of valuing improvements certain men called valuers should be given the power of redistributing property? Do we mean to allow these men to convert occupancy into Ownership, without purchase? Or do we mean to go even further, and to empower these men to give Ownership to tenants, not only without paying anything, but as the reward for having realized high profits? These are questions—and a dozen others—which must be answered before valuation can have a basis on which to stand.

As this subject of valuation is of great importance, it may be well to look at it for a moment a little more closely. One of the commonest cases is the valuation of a farm which is really vacant. There is no complication of interests in such a case. Valuers have nothing whatever to consider except the question, What is the price which a good farmer and a solvent man will probably be willing to give for the farm, its soil, its situation and equipment, being what they are? And yet even in ordinary and average times, when there is no "depression" or other causes to affect men's minds, valuations of farms are notoriously uncertain. When tested by the open market, they are often wide of the mark. But when there is "depression," valuations of this kind are really almost worthless. Lord Dalhousie is reported to have told his tenants, on a late occasion, that a farm of his, which had been rented at £1,400, was re-valued by two or three men of reputation, and that their estimates differed to the extent of £600 a year. Similar cases have come under my own observation. This very unsatisfactory result is due to the fact that, in all valuations of this kind, everything may depend on the state of mind of the valuator, and on his opinion upon questions and

upon theories which lie behind the facts. If the valuator is a man who partakes of a general panic, and believes that in the face of foreign competition certain kinds of produce can never be grown again with profit in this country, his valuation will be as erroneous as his theory. I agree therefore with the spokesmen of the Farmer's Alliance, that the best valuers of farms are the public—the best judges of the value of a farm are those who wish to hire it. Of course they too may be affected by panic, as in many districts they now actually are. But if there be one of them who, like Mr. Prout, sees through the panic which affects other minds, or who, when there is no panic, has confidence in new and scientific modes of culture, that man can well afford to offer more rent than others, and that rent is the true value of the farm. In this matter, as in all other matters of pure economics, the result of giving free play to natural causes is the best result not only for the Owner, but for the country. The cleverest fellow will turn out the most produce; and the man who turns out the most produce can afford to pay the best rent; and the man who, out of the most produce can pay the best rent, is the most useful man in the public interests. I have known cases in which one man paid and throve upon a rent of 60s. an acre; whilst his neighbour, on land of precisely the same quality, could, with difficulty, pay 40s.

But if artificial or theoretical estimates of value by men who are called "Valuators" are uncertain even in cases so comparatively simple as this, we can well understand how deceptive they may become when the minds of valuers are affected by extraneous considerations, with which value has nothing to do. Very often the question which valuers set themselves to answer is not, What is the value of this article?—but the question, How much more than the value of this article ought to be allowed to A, or to B, or to C? I will take a common case—the valuation of stock to an incoming tenant—which is a kind of valuation on which very large sums of money annually depend, and which very seriously affects the welfare especially of the tenants of grazing farms. Nothing can be more definite and simple than the question to be determined in the valuation of a stock of sheep, if it is understood to mean saleable value. The great fairs and markets of each year, which are now frequent, are a test of price which furnish very accurate data. And yet it is notorious that—at least in some counties in Scotland—such valuations are generally excessive, and are the subject of serious and well-founded complaint. And why is this? Simply because valuers allow themselves to be influenced by theories, or doctrines, or sympathies, in favour of outgoing tenants, which are an element always of disturbance and of uncertainty, and may sometimes become easily the instruments of great injustice. The oppressive and injurious usages which have grown up in some English counties, in respect to "tillages," and which have been found to be most detrimental to agriculture, are due to similar abuses of what are called "valuations."

If such are the abuses of valuation, even where the things valued are, at least, well known and definite in kind, what are the dangers and abuses which we may expect when valuers are set not only to value things, but also to define as they please what the things are which they have to value? What will these abuses be—when, without any contract before them, they are allowed to estimate an “interest,” and to make an interest out of an “expectation,” and to measure an “expectation” by the wants or needs of an expectant? What, if valuers are allowed, or even encouraged, to dismiss contract as the basis of all that can be due from one man to another, and to count as part of every tenant’s “enterprise” the acquisition of a share in ownership; and to consider themselves free to make that share large or small, according to their own fancy, or according to political expediency, or according to their own sympathy with one class as against another? Is it not obvious that, under such conditions as these, the valuation of “interests” may be merely a plausible name for a violent Redistribution of Property?

It will be seen from these considerations that quite as great abuses and quite as great injustice may arise from what is called the Valuation of “Improvements” as from the Sale of Improvements. In both cases we may be enabling one man to acquire a great deal of what belongs to another, under the name and the pretext of giving him something that is his own. Here, again, the danger arises from the pestilent looseness and inaccuracy of thought which is promoted and intensified by looseness and inaccuracy of language. Valuation is not arbitration. A valuator is not an Arbitrator. I do not, of course, mean to say that a man who is a skilled valuator may not also act as a just and judicious arbitrator. But the two functions are totally distinct—the function of estimating the value of a thing, or the cost of a thing, and the function of deciding how much of that value belongs to one of two parties, and how much of it belongs to the other. A man who may be an excellent judge of the value or of the cost of a thing, may be the worst man in the world to consult upon the question as to the equitable division of that cost or value between two persons who may have concurrent interests in the division of it.

Keeping these distinctions in view, and the many pitfalls which are involved in the confounding of them, we can estimate how important it is that in the relations between the Owners and Occupiers of land, everything should as much as possible be made the subject of definite written bargain, and as little as possible should be left either to valuers or to arbitrators. No two men dealing with each other in matters of business ought to leave anything to be settled by others which they can settle better and more satisfactorily between themselves. There are two great rules to be remembered always:—one is, that as little as possible should be left to valuers; and the second is, that where the employment of valuers cannot be avoided, the questions left to their

should be as limited and as definite as possible. There are some

things which it is probably impossible to withdraw from the lottery of valuation—as, for example, the value of stock and crop to be taken by one party, and delivered by the other; or the amount of deterioration on the value of buildings which has arisen since the erection of them. Even in such matters I have known valuations of scandalous injustice, and it is certain that much evil might be avoided by previous agreement and stipulation as to the tests of value and as to the class of experts from whom the valuers are to be chosen. In the vast majority of other cases all reference to arbiters may be avoided, since appeals to them is often the mere resource of carelessness and unbusinesslike habits in the making of contracts. For example, nothing is more common than to leave to valuers or to arbiters the deduction from rent to be allowed for land resumed by the Owner for certain purposes—such as planting, building, or (in Scotland) for feuing or Building leases. If this deduction or compensation is left to arbiters, there is wide room for abuse. All this ought as much as possible to be determined beforehand—a definite rate per acre being fixed for every field on the farm. But if this rule of settling everything by previous agreement, and of leaving as little as possible to the chances or, as it may be sometimes to the impostures of valuation—is a rule which is important even in these comparatively small matters, it is a rule which becomes all-important in the vital matter of compensation for improvements.

I cannot express too strongly my conviction that the work of permanent improvements upon agricultural land ought never to be thrown upon, or to be left to, the Tenant. Or if it is ever left to the Tenant, it ought to be so left upon a definite agreement specifying that it is done for “valuable consideration” received in the conditions of rent and tenure. In this case the Tenant is merely the contractor for the execution of the works, although the method of his payment may be different. By permanent improvements I mean, especially, building, enclosing, and thorough drainage. If the Owner has not capital enough in hand, he can always borrow it, because he has the best of all securities, and because even the highest rate of interest will be repaid out of the increase of produce and of value. That increase is often enormous, and almost always large. Land not capable, when wet and sour, of yielding crops worth £5 an acre, will often yield after drainage crops worth £8 or £10, and sometimes, as in the case of early potatoes, worth £15 and £18 per acre. It is a curious example of the chaotic confusion of thought which prevails upon these subjects at the present moment, that some writers in England, and many more in Ireland, regard the tenants as the persons who pay for improvement loans when they pay a rent out of produce which may be equivalent to the interest paid for such loans by the Owner. But this is a fallacy so obvious and so gross that it ought not to require exposure. When I hire land from another man the only thing which I have to consider is whether the land, as lent to me, will or will not yield enough produce

to afford a certain rent. I have no business whatever with the question how the land came to be worth what I offer, or whether the Owner has improved that land with his own ready money or by borrowing—nor have I any business to inquire how soon his loans may be repaid out of the rent I offer him. That is his business, not mine.

Exactly the same principle applies in the case of new drainage being executed by the Owner (whether by loan or otherwise) during my tenure of the farm which I have hired. What I have to consider in that case is—not what the drainage may cost him, but what it is worth to me. He may drain some of my farm at a cost of £10 an acre, and by a loan for which he pays $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest—repaying the capital in thirty years. But the additional rent which I may be able to pay to him in consequence of the drainage, has nothing whatever to do with the terms of his loan. He will have to repay the loan at the rate of 13s. an acre. But unless the land yields more than that value of increased produce to me I shall not be able to pay to him an increase of rent equal to that amount. On the other hand, if the drainage, as is probable, increases the yield of the land by a great deal more than 13s. an acre,—if it increases the yield, perhaps, by 30s. or 40s. an acre,—I can well afford to pay him the whole 13s., and a good deal more. Moreover, I can and must go on paying him that additional rent so long as the land is worth it, without any reference to the time when his loan may be paid off. What I will have to consider again at the end of any given term is not whether my landlord has paid off his loan or not, but whether the land does or does not continue to be worth the same rent as before. If my landlord's drains do not run at the end of 20 or 30 years, then I shall not be able to pay the same rent, because I can't raise the same produce. But if the drains he made are as good as ever, and the improvement is really permanent, then my rent ought to remain, and must remain the same, whether his loan has been paid up or not. My increased rent was not paid to him because he borrowed, but because I got a great increase of produce from the farm. If that increase continues I must continue to pay for it. The Owner has a right to any profit he can get over and above the mere repayment of his capital, as much as I have a right to any profit I can get during my tenure, over and above the mere repayment of mine. But if such are the confusions of thought which arise even when the Owner executes the permanent improvements himself in a particular way of raising the money, we can well understand the mess of assumptions which arise when tenants are left to execute improvements of this class at their own cost, and without any specific and definite agreement as to the principle on which they look for remuneration. Under such circumstances they will be very apt to claim as exclusively their own results which are theirs in part only, and so to acquire a share of ownership for perhaps a fourth or a sixth of the sum which they would have had to pay for it if they had purchased instead of having improved.

I do not mean to exclude that method of executing permanent improvements through the gradual labour of tenants which is known under the name of Improvement Leases. But in all such leases there should be a definite agreement whether the exclusive enjoyment of the produce during the specified term is to be accepted by the tenant as "valuable consideration" for all he does, or whether, in addition to this, he expects at the end of his tenure to be repaid the whole or some definite part of the cost of certain specified improvements, such as buildings and the erection of substantial dikes. Such stipulations were common in the leases which were given in Scotland at the beginning of the present century. And here there is always some room and some legitimate place for the work of valuers. The question submitted to them in such cases was perfectly definite. Whether a given building at the close of a lease was or was not substantial—how much it had suffered by time, and how long it would still last—what portion, in short, of its original cost, might represent its existing value to the farm—this, and other such questions, were often left, and perhaps must always be left, to valuation.

On one or other of these two plans the matter of Permanent Improvements ought always to be settled:—either (and this is in every way the best) by the execution of them being undertaken entirely by the Owner; or, if left to be done by the Occupier, then upon a definite agreement as to the principle of remuneration to the tenant—whether wholly out of produce, or partly out of produce, and partly by repayment at the end of the tenure by valuation on a defined basis.

It remains only to consider the principle on which farmers should endeavour to secure their own remuneration for the working capital they may invest in ordinary—or, as it may be, in extraordinary—tillage. I am not the least shaken in my attachment to the long-established system in Scotland of leases long enough to embrace a wide average of seasons. I believe the disparagement of this system, which has become fashionable of late among a certain class, is merely the very natural result of impatience under bargains which have been rendered bad, and sometimes even disastrous, by an extraordinary series of climatic accidents affecting considerable districts. But I have observed that those farmers, even in the most depressed districts, who have been able to secure farms at rents lowered by the panic, have been very glad, and indeed eager, to secure them for the usual term of nineteen years. Since the depression began, I have myself relet somewhere between forty and fifty farms, of various sizes, and in almost all cases the tenants have desired the usual security of a nineteen years' lease. The only plausible objection to this system of leases is the alleged tendency of tenants to starve the land during the few last years. I have had no experience of this evil. The tenant class is as honest a class as any that exists, and I think they generally fulfil the usual covenants of all leases by which they contract to continue a definite course of good husbandry to the last. But if

there be any evil arising from a tendency to abate high farming towards the end of leases, it is an evil which is easily remedied by an extension of the principle recognized in all leases, that every outgoing tenant shall be paid for certain things. Compensation for manures not yet incorporated with the soil have always been paid for, and it would be quite in accordance with the same principle to pay also for any lasting manures which had been incorporated with the soil, but the benefit of which the Tenant had not fully reaped.

It is important to observe that an agreement of this kind, which is merely a useful adjunct to the other benefits of a lease, becomes an absolute necessity where there is no lease, and where, as is often the case in England, and as much more rarely, is sometimes the case in Scotland, both Owner and Occupier prefer to keep themselves free from any long-fixed term of tenure. In this case there ought always to be a written and definite agreement as to the payments due by either party to the other, in the event of either of them desiring to bring the tenure to an end. But this is really a very simple matter, so far as the question of unexhausted manures is concerned. As a rule, all manures are practically exhausted, either, as in Mr. Prout's case, by the single crop to which they are applied, or by the limited series of crops embraced in the "rotation" practised on the farm. The number of manures which have a permanent, or even any very lasting effect, is very small indeed. In a recent public discussion, Dr. Voelcker, one of the very highest authorities on this subject, has declared that there are only two applications to land which are of any lasting value—lime and bones. The application of lime, in its various forms, is about the most enduring. Where this is done in the form of chalking (which is a purely local method), it seems to be admittedly more lasting than in any other. But where lime is applied in the usual form of burnt lime, or hydrate of lime, its endurance depends entirely on the soil and climate. It is a very curious fact that the soils which lie on the richest limestone rocks are very often, if not always, the poorest in this ingredient of plant-food. They require to be artificially supplied with it fully more than any other. Probably this may arise from the greater solubility of the form in which the natural lime has existed in such soils. In a very loose soil, and in a wet climate, it is very soon washed entirely out. In clay soils, and in a dry climate, its effect may outlast the longest usual rotation. The same principle applies to other manures of the more stable kind.

If the agricultural classes of this country are not to be treated by Parliament as the veriest babies, they will be left free to regulate these matters by perfect freedom of contract. Indeed, it should be the one great object of legislation to stimulate voluntary agreements, and even to make them a necessity. There is no rule universally applicable to all cases. The varieties of circumstance are almost infinite. It would be much more possible to regulate with tolerable equity the price of bread in proportion to the price of grain—or the wages of labour in proportion to the value of

its products—or the interest of money in proportion to the price of the funds, than to regulate by law what should be paid to a farmer for unexhausted manures in proportion to the rent paid and to the value of crops secured. Even valuers should be as much as possible excluded. It is quite easy for the farmers and for the Owners of land, to stipulate beforehand on what scale payments should be made for each specific kind of manure, and for each period of time since the application of it, to an outgoing tenant. By such agreements, whether with a lease or without a lease, it can easily be made the interest of the farmer to keep up the highest farming to the very last moment of his occupation. The highest farming produces the heaviest crops. It is to these always that a farmer ought to look for, and it is from these that he will get, his best compensation. For any balance of value which he may possibly leave in the ground when he leaves, a very simple scale of graduated payments for specified manures agreed upon beforehand, will be the best provision. Even for this I would trust as little as possible to valuers, and as much as possible to definite stipulations. As to the attempt to regulate such details by any Act of Parliament, it is an attempt which in principle is absurd, and can only end in mischief and confusion. The famous description given by the late Lord Derby of interference where there should be none, is a perfect description of the inevitable result of all such attempts—"Meddle and Muddle." Lawyers will be the great gainers, and litigation will be the only crop improved. Farmers have now the turn of the market in their favour in the hiring of land. Let them, like other men of business, make clear and definite stipulations, embracing all these points; and let landowners, when it is necessary to do so, take the initiative in proposing them to that very large class of tenants who may be shy of doing so for themselves, because they live from hand to mouth—under the influence of routine—or perhaps under the dispiriting effects of a few disastrous seasons. But let neither class hope for any real relief from Protectionist Legislation—whether that Protection be in the form of taxes upon food, or in the more popular but equally mischievous form of artificial Bounties upon Improvement. There may be reforms of importance in the incidence of rates as between Owner and Occupier—in the facility of sales—in the simplification of title. But all these, however important, are secondary in value to measures which are already, without any help from law, open to the adoption of the Owners and Occupiers of land. I have myself perfect confidence in the prospects of British agriculture, provided those who conduct it are left to do so in that perfect freedom which is the fundamental condition of improvement and of success in all industrial occupations.

ARGYLL.

THE GOVERNMENT OF LONDON.

HAVING openly displayed interest in the question whether we shall have a Municipal Government for London, I have been requested to submit to the readers of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* some remarks on the paper which Mr. Scott, the City Chamberlain, contributed to the February number. That paper, though hostile to the Unity of Government which I advocate, is well worth reading as a thoughtful and temperate exposition of an adverse view. Being written by a man with long experience, full of special knowledge, and occupying a position calculated to impress him with the strongest views of his own side of the case, probably it exhibits those views in the strongest light they are capable of receiving. And Mr. Scott asks some questions which it is right to ask and necessary to answer.

2. He sets out by asking what is meant by Municipal Government of the Metropolis? by Reform of that Government? by Reform of the Corporation of London? Referring to the two Commissions which recommended two different plans in 1837 and 1854, and to schemes introduced into Parliament by various members, he protests that he cannot tell what is meant. And he quotes from a speech delivered by Lord Derby at Liverpool as follows:—

“Are you to have one gigantic local Parliament? Or are you to break up the four million inhabitants into eight or ten distinct incorporated boroughs? Or are you to create, as in the case of the London School Board, separate bodies, each charged with one separate duty?”

3. If Lord Derby has been rightly reported, I think he must have been misinformed as to the working of the School Board. That body, like every other body with multifarious duties, divides its business among committees, and it uses very largely the volunteer services of Local Managers to help and guide the working of schools. But I am

informed that there is not a detail, however minute, on which the Board may not be called on to judge, which it would refuse to decide if called on, or for which it does not consider itself to be entirely responsible. I wish to clear up this point, because I am prepared to answer Lord Derby's first question in the affirmative, and in my judgment the School Board is one of the institutions from which we may learn a lesson, and on which we may found expectations that a gigantic Local Parliament will not be a failure.

4. I affirm that common interests require a common Government; that we Londoners have a great number of common interests in matters which make all the difference between a smooth daily life and a rough one: interests which are not separable according to the divisions either territorial or legal which now exist, and which cannot be properly cared for until we have Unity of Government. We are all interested alike in supplies of water, of fresh air, and of artificial light; in free and unobstructed passage, sound roadways, clean footways and crossings, efficient drains and scavenging, well-conducted conveyances, due security for person and property, reasonably equal taxation, due care for the sick and indigent. If on passing from the Griffin's tail to his head we found ourselves among a different system of houses, among people requiring separate drainage, lighting, ventilation, traffic arrangements, and so forth, there would be good reason why one Government should end and another begin with that interesting beast. But as on crossing the line we cannot discern the smallest difference in the civic requirements of the two localities; nay, as it is certain that in order to be thoroughly efficient the arrangements of the two must tally with one another; there is much reason why the two should be under the same Municipal Government.

5. Of course I am not contending that in every case in which it can be shown that some common interest extends over a boundary it is necessary to extend the Local Government likewise, for if that were the rule, it would be hard to find a proper boundary anywhere. The question is one of degree; of the amount of common interest compared with the expediency of fixing a boundary. And my case is, that in London the identity of interests is complete, and that the present boundaries of jurisdiction, whether territorial or legal, are not necessary at all.

6. To Mr. Scott's questions then I answer that we desire that we Londoners shall, like the inhabitants of other great towns, have the power of governing ourselves. To do this we want a Municipal Corporation of the ordinary English type, exercising the ordinary powers of Civic Government over an area substantially, though it may be roughly, commensurate with the common interests above specified. And that this Government may be a strong Government, and at the same time under due control, it should be elected from the great body of the ratepayers, be bound to consider their interests, and be responsible

to them for doing its work properly. In giving this answer, I believe that I am fairly representing the views of the persons who, under the name of a League, have banded themselves together to obtain Municipal Reform, and who are at all events the most active and industrious in the matter.

7. I do not enter here into details as to the area of jurisdiction which should be assigned to the new Municipality in respect either of territory or of subject-matter. There are multitudinous details to be considered, and it will take a clear head and much industry to work them out. But let the principle above contended for be once established, and the difficulties of detail will be found by no means insuperable. Indeed I may observe here that there will be far greater difficulty of detail in attempting to establish a plurality of Municipalities than in attempting a single one.

8. What then are the objections to the principle of Unity? I do not find any stated in Mr. Scott's paper except those which appear in the Report of 1854. The Report of 1837 accepts the principle, though the Commissioners mar their scheme—and here I quite agree with Mr. Scott—by ascribing to the National Government functions which properly belong to the Municipality. The Report of 1854, while taking a larger view of Municipal functions, is adverse to the principle of Unity. Let us see what it says.

9. The Commissioners refer to what their predecessors had pointed out as the main defects in Municipal Corporations generally before the great and radical reform of 1835. That defect was that the Corporations existed independently of the communities among which they were found; they were separate and exclusive bodies; they had powers and privileges, but the identity of interest between them and the inhabitants had disappeared. The Commissioners go on to say:—

"From the defect described in this passage the Corporation of London has been for many years exempt. The manner in which the Common Council is elected has produced to a great extent an identity of interests between the governing Municipal Body and the existing Municipal Community, and has secured to the latter a Council representing their general opinions and feelings."

They then point out that if London was dealt with on the same principle with other great towns the effect would be, in the then state of affairs, to convert an area of 723 acres into one of 78,029 acres, a population of 129,128 into one of 2,362,236, and an assessment on £953,110 into one on £9,964,848.* And they proceed thus:—

"A change of this magnitude would not only alter the whole character of the City Corporation, but would, as it seems to us, defeat the main purpose of Municipal institutions. London . . . is a 'province covered with houses;' its diameter, from north to south and from east to west, is so great that persons living

* Of course these changes would now be very much greater: e.g. the population of the City has dwindled to 52,276, and that of the larger area increased to (say) three and a half millions. Instead of multiplying the population about eighteenfold we should have to multiply it more than seventyfold.

at its furthest extremities have few interests in common: its area is so large that each inhabitant is in general acquainted only with his own quarter, and has no minute knowledge of other parts of the town. Hence the two first conditions for Municipal Government, minute local knowledge and community of interests, would be wanting if the whole of London were, by an extension of the present boundaries of the City, placed under a single Municipal Corporation. The enormous numbers of the population, and the vast magnitude of the interests which would be under the care of the Municipal Body, would likewise render its administration a work of great difficulty."

The Commissioners further mention the bisection of London by the Thames as an additional reason against Unity of Government.

What they recommend is, the erection of the suburban Parliamentary boroughs into Corporations. They also advise that there should be a single system of Police and Drainage.

10. I rather collect from Mr. Scott's laudatory notices of prior advocates of the dispersion of authority, that he would himself approve that principle. He is not very definite on this point, and the Report of 1857, and a bill founded on it, did not find much more favour in the eyes of City authorities than Mr. Firth's bill of 1880. However that may be, I believe I have given a full and fair account of such objections as have been made to the principle of Unity, and have stated the only alternative propounded, unless to do nothing be called an alternative.

11. The passage in the Report which relates to identity of interest between the Corporation of London and the existing Municipal Community may be relevant to a proposal for the remodelling of that Corporation within its present area, and may have been quite appropriate to its place in the Report. To the present question it is not relevant. However well the Common Council may represent their own constituency, or the inhabitants of the City, our complaint is that they do not represent us outsiders, though they do affect our interests. Being in the heart of London, they mar all plans for Unity of Government as long as they stand aloof from them. They levy taxes on our coal, and to a slight extent on our bread, of which they have the spending. For instance, we pay 13*d.* on each ton of coal, of which 9*d.* is spent by the Board of Works, representing 3½ millions of people and some 120 square miles of territory, and 4*d.* is spent by the City Corporation representing some 52,000 of people and little more than one square mile of territory. I might give other instances of divergence of interest, but time and space are limited, and I will only mention the subject of markets. The City Corporation has got the sole control of markets, not only within the City itself, but seven miles from its boundaries. I think that few persons will maintain that, in exercising this important jurisdiction, the City Corporation has held in equal balance the interests of their own area and of the rest of London. I am not casting blame upon them. It was hardly possible that officials in their position should escape from the bias of interest or fail to be attracted by that which lay nearest to them. But we outside Londoners suffer daily from the want

of sufficient markets, and are confident that no proper arrangements will be made in this matter except by an authority responsible to the inhabitants at large.

12. With regard to the river Thames, I have always admitted that it affords a strong argument for having two Municipalities instead of one. I myself think that the considerations in favour of one predominate. An embankment made on one side throws water upon the other. The bridges are a common possession of great importance and value. Supplies of water to be taken from the river may require regulation with reference to the interests of both sides. If the conservancy of the Thames is to become a Municipal function, as it well may, it should belong to both sides. The emission of smoke or other noxious effluvia cannot take place on the right bank without annoying those on the left. The sick and indigent of the left bank are also those of the right. Such considerations as these appear to me to incline the balance in favour of Unity, notwithstanding that as regards drainage, water, light, traffic (except the bridges), police, and cleansing there is no necessity for such Unity. Nevertheless, if any one were to decide in favour of Duality, I should not have much fault to find with his judgment. Two such Municipalities might work in great harmony together, and their establishment would be a great reform, well worth the effort we are making.

13. But the establishment of eight or ten Municipalities, with purely arbitrary divisions between them, would not in my judgment be worth any effort; for the state of anarchy and impotence in which Londoners now find themselves would be very little if at all improved by it. It would probably be worse than no reform at all; for it would bear the semblance of a great reform and settlement of the question, and so postpone a real settlement for many years. It is indeed surprising that anybody should have thought there was any resemblance between divisions of electors for Parliamentary elections and divisions of authority for the purpose of regulating the incidents of civic life. Arbitrary and artificial divisions answer perfectly well for the choice of representatives. What we want is unity of authority over people whose interests have grown up in common by natural and spontaneous growth; and arbitrary artificial divisions cannot sever that community of interests, though they are certain to paralyse the authority that should regulate them.

14. I have indicated above a number of important subjects in which Londoners have common interests requiring common Government. I do not admit that Stepney has no interest in the drainage of Hammersmith, or Hammersmith in the health of Stepney; or that either of them has no interest in the paving or lighting of Whitechapel or Marylebone; or that where lines of dwellings are continuous any assignable group is unaffected by pestilence or riots or pauperism or congestion of traffic affecting another group. Many individuals may

be unaffected, but not large groups of society. In these matters we are members one of another, and if one suffers the others suffer with it. I will now point out the sort of difficulties which arise from divided authority, with the view of showing what is the only remedy for them. I must be sparing of instances, which occur in considerable numbers to me in my capacity of Vestryman.

15. My first instance must be familiar to everybody. It is the mode by which roadways laid down by one authority are taken up by another. It was impressed deeply upon me, because it so happened that I came to my present house just after a new macadamized road had been laid down in the most perfect order. This was picked up once within a week of its completion, twice within a few weeks, and three times within a few months. Expense, dirt, stoppage of traffic, and great deterioration of the roadway are the consequences of such operations. Of course they cannot be prevented as long as we have underground works. But it is certain that if the making of the road itself, the drains, and control over arrangements for gas pipes, water pipes, telegraphs, and so forth, were in a single hand, the occasions for such expensive annoyances would be much diminished.

16. Now it is impossible to give such a control except to a single municipality. Main drainage must be in a single hand. If a water company carries its system of pipes through several municipalities it must have the large powers given to such companies now. We cannot put it to make arrangements with a number of independent authorities. But besides the likelihood that a single Municipality will before very long become the owner of gas and water, there would be nothing impracticable in giving to such a body a voice in dealing with subterranean works which cannot be exerted by eight or ten.

17. Another difficulty is the great uncertainty in many cases where jurisdiction and consequent responsibility resides. This is of frequent occurrence in our Vestry with respect to disorderly houses. But by way of illustration I will take the case of over-house telegraph wires, the breaking of which sometimes causes mischief. It is not a matter of much importance in itself, but it exhibits in rather a striking way the point I am now upon. Sir Henry Tyler asks in Parliament whether the Postmaster-General is responsible for the Post Office wires, and who is responsible for others. Mr. Gladstone says the Postmaster-General is not responsible, and the Local Authorities are. A few days afterwards the Attorney-General makes a more guarded statement, but still ascribing responsibility to the Local Authorities. In my parish the Vestry is the local authority, and as the idea is quite new to us, we look into the matter, and come to the conclusion that we have neither power nor responsibility. Of this conclusion we have informed divers authorities, and so the matter rests up to the present time. Now this is just the sort of flaw in authority which is sure to come of artificial division; nor would it be altogether easy to cure it as long as such

division is maintained. But with a single Municipal Government such flaws are not likely to occur, or if they do can speedily be cured.

18. Of worse effect than doubts are conflicts of jurisdiction. A more unedifying spectacle can hardly be conceived than a struggle at the expense of the inhabitants of London between two bodies, each equally a trustee for the inhabitants, in order to decide which shall do a particular business on behalf of the inhabitants. Yet, under our present system, a decision on such a question may be necessary; and, whether necessary or not, such struggles are from infirmity of judgment or temper certain to occur. Take the following for specimens. The Board of Works erects porticos to which St. George's Vestry objects. The Sanitary Inspector of the Southwark Vestry condemns houses belonging to the Board of Works, orders their officer to put them into habitable condition, and prosecutes him for disobedience. A Railway Company asks Parliament for powers to construct ventilators in the public roads, upon which the Board of Works and Vestry litigate the question which shall have control over the ventilators. I am not giving any opinion whether or no these contests were necessary, or whether either party was right or wrong. I only say they are the sure and certain consequences of divided authority over common interests, and very scandalous consequences too. They would at once be avoided by the creation of a single Municipality, but not by the creation of eight or ten.*

19. To any one who will carefully consider these things it must surely be apparent that divided authorities cannot manage well even those things which they can undertake at all. Of greater moment is it to dwell on those matters which they cannot even attempt to manage. The impotence of Londoners to manage their own affairs appears in different aspects. There are occasions in which Londoners have to contend for their common interests against some foreign body. Then they want a single head and hand to fight their battle. There are occasions on which it is necessary to weigh the interests of different bodies of Londoners in the balance, and to ascertain the result; then they want a common deliberative body, in which all may find a voice. And there are occasions on which operations are proposed affecting the whole area, or a large part of it; then they want a common executive to impose the will of the majority upon dissentients. Of course many cases have more than one aspect, but it is useful to show in how many ways Unity of Government is necessary for us. I will endeavour to illustrate the three classes, only premising that in all of them division of authority is tantamount to incapacity of action.

* Even while I write this, Mr. Firth's very able essay, just published by the Golden Club, reaches my hand. He refers to an expensive litigation between the Board of Works and the Thames Conservancy. And he quotes from the Report of a Select Committee in 1877, pointing out the disadvantages, in case of fire, of having the Fire Brigade, the water supply, and the police under different authorities, as in London, instead of a single authority as in corporate towns. Mr. Ball, the secretary of the Law Fire Company, pointed out the same thing in a pamphlet published by him a little while ago.

I.

20. Of the first class perhaps no better illustration can be taken than the pending controversy over our supplies of water. For want of a Government we have never been able to supply ourselves, and we have been the sport of Joint-Stock Companies. For a long time the Companies fought and wrangled over us with one another to such an extent that the spectacle was seen of three competing sets of water pipes in one street. When weary of contention, they made us the subject of treaties with one another, with the result that we pay a large price for water which is too often of indifferent quality. Gradually and after long preaching by its advocates, the doctrine prevails that we should supply ourselves with water, or, in other words, that our water supplies should be managed by persons who should have no interest at variance with their duty to make the water as good and as cheap as possible. That object is most simply effected by buying up the interests of the Companies at a fair price. Again, we cannot do that for ourselves, there is nobody with the authority to bargain for us, and no power of raising the purchase-money by taxing the recipients of water. So the Government have to conduct that business for us, when the helpless position of Londoners becomes at once apparent. The Water Companies it appears will not sell their property for less than about twenty-nine millions of money, and the Government promises that sum—a sum so largely above the market value that upon the bargain becoming known the shares at once rose in the market, some to the enormous extent of 70 and even 114 per cent.

21. I am not, and never was, one of those who blamed Sir Richard Cross or his colleagues in this matter. But I have frequently insisted on it to point the moral of Self-Government. The National Government are in a totally false position in such a matter. They should not be driving bargains between Water Companies and their customers, but should hold the balance impartially between them. The Companies drove their bargain with all the keenness of self-interest. The Government on the other side had no such motive. They could not even consult the consumers of water, because the consumers had no representative body. Nothing in short could or can balance the force of the Companies in such a bargain except a Municipality of London. There are those who tell us with great confidence that we shall never get a better bargain. Probably they are right, if we are always to remain in the impotence of anarchy. But give us a Government with all the resources of London behind it, and therefore with the power of introducing fresh supplies, and I believe that a very different story may be told.

22. At this moment one of the Water Companies is claiming to increase its charges in proportion to the increased value of the houses supplied by it. The claim is being resisted by some urban or suburban Hampden. I am not intimating, neither have I, any opinion as to the legality of

the claim, but the question is so very important to Londoners at large, that to obtain a satisfactory decision of it, their Government, and not a chance person, should be the antagonist of the Companies. There is no such Government, so application is being made to Vestries for contribution towards the costs, and at this moment a motion is pending in our Vestry on the subject.

23. What can Vestries do in such a matter? They are ropes of sand, falling to pieces at the first strain. Most will refuse to act in matters not expressly within the sphere of their duties. Great efforts were made to set up a combined action of the Vestries on the question of water supply, but they have wholly failed. A number of delegates were chosen, and they attended some meetings and framed a plan, but some Vestries would not support the action of their delegates, and I believe some withdrew them altogether. It must be so in all cases in which the majority cannot bind the minority. After a time the rope of sand crumbles into its original atoms.

24. As an instance of the advantage of corporate action, I may refer to the case of Epping Forest. The Lords of Forestal Manors were rapidly enclosing the waste lands. It was the interest of Londoners, to whom the waste had long been a place of enjoyment, to stop the enclosures. They had no legal claim, but the Commoners of the Forest had such a claim. The Commoners were too weak and loose a body to contend with the Lords. Some individuals tried to do so from time to time, but were defeated. Then the Corporation of London came forward. They had acquired a legal status as Commoners, with the right of grazing a few cows. On this slender pretext of a legal right, they opposed the enclosure of the whole waste. Their real motive of course was the advantage of the Londoners. They were able to give to the case an amount of research and legal skill which had never before been applied to it, and they succeeded in the contest. Not only so, but they have purchased the soil from its owners. By this means a recreation ground, invaluable for the enormous population of East London, has been secured at a moderate price. I have often seen this action of the City Corporation extolled for its great liberality. This however is mistaken praise; no Lord Mayor, alderman, or common councillor is a penny the poorer on account of Epping Forest; for all their expenditure is or will be met out of public funds. The praise to which the Corporation is entitled is that of statesmanship, sagacity in perceiving a great opportunity, and promptitude and boldness in seizing it. But the moral I am pointing here is that unless there had been an organized Government, the opportunity would and must have been lost. Even if anybody had thought of entering into the struggle over the Forest, there would have been no reservoir of money to draw upon, no such concentrated and sustained force as is necessary to win a great battle. The Londoners would have been as helpless in the face of enclosures as they now are in the face of Water Companies.

25. In the paper which has elicited these remarks Mr. Scott dwells strongly on the efficiency of the City Corporation. I am not concerned to dispute his position. He seems to think it an argument against Unity of Government. It is just the reverse. I believe it to be true that the civic affairs of the City have been more vigorously managed than those of other portions of London. But the more keenly a man is alive to this fact, the more he ought to wish that other Londoners should have the advantage of Municipal Government too. The City ought not to be displeased with us that we ask for a king, even as they have a king. All the advantages that the City possesses are due to its organization. Organize the whole of London, and the same advantages will be reaped by the whole.

II.

26. With regard to the second class of cases, it is a serious disadvantage that Londoners as a body should have nothing to say to proposals affecting different parts of the town or different classes, and should be unable to pronounce any aggregate opinion or to deliberate in any effective way upon matters of common interest.

27. Take a case which happens to have just occurred in our Vestry. A company proposes to carry a line of railway through Paddington, Marylebone, and St. George's, so as to connect the northern and southern circumferences of the Metropolitan lines. St. George's, and I believe Paddington, approve of the project, but desire some protective clauses, for which they will appear separately (not without expense) in Parliament. Marylebone opposes the project *in toto*. Now, this is a scheme affecting a substantial portion of London; not only the three parishes where the new line runs, but myriads of people who use the Metropolitan line. Apart from individuals whose property is touched, and on the question of its benefit to Londoners, there ought to be but one voice heard in Parliament, and that the voice of the Municipality of London.

28. Again, a proposal may be made for the immediate benefit of one locality, which yet if there were a common Government might be executed at the expense of the whole, in the view of conferring, or of having conferred, similar benefits on other localities. Such a boon as a park to the people of Paddington might, and probably would, be secured by a Municipality as one of a series of arrangements not unfair to other parts of London.

29. Other subjects, some of the highest importance, require discussion in a representative body of Londoners; some for decision there, some for an authoritative expression of aggregate opinion. And I believe that such questions will never be disposed of in any satisfactory way till that method is adopted. The extremely difficult question of clearances and artisans' dwellings, the incidence of local

taxation, the admission of tramways, the application of endowments, the prevention of smoke, are all questions of this kind.

III.

30. As regards the third class of cases, the necessity of Unity has been admitted and acted upon so far as regards large works, such as a main drainage, a river embankment, and street improvements. It was again admitted by Sir R. Cross's Bill, and would have been acted on if his Water Trust had been established. But there is still a conflict of jurisdiction between the Board of Works and the Vestries which lead, as above shown, to a good deal of friction. There are still important matters which absolutely require Unity of Government, if we are to have them under our own control at all. I need hardly dwell more on the subject of water. Artificial light stands in precisely the same position. Perhaps the most ridiculous result of the helplessness to which London is reduced is that we cannot make any regulation for our public conveyances. Because cabs run all over London, there is no Local Authority capable of dealing with them. So the Imperial Parliament has to debate this subject, and people from all parts of the United Kingdom called hither to discharge the national affairs are set to frame minute regulations for London cabs. The result is not satisfactory to that very useful, and, as I find him, very obliging member of London society, the cabman. Neither is it to the public. Of course Parliament cannot attend to this matter except at very long intervals. If we had a Government it would be an ordinary departmental affair. But for this purpose eight or ten Municipalities would be no more efficacious than the present anarchy.

31. I now turn to the other reasons against Unity of Government which are put forward by the Report of 1854. They are two in number: one is, that the inhabitants of one part of the town do not know other parts; and the other is, that the magnitude of the task must render it one of great difficulty. These are conjectural reasons, and the answers which might have been given in the year 1854 are obvious. The inhabitants of one part of the town have never been called upon to know other parts; when they are, the knowledge will be acquired, at least sufficiently for the purposes of Civic Government. Difficulty there will be no doubt; great difficulty, but not more than human capacity can grapple with; not more than is found in the management of the Post Office, or of the North-Western Railway. But, in fact, these rather weak objections have been completely answered by experiment, so that we need not speculate on them any longer.

32. The Metropolitan Board of Works has absorbed into itself powers previously diffused among some 300 authorities, and has added to them other powers besides. Its first object was the construction of arterial drainage: but when once created it was found that a body

capable of real action was so advantageous to London that a great quantity of other work has been given it to do. The constitution of this Board is not quite satisfactory, but, imperfect as that may be, it has conferred very great benefits on Londoners. Through it we have our main drainage; we have the grandest and most beautiful feature in London, the Thames Embankment; we have free bridges across the river; we have commodious new streets, such as Northumberland Avenue and Queen Victoria Street; we have an effective control over new buildings; we have endless improvements in the numbering of houses and the naming of streets. In these departments chaos has been gradually reduced to something like order, and the Board has effectually dispelled the notion that it is impossible to acquire the knowledge of local details necessary for a single local Government of London. So far as regards buildings, drainage, street arrangements, bridges, protection against fire, and a number of minor matters, the Board rules well over its great province covered with houses. A comprehensive Civic Government, having no friction with other civic authorities, would do the work with more ease, and therefore with still more efficiency.

33. In the matter of schooling the School Board have exhibited similar results in even a more marked way. Their work was novel in kind and enormous in magnitude. They had, and have, plenty of enemies, and every fault they have committed or inconvenience they have caused has been keenly marked and loudly proclaimed. Even their unavoidable difficulties and their misfortunes have been paraded and imputed to them as faults. But they were at the first, and are still, a courageous and able body, and resting on popular election they have had behind them the force of the body of Londoners, who generously recognise the great work they are doing and support them steadily in it. They had in their hands full and comprehensive powers, not limited by any competing powers, over the subject committed to them. The result of their eleven years of work has been such as to exceed all the expectations which I, at least, ever formed. The creation of this instrument has developed administrative ability of a very high order. And I think that nobody who studies the achievements of the School Board can doubt that when we have a Municipality of London it will attract to it men of the highest abilities and character, who will not find the details of Civic Government too intricate to deal with.

34. So far forth then as we have tried Unity of Government we have succeeded; we have found public spirit, zeal, and administrative ability sufficient for the occasion, and we have succeeded just in proportion as we have rested our organization on the broad basis of popular election, and have armed it with plenary powers over the subject committed to it.

35. That a single Municipality for London must act largely through local agents and managers is certain. It may be expedient to give to such managers a definite legal position instead of a purely voluntary one, such as the School Board's managers now hold. But however that

matter may be dealt with, it is one of detail, provided that the supremacy of the Municipality be kept unimpaired.

36. I will draw these remarks to a close by noticing two points to which Mr. Scott attaches importance.

37. One is our old friend Centralization, which is always made to do duty upon these occasions. Mr. Scott identifies it with destruction of popular liberties. But he goes on to tell us that this idea is suggested to him by some old proposals to place certain civic matters in the hands of the Crown. I agree in thinking that the National Government should not undertake matters of Civic Government. But it is impossible to have any authority at all without centralization; and I propose, not such centralization as will destroy any popular liberties, but only such as will secure to the people of London the liberty of managing their own affairs.

38. Then Mr. Scott lays hold of Mr. Gladstone's speech at the Mansion House, in which he says that the Corporation of London is not likely to be degraded. He compares this saying with Mr. Firth's Bill of 1881, which propounds a plan for a large corporative representation of all London, including the City. And he finds that the City district is put on a par with other districts. "If this is not degrading the City of London," says Mr. Scott, "it is difficult to say what the term implies." Now, with all deference, this seems to me a very unworthy view to take of a great public affair. Mr. Firth's plan would transform the existing Corporation into a far greater one. Mr. Scott seems to be confusing the Corporation with the individuals who compose it, or who are looking forward to compose it. They doubtless would undergo change. If the change was for the worse, the Corporation might be degraded. But if not for the worse, I fail to see the degradation. If the powers of the Corporation were impaired, it might be degradation; but if enlarged and strengthened, where is the degradation? Mr. Scott would hardly think himself degraded if to-morrow he found himself the Chamberlain of a Corporation ruling over a people seventyfold more numerous and a territory a hundredfold larger than the City Corporation now has. I shall not think our Vestry of St. George's degraded, but the contrary, if instead of painfully exercising its present stunted powers it becomes the handmaid of a supreme Municipality, and one important wheel in a powerful machine, worthily ruling the civic life of all London. To combine parts of a great natural whole which are only artificially divided, and ought never to have been divided, is a process the very reverse of degradation; for by it every part is exalted and strengthened. And in spite of all warnings against prophesying when one does not know, I will venture to prophesy now that, if the Reform which we advocate be carried, every Londoner who thinks at all of the matter will feel his heart beating a little more proudly in that he is a member of the grandest Municipality that is or ever was in the world.

ARTHUR HOBHOUSE.

MONKEYS.

IF the skeletons of an orang-utan and a chimpanzee be compared with that of a man, there will be found to be the most wonderful resemblance, together with a very marked diversity. Bone for bone, throughout the whole structure, will be found to agree in general form, position, and function, the only absolute differences being that the orang has nine wrist bones, whereas man and the chimpanzee have but eight; and the chimpanzee has thirteen pairs of ribs, whereas the orang, like man, has but twelve. With these two exceptions, the differences are those of shape, proportion, and direction only, though the resulting differences in the external form and motions are very considerable. The greatest of these are, that the feet of the anthropoid or man-like apes, as well as those of all monkeys, are formed like hands, with large opposable thumbs fitted to grasp the branches of trees but unsuitable for erect walking, while the hands have weak small thumbs but very long and powerful fingers, forming a hook rather than a hand adapted for climbing up trees and suspending the whole weight from horizontal branches. The almost complete identity of the skeleton, however, and the close similarity of the muscles and of all the internal organs, have produced that striking and ludicrous resemblance to man which every one recognizes in these higher apes and, in a less degree, in the whole monkey tribe; the face and features, the motions, attitudes, and gestures being often a strange caricature of humanity. Let us, then, examine a little more closely in what the resemblance consists, and how far, and to what extent, these animals really differ from us.

Besides the face, which is often wonderfully human—although the absence of any protuberant nose gives it often a curiously infantile aspect, monkeys, and especially apes, resemble us most closely in the hand and arm. The hand has well-formed fingers with nails, and the skin of the

palm is lined and furrowed like our own. The thumb is, however, smaller and weaker than ours, and is not so much used in taking hold of anything. The monkey's hand is, therefore, not so well adapted as that of man for a variety of purposes, and cannot be applied with such precision in holding small objects, while it is unsuitable for performing delicate operations such as tying a knot or writing with a pen. A monkey does not take hold of a nut with its fore-finger and thumb as we do, but grasps it between the fingers and the palm in a clumsy way, just as a baby does before it has acquired the proper use of its hand. Two groups of monkeys—one in Africa and one in South America—have no thumbs on their hands, and yet they do not seem to be in any respect inferior to other kinds which possess it. In most of the American monkeys the thumb bends in the same direction as the fingers, and in none is it so perfectly opposed to the fingers as our thumbs are; and all these circumstances show that the hand of the monkey is, both structurally and functionally, a very different and very inferior organ to that of man, since it is not applied to similar purposes, nor is it capable of being so applied.

When we look at the feet of monkeys we find a still greater difference, for these have much larger and more opposable thumbs and are therefore more like our hands; and this is the case with all monkeys, so that even those which have no thumbs on their hands, or have them small and weak and parallel to the fingers, have always large and well-formed thumbs on their feet. It was on account of this peculiarity that the great French naturalist Cuvier named the whole group of monkeys *Quadrumana*, or four-handed animals, because, besides the two hands on their fore-limbs, they have also two hands in place of feet on their hind-limbs. Modern naturalists have given up the use of this term, because they say that the hind extremities of all monkeys are really feet, only these feet are shaped like hands; but this is a point of anatomy, or rather of nomenclature, which we need not here discuss.

Let us, however, before going further, inquire into the purpose and use of this peculiarity, and we shall then see that it is simply an adaptation to the mode of life of the animals which possess it. Monkeys, as a rule, live in trees, and are especially abundant in the great tropical forests. They feed chiefly upon fruits, and occasionally eat insects and birds'-eggs, as well as young birds, all of which they find in the trees; and, as they have no occasion to come down to the ground, they travel from tree to tree by jumping or swinging, and thus pass the greater part of their lives entirely among the leafy branches of lofty trees. For such a mode of existence, they require to be able to move with perfect ease upon large or small branches, and to climb up rapidly from one bough to another. As they use their hands for gathering fruit and catching insects or birds, they require some means of holding on with their feet, otherwise they would be liable to continual falls, and they are able to do this by means of their long finger-like toes and large

opposable thumbs, which grasp a branch almost as securely as a bird grasps its perch. The true hands, on the contrary, are used chiefly to climb with, and to swing the whole weight of the body from one branch or one tree to another, and for this purpose the fingers are very long and strong, and in many species they are further strengthened by being partially joined together, as if the skin of our fingers grew together as far as the knuckles. This shows that the separate action of the fingers, which is so important to us, is little required by monkeys, whose hand is really an organ for climbing and seizing food, while their foot is required to support them firmly in any position on the branches of trees, and for this purpose it has become modified into a large and powerful grasping hand.

Another striking difference between monkeys and men is that the former never walk with ease in an erect posture, but always use their arms in climbing or in walking on all-fours like most quadrupeds. The monkeys that we see in the streets dressed up and walking erect, only do so after much drilling and teaching, just as dogs may be taught to walk in the same way; and the posture is almost as unnatural to the one animal as it is to the other. The largest and most man-like of the apes—the gorilla, chimpanzee, and orang-utan—also walk usually on all-fours; but in these the arms are so long and the legs so short that the body appears half erect when walking; and they have the habit of resting on the knuckles of the hands, not on the palms like the smaller monkeys, whose arms and legs are more nearly of an equal length, which tends still further to give them a semi-erect position. Still, they are never known to walk of their own accord on their hind legs only, though they can do so for short distances, and the story of their using a stick and walking erect by its help in the wild state is not true. Monkeys, then, are both four-handed and four-footed beasts; they possess four hands formed very much like our hands, and capable of picking up or holding any small object in the same manner; but they are also four-footed, because they use all four limbs for the purpose of walking, running, or climbing; and, being adapted to this double purpose, the hands want the delicacy of touch and the freedom as well as the precision of movement which ours possess. Man alone is so constructed that he walks erect with perfect ease, and has his hands free for any use to which he wishes to apply them; and this is the great and essential bodily distinction between monkeys and men.

We will now give some account of the different kinds of monkeys and the countries they inhabit.

THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF MONKEYS AND THE COUNTRIES THEY INHABIT.

Monkeys are usually divided into three kinds—apes, monkeys, and baboons; but these do not include the American monkeys, which are really more different from all those of the Old World than any of the latter are from each other. Naturalists, therefore, divide the whole

monkey-tribe into two great families, inhabiting the Old and the New Worlds respectively; and, if we learn to remember the kind of differences by which these several groups are distinguished, we shall be able to understand something of the classification of animals, and the difference between important and unimportant characters.

Taking first the Old World groups, they may be thus defined:—apes have no tails; monkeys have tails, which are usually long; while baboons have short tails, and their faces, instead of being round and with a man-like expression as in apes and monkeys, are long and more dog-like. These differences are, however, by no means constant, and it is often difficult to tell whether an animal should be classed as an ape, a monkey, or a baboon. The Gibraltar ape, for example, though it has no tail, is really a monkey, because it has callosities, or hard pads of bare skin on which it sits, and cheek pouches in which it can stow away food; the latter character being always absent in the true apes, while both are present in most monkeys and baboons. All these animals, however, from the largest ape to the smallest monkey, have the same number of teeth as we have, and they are arranged in a similar manner, although the tusks, or canine teeth, of the males are often large, like those of a dog.

The American monkeys, on the other hand, with the exception of the Marmosets, have four additional grinding teeth (one in each jaw on either side), and none of them have callosities, or cheek pouches. They never have prominent snouts like the baboons; their nostrils are placed wide apart and open sideways on the face; the tail, though sometimes short, is never quite absent; and the thumb bends the same way as the fingers, is generally very short and weak, and is often quite wanting. We thus see that these American monkeys differ in a great number of characters from those of the Eastern hemisphere; and they have this further peculiarity, that many of them have prehensile or grasping tails, which are never found in the monkeys of any other country. This curious organ serves the purpose of a fifth hand. It has so much muscular power that the animal can hang by it easily with the tip curled round a branch, while it can also be used to pick up small objects with almost as much ease and exactness as an elephant's trunk. In those species which have it most perfectly formed it is very long and powerful, and the end has the underside covered with bare skin, exactly resembling that of the finger or palm of the hand and apparently equally sensitive. One of the common kinds of monkeys that accompany street organ-players has a prehensile tail, but not of the most perfect kind; since in this species the tail is entirely clad with hair to the tip, and seems to be used chiefly to steady the animal when sitting on a branch by being twisted round another branch near it. The statement is often erroneously made that all American monkeys have prehensile tails; but the fact is that rather less than half the known kinds have them so, the remainder having this organ either short and bushy or long and slender,

but entirely without any power of grasping. All prehensile-tailed monkeys are American, but all American monkeys are not prehensile-tailed.

By remembering these characters it is easy, with a little observation, to tell whether any strange monkey comes from America or from the Old World. If it has bare seat-pads, or if when eating it fills its mouth till its cheeks swell out like little bags, we may be sure it comes from some part of Africa or Asia; while if it can curl up the end of its tail so as to take hold of anything, it is certainly American. As all the tailed monkeys of the Old World have seat-pads (or ischial callosities as they are called in scientific language), and as all the American monkeys have tails, but no seat-pads, this is the most constant external character by which to distinguish them; and having done so we can look for the other peculiarities of the American monkeys, especially the distance apart of the nostrils and their lateral position.

The whole monkey-tribe is especially tropical, only a few kinds being found in the warmer parts of the temperate zone. One inhabits the Rock of Gibraltar, and there is one very like it in Japan, and these are the two monkeys which live farthest from the equator. In the tropics they become very abundant and increase in numbers and variety as we approach the equator, where the climate is hot, moist, and equable, and where flowers, fruits, and insects are to be found throughout the year. Africa has about 55 different kinds, Asia and its islands about 60, while America has 114, or almost exactly the same as Asia and Africa together. Australia and its islands have no monkeys, nor has the great and luxuriant island of New Guinea, whose magnificent forests seem so well adapted for them. We will now give a short account of the different kinds of monkeys inhabiting each of the tropical continents.

Africa possesses two of the great man-like apes—the gorilla and the chimpanzee, the former being the largest ape known, and the one which, on the whole, perhaps most resembles man, though its countenance is less human than that of the chimpanzee. Both are found in West Africa, near the equator, but they also inhabit the interior wherever there are great forests; and Dr. Schweinfurth states that the chimpanzee inhabits the country about the sources of the Shari river in 28° E. long. and 4° N. lat.

The long-tailed monkeys of Africa are very numerous and varied. One group has no cheek-pouches and no thumb on the hand, and many of these have long soft fur of varied colours. The most numerous group are the Guenons, rather small long-tailed monkeys, very active and lively, and often having their faces curiously marked with white or black, or ornamented with whiskers or other tufts of hair; and they all have large cheek-pouches and good-sized thumbs. Many of them are called green monkeys, from the greenish-yellow tint of their fur, and most of them are well-formed pleasing animals. They are found only in tropical Africa.

The baboons are larger, but less numerous. They resemble dogs in the general form and the length of the face or snout, but they have hands with well-developed thumbs on both the fore and hind limbs; and this, with something in the expression of the face and their habit of sitting up and using their hands in a very human fashion, at once shows that they belong to the monkey-tribe. Many of them are very ugly, and in their wild state they are the fiercest and most dangerous of monkeys. Some have the tail very long, others of medium length, while it is sometimes reduced to a mere stump, and all have large cheek-pouches and bare seat-pads. They are found all over Africa from Egypt to the Cape of Good Hope; while one species, called the hamadryas, extends from Abyssinia across the Red Sea into Arabia, and is the only baboon found out of Africa. This species was known to the ancients, and it is often represented in Egyptian sculptures, while mummies of it have been found in the catacombs. The largest and most remarkable of all the baboons is the mandrill of West Africa, whose swollen and hog-like face is ornamented with stripes of vivid blue and scarlet. This animal has a tail scarcely two inches long, while in size and strength it is not much inferior to the gorilla. These large baboons go in bands, and are said to be a match for any other animals in the African forests, and even to attack and drive away the elephants from the districts they inhabit.

Turning now to Asia, we have first one of the best known of the large man-like apes—the orang-utan, found only in the two large islands, Borneo and Sumatra. The name is Malay, signifying “man of the woods,” and it should be pronounced *orang-ootan*, the accent being on the first syllable of both words. It is a very curious circumstance that, whereas the gorilla and chimpanzee are both black, like the negroes of the same country, the orang-utan is red or reddish-brown, closely resembling the colour of the Malays and Dyaks who live in the Bornean forests. Though very large and powerful, it is a harmless creature, feeding on fruit, and never attacking any other animal except in self-defence. A full-grown male orang-utan is rather more than four feet high, but with a body as large as that of a stout man, and with enormously long and powerful arms.

Another group of true apes inhabit Asia and the larger Asiatic islands, and are in some respects the most remarkable of the whole family. These are the Gibbons, or long-armed apes, which are generally of small size and of a gentle disposition, but possessing the most wonderful agility. In these creatures the arms are as long as the body and legs together, and are so powerful that a gibbon will hang for hours suspended from a branch, or swing to-and-fro and then throw itself a great distance through the air. The arms, in fact, completely take the place of the legs for travelling. Instead of jumping from bough to bough and running on the branches, like other apes and monkeys, the gibbons move along while hanging suspended in the air,

stretching their arms from bough to bough, and thus going hand over hand as a very active sailor will climb along a rope. The strength of their arms is, however, so prodigious, and their hold so sure, that they often loose one hand before they have caught a bough with the other, thus seeming almost to fly through the air by a series of swinging leaps; and they travel among the network of interlacing boughs a hundred feet above the earth with as much ease and certainty as we walk or run upon level ground, and with even greater speed. These little animals scarcely ever come down to the ground of their own accord; but when obliged to do so they run along almost erect, with their long arms swinging round and round, as if trying to find some tree or other object to climb upon. They are the only apes who naturally walk without using their hands as well as their feet; but this does not make them more like men, for it is evident that the attitude is not an easy one, and is only adopted because the arms are habitually used to swing by, and are therefore naturally held upwards instead of downwards, as they must be when walking on them.

The tailed monkeys of Asia consist of two groups, the first of which have no cheek pouches, but always have very long tails. They are true forest monkeys, very active, and of a shy disposition. The most remarkable of these is the long-nosed monkey of Borneo, which is very large, of a pale brown colour, and distinguished by possessing a long, pointed, fleshy nose, totally unlike that of all other monkeys. Another interesting species is the black and white entellus monkey of India, called "Hanuman" by the Hindoos, and considered sacred by them. These animals are petted and fed, and at some of the temples numbers of them come every day for the food which the priests, as well as the people, provide for them.

The next group of Eastern monkeys are the Macaques, which are more like baboons, and often run upon the ground. They are more bold and vicious than the others. All have cheek pouches, and though some have long tails; in others the tail is short, or reduced to a mere stump. In some few this stump is so very short that there appears to be no tail, as in the magot of North Africa and Gibraltar, and in an allied species that inhabits Japan.

AMERICAN MONKEYS.

The monkeys which inhabit America form three very distinct groups: 1st—the Sapoious, which have prehensile or grasping tails; 2nd—the Sagouins, which have ordinary tails, either long or short; and, 3rd—the Marmosets, very small creatures, with sharp claws, long tails, which are not prehensile, and a smaller number of teeth than all other American monkeys. Each of these three groups contain several sub-groups, or *genera*, which often differ remarkably from each other, and from all the monkeys of the Old World.

We will begin with the howling monkeys, which are the largest

found in America, and are celebrated for the loud voice of the males. Often in the great forests of the Amazon or Oronooko a tremendous noise is heard in the night or early morning, as if a great assemblage of wild beasts were all roaring and screaming together. The noise may be heard for miles, and it is louder and more piercing than that of any other animals, yet it is all produced by a single male howler sitting on the branches of some lofty tree. They are enabled to make this extraordinary noise by means of an organ that is possessed by no other animal. The lower jaw is unusually deep, and this makes room for a hollow bony vessel about the size of a large walnut, situated under the root of the tongue, and having an opening into the windpipe by which the animal can force air into it. This increases the power of its voice, acting something like the hollow case of a violin, and producing those marvellous rolling and reverberating sounds which caused the celebrated traveller Waterton to declare that they were such as might have had their origin in the infernal regions. The howlers are large and stout-bodied monkeys with bearded faces, and very strong and powerfully grasping tails. They inhabit the wildest forests; they are very shy, and are seldom taken captive, though they are less active than many other American monkeys.

Next come the spider-monkeys, so called from their slender bodies and enormously long limbs and tail. In these monkeys, the tail is so long, strong, and perfect, that it completely takes the place of a fifth hand. By twisting the end of it round a branch the animal can swing freely in the air with complete safety; and this gives them a wonderful power of climbing and passing from tree to tree, because the distance they can stretch is that of the tail, body, and arm added together, and these are all unusually long. They can also swing themselves through the air for great distances, and are thus able to pass rapidly from tree to tree without ever descending to the ground, just like the gibbons in the Malayan forests. Although capable of feats of wonderful agility, the spider-monkeys are usually slow and deliberate in their motions, and have a timid, melancholy expression, very different from that of most monkeys. Their hands are very long, but have only four fingers, being adapted for hanging on to branches rather than for getting hold of small objects. It is said that when they have to cross a river the trees on the opposite banks of which do not approach near enough for a leap, several of them form a chain, one hanging by its tail from a lofty overhanging branch and seizing hold of the tail of the one below it, then gradually swinging themselves backwards and forwards till the lower one is able to seize hold of a branch on the opposite side. He then climbs up the tree, and, when sufficiently high, the first one lets go, and the swing either carries him across to a bough on the opposite side or he climbs up over his companions.

Closely allied to the last are the woolly monkeys, which have an equally well-developed prehensile tail, but better proportioned limbs,

and a thick woolly fur of a uniform grey or brownish colour. They have well formed fingers and thumbs, both on the hands and feet, and are rather deliberate in their motions, and exceedingly tame and affectionate in captivity. They are great eaters, and are usually very fat. They are found only in the far interior of the Amazon valley, and, having a delicate constitution, seldom live long in Europe. These monkeys are not so fond of swinging themselves about by their tails as are the spider-monkeys, and offer more opportunities of observing how completely this organ takes the place of a fifth hand. When walking about a house or on the deck of a ship the partially curled tail is carried in a horizontal position on the ground, and the moment it touches anything it twists round it and brings it forward, when, if eatable, it is at once appropriated; and when fastened up the animal will obtain any food that may be out of reach of its hands with the greatest facility, picking up small bits of biscuit, nuts, &c., much as an elephant does with the tip of his trunk.

We now come to a group of monkeys whose prehensile tail is of a less perfect character, since it is covered with hair to the tip, and is of no use to pick up objects. It can, however, curl round a branch, and serves to steady the animal while sitting or feeding, but is never used to hang and swing by in the manner so common with the spider-monkeys and their allies. These are rather small-sized animals, with round heads and with moderately long tails. They are very active and intelligent, their limbs are not so long as in the preceding group, and though they have five fingers on each hand and foot, the hands have weak and hardly opposable thumbs. Some species of these monkeys are often carried about by itinerant organ-men, and are taught to walk erect and perform many amusing tricks. They form the genus *Cebus* of naturalists.

The remainder of the American monkeys have non-prehensile tails, like those of the monkeys of the Eastern hemisphere; but they consist of several distinct groups, and differ very much in appearance and habits. First we have the Sakis, which have a bushy tail and usually very long and thick hair, something like that of a bear. Sometimes the tail is very short, appearing like a rounded tuft of hair; many of the species have fine bushy whiskers, which meet under the chin, and appear as if they had been dressed and trimmed by a barber, and the head is often covered with thick curly hair, looking like a wig. Others, again, have the face quite red, and one has the head nearly bald, a most remarkable peculiarity among monkeys. This latter species was met with by Mr. Bates on the Upper Amazon, and he describes the face as being of a vivid scarlet, the body clothed from neck to tail with very long, straight, and shining white hair, while the head was nearly bald, owing to the very short crop of thin grey hairs. As a finish to their striking physiognomy these monkeys have bushy whiskers of a sandy colour meeting under the chin, and yellowish-grey eyes. The colour of the face is so vivid that it looks as if covered with a thick

coat of bright scarlet paint. These creatures are very delicate, and have never reached Europe alive, though several of the allied forms have lived some time in our Zoological Gardens.

An allied group consists of the elegant squirrel-monkeys, with long, straight, hairy tails, and often adorned with prettily variegated colours. They are usually small animals; some have the face marked with black and white, others have curious whiskers, and their nails are rather sharp and claw-like. They have large round heads, and their fur is more glossy and smooth than in most other American monkeys, so that they more resemble some of the smaller monkeys of Africa. These little creatures are very active, running about the trees like squirrels, and feeding largely on insects as well as on fruit.

Closely allied to these are the small group of night-monkeys, which have large eyes, and a round face surrounded by a kind of ruff of whitish fur, so as to give it an owl-like appearance, whence they are sometimes called owl-faced monkeys. They are covered with soft grey fur, like that of a rabbit, and sleep all day long concealed in hollow trees. The face is also marked with white patches and stripes, giving it a rather carnivorous or cat-like aspect, which, perhaps, serves as a protection, by causing the defenceless creature to be taken for an arboreal tiger-cat or some such beast of prey.

This finishes the series of such of the American monkeys as have a larger number of teeth than those of the Old World. But there is another group, the Marmosets, which have the same number of teeth as Eastern monkeys, but differently distributed in the jaws, a pre-molar being substituted for a molar tooth. In other particulars they resemble the rest of the American monkeys. These are very small and delicate creatures, some having the body only seven inches long. The thumb of the hands is not opposable, and instead of nails they have sharp compressed claws. These diminutive monkeys have long, non-prehensile tails, and they have a silky fur often of varied and beautiful colours. Some are striped with grey and white, or are of rich brown or golden brown tints, varied by having the head or shoulders white or black, while in many there are crests, frills, manes, or long ear-tufts, adding greatly to their variety and beauty. These little animals are timid and restless; their motions are more like those of a squirrel than a monkey. Their sharp claws enable them to run quickly along the branches, but they seldom leap from bough to bough like the larger monkeys. They live on fruits and insects, but are much afraid of wasps, which they are said to recognize even in a picture. This completes our sketch of the American monkeys, and we see that, although they possess no such remarkable forms as the gorilla or the baboons, yet they exhibit a wonderful diversity of external characters, considering that all seem equally adapted to a purely arboreal life. In the howlers we have a specially developed voice-organ, which is altogether peculiar; in the spider-monkeys we find the adaptation to active motion among the

topmost branches of the forest trees carried to an extreme point of development; while the singular nocturnal monkeys, the active squirrel-monkeys, and the exquisite little marmosets, show how distinct are the forms under which the same general type may be exhibited, and in how many varied ways existence may be sustained under almost identical conditions.

LEMURS.

In the general term, monkeys, considered as equivalent to the order *Primates*, or the *Quadrumana* of naturalists, we have to include another sub-type, that of the Lemurs. These animals are of a lower grade than the true monkeys, from which they differ in so many points of structure that they are considered to form a distinct sub-order, or, by some naturalists, even a separate order. They have usually a much larger head and more pointed muzzle than monkeys; they vary considerably in the number, form, and arrangement of the teeth; their thumbs are always well developed, but their fingers vary much in size and length; their tails are usually long, but several species have no tail whatever, and they are clothed with a more or less woolly fur, often prettily variegated with white and black. They inhabit the deep forests of Africa, Madagascar, and Southern Asia, and are more sluggish in their movements than true monkeys, most of them being of nocturnal or crepuscular habits. They feed largely on insects, eating also fruits and the eggs or young of birds.

The most curious species are—the slow lemurs of South India, small tailless nocturnal animals, somewhat resembling sloths in appearance, and almost as deliberate in their movements, except when in the act of seizing their insect prey; the Tarsier, or spectre-lemur, of the Malay islands, a small long-tailed nocturnal lemur, remarkable for the curious development of the hind feet, which have two of the toes very short and with sharp claws, while the others have nails, the third toe being exceedingly long and slender, though the thumb is very large, giving the feet a very irregular and *outré* appearance; and, lastly, the Aye-aye of Madagascar, the most remarkable of all. This animal has very large ears and a squirrel-like tail, with long spreading hair. It has large curved incisor teeth, which add to its squirrel-like appearance and caused the early naturalists to class it among the rodents. But its most remarkable character is found in its fore-feet or hands, the fingers of which are all very long and armed with sharp curved claws, but one of them, the second, is wonderfully slender, being not half the thickness of the others. This curious combination of characters shows that the aye-aye is a very specialized form—that is, one whose organization has been slowly modified to fit it for a peculiar mode of life. From information received from its native country, and from a profound study of its organization, Professor Owen believes that it is adapted for the one purpose of feeding on small wood-boring insects. Its large

feet and sharp claws enable it to cling firmly to the branches of trees in almost any position; by means of its large delicate ears it listens for the sound of the insect gnawing within the branch, and is thus able to fix its exact position; with its powerful curved gnawing teeth it rapidly cuts away the bark and wood till it exposes the burrow of the insect, most probably the soft larva of some beetle, and then comes into play the extraordinary long wire-like finger, which enters the small cylindrical burrow, and with the sharp bent claw hooks out the grub. Here we have a most complex adaptation of different parts and organs all converging to one special end, that end being the same as is reached by a group of birds, the woodpeckers, in a different way; and it is a most interesting fact that, although woodpeckers abound in all the great continents, and are especially common in the tropical forests of Asia, Africa, and America, they are quite absent from Madagascar. We may therefore consider that the aye-aye really occupies the same place in nature in the forests of this tropical island, as do the woodpeckers in other parts of the world.

DISTRIBUTION, AFFINITIES, AND ZOOLOGICAL RANK OF MONKEYS.

Having thus sketched an outline of the monkey tribe as regards their more prominent external characters and habits, we must say a few words on their general relations as a distinct order of mammalia. No other group so extensive and so varied as this, is so exclusively tropical in its distribution, a circumstance no doubt due to the fact that monkeys depend so largely on fruit and insects for their subsistence. A very few species extend into the warmer parts of the temperate zones, their extreme limits in the northern hemisphere being Gibraltar, the Western Himalayas at 11,000 feet elevation, East Thibet, and Japan. In America they are found in Mexico, but do not appear to pass beyond the tropic. In the Southern hemisphere they are limited by the extent of the forests in South Brazil, which reach about 30° south latitude. In the East, owing to their entire absence from Australia, they do not reach the tropic; but in Africa some baboons range to the southern extremity of the continent.

But this extreme restriction of the order to almost tropical lands is only recent. Directly we go back to the Pliocene period of geology, we find the remains of monkeys in France, and even in England. In the earlier Miocene several kinds, some of large size, lived in France, Germany, and Greece, all more or less closely allied to living forms of Asia and Africa. About the same period monkeys of the South American type inhabited the United States. In the remote Eocene period the same temperate lands were inhabited by lemurs in the East, and by curious animals believed to be intermediate between lemurs and marmosets in the West. We know from a variety of other evidence that throughout these vast periods a mild and almost sub-tropical climate extended over all Central Europe and parts of North America, while a of a temperate character prevailed as far north as the Arctic circle.

The monkey tribe then enjoyed a far greater range over the earth, and perhaps filled a more important place in Nature than it does now. Its restriction to the comparatively narrow limits of the tropics is no doubt mainly due to the great alteration of climate which occurred at the close of the Tertiary period, but it may have been aided by the continuous development of varied forms of mammalian life better fitted for the contrasted seasons and deciduous vegetation of the north temperate regions. The more extensive area formerly inhabited by the monkey tribe, would have favoured their development into a number of divergent forms, in distant regions and adapted to distinct modes of life. As these retreated southward and became concentrated in a more limited area, such as were able to maintain themselves became mingled together as we now find them, the ancient and lowly marmosets and lemurs subsisting side by side with the more recent and more highly developed howlers and anthropoid apes.

Throughout the long ages of the Tertiary period monkeys must have been very abundant and very varied, yet it is but rarely that their fossil remains are found. This, however, is not difficult to explain. The deposits in which mammalian remains most abound are those formed in lakes or in caverns. In the former the bodies of large numbers of terrestrial animals were annually deposited, owing to their having been caught by floods in the tributary streams, swallowed up in marginal bogs or quicksands, or drowned by the giving way of ice. Caverns were the haunts of hyenas, tigers, bears, and other beasts of prey, which dragged into them the bodies of their victims, and left many of their bones to become imbedded in stalagmite or in the muddy deposit left by floods, while herbivorous animals were often carried into them by these floods, or by falling down the swallow-holes which often open into caverns from above. But, owing to their arboreal habits, monkeys were to a great extent freed from all these dangers. Whether devoured by beasts or birds of prey, or dying a natural death, their bones would usually be left on dry land where they would slowly decay under atmospheric influences. Only under very exceptional circumstances would they become imbedded in aqueous deposits; and instead of being surprised at their rarity we should rather wonder that so many have been discovered in a fossil state.

Monkeys, as a whole, form a very isolated group, having no near relations to any other mammalia. This is undoubtedly an indication of great antiquity. The peculiar type which has since reached so high a development must have branched off the great mammalian stock at a very remote epoch, certainly far back in the Secondary period, since in the Eocene we find lemurs and lemurine monkeys already specialized. At this remoter period they were probably not separable from the insectivora, or (perhaps) from the ancestral marsupials. Even now we have one living form, the curious *Galeopithecus* or flying lemur, which has only recently been separated from the lemurs, with which it was formerly united, to be classed as one of the insectivora; and it is only

among the Opossums and some other marsupials that we again find hand-like feet with opposable thumbs, which are such a curious and constant feature of the monkey tribe.

This relationship to the lowest of the mammalian tribes seems inconsistent with the place usually accorded to these animals at the head of the entire mammalian series, and opens up the question whether this is a real superiority or whether it depends merely on the obvious relationship to ourselves. If we could suppose a being gifted with high intelligence, but with a form totally unlike that of man, to have visited the earth before man existed in order to study the various forms of animal life that were found there, we can hardly think he would have placed the monkey tribe so high as we do. He would observe that their whole organization was specially adapted to an arboreal life, and this specialization would be rather against their claiming the first rank among terrestrial creatures. Neither in size, nor strength, nor beauty, would they compare with many other forms, while in intelligence they would not surpass, even if they equalled, the horse or the beaver. The carnivora, as a whole, would certainly be held to surpass them in the exquisite perfection of their physical structure, while the flexible trunk of the elephant, combined with his vast strength and admirable sagacity, would probably gain for him the first rank in the animal creation.

But if this would have been a true estimate, the mere fact that the ape is our nearest relation does not necessarily oblige us to come to any other conclusion. Man is undoubtedly the most perfect of all animals, but he is so solely in respect of characters in which he *differs* from all the monkey tribe—the easily erect posture, the perfect freedom of the hands from all part in locomotion, the large size and complete opposability of the thumb, and the well developed brain, which enables him fully to utilize these combined physical advantages. The monkeys have none of these; and without them the amount of resemblance they have to us is no advantage, and confers no rank. We are biassed by the too exclusive consideration of the man-like apes. If these did not exist the remaining monkeys could not be thereby deteriorated as to their organization or lowered in their zoological position, but it is doubtful if we should then class them so high as we now do. We might then dwell more on their resemblances to lower types—to rodents, to insectivora, and to marsupials, and should hardly rank the hideous baboon above the graceful leopard or stately stag. The true conclusion appears to be, that the combination of external characters and internal structure which exists in the monkeys, is that which, when greatly improved, refined, and beautified, was best calculated to become the perfect instrument of the human intellect and to aid in the development of man's higher nature; while, on the other hand, in the rude, inharmonious, and undeveloped state which it has reached in the quadrumana, it is by no means worthy of the highest place, or can be held to exhibit the most perfect development of existing animal life.

ALFRED R. WALLACE.

DISESTABLISHMENT IN SCOTLAND.

DISESTABLISHMENT in Scotland is a question of practical politics. In that respect, it does not matter much to the general public, what precise view determines the action of the different parties who urge it on. If they are strong enough to raise the question, and if the course of affairs brings it to the front, it will be dealt with on broader grounds than those which govern the action of local parties. Still, it may be convenient to say, at the outset, that, in point of fact, two sections of the party of Disestablishment are recognizable. There are, first, the Voluntaries, who oppose Establishments as institutions which, in all cases, are unlawful, being beyond the province of the State, and injurious to the Church. In Scotland this principle is represented most powerfully by the members of the United Presbyterian Church. It is maintained also by members of various denominations of less numerical strength. Many Free Churchmen, too, especially among the laymen, have arrived at views which are practically much the same—i.e., they have ceased to regard Establishments as a method of supporting the Church which it is ever wise or desirable to adopt. This, however, is not the position taken by the Free Church as a body. There does, indeed, prevail in that Church a lively disbelief in Established Churches, as they either do exist, or are likely to exist; there is a thorough disinclination to be re-established, or to regard any project of that kind as feasible. Besides, the importance of any aid the State can give to the Church, is rated far lower than it was before 1843. Still, the Free Church has shown no disposition to abandon her old theoretical ground, that Establishments, in suitable circumstances, if based on right principles, are a fair application of the general principle that States and nations should know and honour Christ's revelation. But the Free Church urges the removal of the present

Scottish Establishment for the twofold reason, that it is based on wrong principles, and that its existence is unreasonable and unjust, there being no tenable public grounds on which it can legitimately claim, or can usefully fill, the position of the National Church. The first of these reasons is valid for Free Churchmen; the second addresses itself to people in general.

In further explanation of the position of the Free Church, this may be said. When the Free Church "came out" in 1843, she came out as protesting against the Establishment which remained, that Establishment being, in fact, in her view, an embodied renunciation of Free Church principles, and repudiation of the historical Church of Scotland. From that time onward, two lines of action were open to the Free Church, if she were disposed to make her weight felt in reference to the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland. One was to agitate for an Establishment on Free Church principles, to be worked by Free Churchmen. That course was theoretically open, and was in the line of her previous claims and contendings. But it was ineligible, not only because no one regarded it as practicable, and not only because the demand might seem sordid and invidious, but also because the immense relief of being done with the State was too keenly felt, and the idea of marching back again to resume the old questions was utterly distasteful. On the other hand, it was open to agitate simply for the removal of the Establishment which existed, and stop there. That course lay equally in the line of her principles; and it was the natural course to take if the Free Church had come to be satisfied that an Establishment on Free Church principles was nowadays out of the question, or that, in existing circumstances, such an Establishment would not practically benefit the Church or the State. Either course was open. But the Free Church took neither. Free Churchmen were glad to think that the great act of the Disruption had relieved them from responsibility, and might for the present stand in the room of all further sayings and doings. It was no doubt, *ex facie*, in the line of duty to demand an application of Free Church principles; and now and then an individual or two moved the Church to renew the claim for it. But the Free Church always found or made excuses for refraining from anything of the kind. The time was not come; or the State, which had rejected Free Church advice in 1843, might with propriety be left to make the next move. Besides, the *status quo* remained unaltered; and, while that was so, all parties might reserve their claims and lie upon their arms.

It was very certain, however, that this could not continue always; and there was some danger that it might continue too long. Yet it certainly would have been difficult to get the Free Church to move, had not the events of 1874 occurred. Those brought her at once into the field. The State, as represented by the Conservative Government, and the Church Established, took the *status quo* in hand with a view to remodel it. They did so without any recognition of rights or interests

external to the privileged denomination. It seemed to the Free Church that the changes made were meant to lure Free Church members by an illusory profession of Free Church principles. But it is not necessary to the present object to impute any but the best and fairest intentions. Whatever the intentions, the very fact that Church and State were at work to revise the situation was a challenge the Free Church could not decline. A certain number of her members were inclined to declare for a reconstructed Establishment, another section was loth to move at all, but the General Assembly, by three to one, declared for Disestablishment, and successive Assemblies have affirmed the decision. This decision, no doubt, rested partly on the conviction that Establishments are objectionable whenever they tend deeply to divide Christians who ought to be united—whenever the Church and the State have become divergent in principle—and whenever the Church Established is thrown for its defence on the principles of indefinite comprehension and of concurrent endowment. But it mainly expressed the conviction that the existing Establishment is a grievance and a wrong, and must be brought to an end.

The theoretical Voluntaries, therefore, and the mass of Free Churchmen are aiming at the same result, and have no difficulty in working together for it. The attempt is made to break the ranks by appealing to Free Churchmen as bound by their views to support Establishment in some form. But the answer is plain. The Free Church disestablished herself in 1843; and if she is persuaded that all the forces which rendered that step obligatory in principle, and expedient in practice, are operating still with increasing strength, then to urge further disestablishment in 1882 is procedure in the same line, and can only be objected to as unduly delayed.

There is no doubt at all that the Established Church represents a minority, not merely of the people, but of the church-going people of the country. Until lately no one questioned that it represented a minority of the Presbyterians. Strong assertions tending the other way have recently been made, which will be adverted to by-and-by. But, even if these were true, the manner of their truth would make the case worse and not better. Round all the Presbyterian Churches there is a floating element of population which does not accept the ordinary obligations of Christian profession, but is willing enough to accept standing and prerogatives from any of the Churches, if the obligations are dispensed with. All the Churches profess to be diligent in seeking to reclaim this element, and glad to welcome them as worshippers; no Church professes to receive them, without amendment, to the privileges of members. The charge that the Established Church has adopted a system of laxity, under the temptations arising from the absolute necessity of showing larger numbers, has sometimes been heard; it is a charge which ought not to be lightly made or lightly believed. But their own statements have had a chief hand in giving to it currency.

For unless they have adjoined to that proportion which they possess of the worshipping people of Scotland, a very large share of this element of its religious indifference, it is impossible the Established Church should be anything else than a minority of the Presbyterians of Scotland. This is not a pleasant topic to pursue, and on a subsequent page the figures alleged will be dealt with upon a more benevolent interpretation. Another element in the argument appeals to the history of Scotland, and to the traditions of its religious life. The Established Church must maintain its claim to be national, in spite of the fact that it has failed to retain great sections of Presbyterianism, representing not numbers only, but moral and spiritual features in the life of the Scottish Church, which, in other days, contributed largely to its strength. Not only so, it has to be maintained against the deliberate protest and opposition of Scottish Presbyterian Churches, which maintain that they outnumber it; which, at all events, are as deeply rooted, which claim to be more genuinely rooted in the past of Scotland, than itself. Even this is not all. It is indisputable that the Scottish Establishment is nearly a nullity in large districts of the country, in some of the poorest, in districts in which one would think that an Established Church should find its *raison d'être*. These are the circumstances in which an Establishment is maintained, which we are expected to accept and acknowledge as the representative of the national religion. We are expected to acquiesce in this, that the most powerful force in the community, that of the State, shall in our name exert its authority and power to commend this denomination to the people continually, as the undoubted representative of the Scottish National Church and the rightful owner of its inheritance. Whatever arises out of this that is invidious and embittering arises from the action of the State. Disestablishment would at once remove it. There would remain no motive and no excuse for taking exception to what would then be a community of Christians following out their own views in their own way. And nothing would then hinder the cordial recognition of the legitimate share they can claim in Scottish memories, and of the contributions which from their ranks are made to Scottish piety and Scottish thought.

The case could not be put so absolutely if it were reasonable to believe that the situation is merely temporary, and destined soon to alter; in other words, that a great body of the Scottish people will soon cross over to the Church Established. That would do nothing to reconcile the Voluntaries, nor to reconcile those who, not being Voluntaries, might still hold aloof. But at least it would alter the political complexion of the case, and relieve it of some of the aggravations which render it pressing. There is, however, no prospect of any such thing; and, while no plan tending towards it is now suggested, there is no disposition to take advantage of such a plan, if it were. All such plans, in time past, have been directed towards the disorganization of the Free Church. But those who frame them are probably becoming

aware by this time that the obstacle to be dealt with lies deeper than their plans even aim at reaching. Individuals pass to and fro, but the solid mass of the Free Church acquired at the Disruption a mode of sentiment as well as a position in principle; and the one supports the other. The sentiment is one of deliberate and thankful acceptance of its present position, as a great benefit providentially conferred, and on no account to be parted with. There are men in the Free Church who refuse to advocate Disestablishment, and who regret that their Church should do it. But there are very few of them who would feel comfort in exchanging the present position of their Church for the entanglements and responsibilities of an Established Church. The condition of separation from the State was not lightly accepted—slowly, reluctantly, fighting every point of the way, it was reached at last with devout acknowledgment of the guidance of a Divine hand. It will not be lightly renounced, under any manipulations by dexterous persons in Church or State.

One question, however, inevitably follows in the wake of Disestablishment which is apt to create some difficulty—the disposal, namely, of the public funds set free by the process. The Church disestablished would naturally carry with it any endowments created by the liberality of its own members. But the Establishment receives from public funds an annual amount which was estimated in 1874 at £346,000, and may now be more; besides which a question remains as to the equitable principles applicable to the “unexhausted teinds.” The advocates of Disestablishment have declined to involve themselves in any final proposal on this subject, except in so far as to say that in each parish the funds should be applied to public objects that will benefit the people at large. There are, however, two positions bearing on the subject which have been very widely accepted, and are certain to be powerfully advocated. One is that in dealing with life-interests, the claims of existing incumbents of the Established Church should not be capitalized, as in Ireland, but should be allowed to run out by annual payments during the life of the beneficiary. The other is that the main object to which the funds set free should be devoted is the education of the country, both in the relief of rates, and in the way of making it more efficient. In connection with both these points questions arise which cannot be discussed within the limits of this paper. The subject has been referred to, only to indicate an appendix to the main question which must be dealt with in its place.

It may be right, however, to say here that some proposed manipulation of these funds with a view to avert Disestablishment, and to divide the Free Church, will very probably be put forward. In the Northern Highlands the Free Church holds the ground almost alone. A concession in this quarter, with a view to secure the Establishment in the remaining districts of the country, has often been talked of. Let the people have the funds to support the religious ordinances in

which they are almost wholly united, and let things remain as they are elsewhere. There can be little doubt that as the question advances such proposals will be dangled before our eyes : they are the devices naturally resorted to in order to divide the force of the movement and to defraud it of its effect. But their fate may safely be left to the progress of events.

The benevolent intentions towards the Free Church Highlanders will have to shape themselves, either as a gift to avert disaster to the existing establishment, or as a consequence of its removal. If the former, it will probably turn out that the Free Church Highlanders will not readily become parties to a project to sell the rest of Scotland to an Establishment they disapprove of, in consideration of a pecuniary concession to themselves. Nor will they readily divide their cause from their own Church in order to form an alliance with the "Moderates." If, on the contrary, the proposed gift to the Free Church Highlanders has to be considered as a consequence of Disestablishment, it is very probable that the zeal to confer it will become cool. At any rate, in that case, the proposal, if it survives, will have to be considered in its connection with the other consequences of Disestablishment, and with the general principles applicable to such funds. The Free Church Highlander does not affect to despise money honourably available for good uses. In any case he must have his parochial funds, for useful parochial purposes. For the rest, as he is not likely to sell himself to promote the prolongation of the Establishment against which he protests, so in the event of that Establishment being taken away, he will have his share of influence in determining the destination of the funds set free. And it may be safely prophesied that he will support no plan which opens the door for concurrent endowment.

To return, however, from this digression. So far as we have gone, a case is stated, and a grievance presented, which claims the attention of all parties in the State. As yet, it has been fully recognised by the Liberals only. We may now proceed, therefore, to make some remarks on the political position of the question. In brief, it is this : that the Liberal leaders have recognized the existence of a practical question, referring to a state of things which cannot and ought not to continue. As to the remedy, they have indicated their judgment that the Liberal party ought to await the indication of a clear opinion on the part of Scotland, and especially of the Scottish Liberals.

The question was dealt with by Lord Hartington, then leader of the Liberal party, in a speech delivered in Edinburgh in 1877. Mr. Gladstone afterwards expressed his full concurrence. Both recognized a grave public question. Both stated that the manner of dealing with it was matter, primarily, for the people of Scotland themselves ; that their mind upon it ought to take effect, irrespective of the influence the event might be thought to have out of Scotland ; and that the English Liberal party, as such, ought not to raise the question of Disestablishment until

the mind of Scotland (Lord Hartington rather indicated, of Scottish Liberals) should become clear. It may be well to quote, from Hansard, what both statesmen said upon the subject in the House of Commons, in the Session of 1878, when motions for inquiry had been brought forward by more than one member. Mr. Gladstone said :—

"The other Presbyterian Churches, which jointly must outnumber the Church of Scotland, and which may be said to constitute, if not a majority, at least one moiety, of the people of Scotland have accepted the Patronage Act as a distinct challenge on the subject of Establishment, and have answered that challenge by saying that it is their deliberate conviction that the Establishment that now exists in Scotland ought not to continue in possession of the national property. I understand the Free Church at present to say that they do not think the existence of an Establishment ought to be maintained, and that they believe that the maintenance of an Establishment is no longer necessary to the welfare of religion, whatever use it might have been in former times. Until 1874 the question slept dreamily; but now the two independent Presbyterian Churches are united in their demand for a cessation of the preference shown to the third Church

"As a general rule, I hardly know how a Church can be national which is the Church of the minority. The Established Church of Scotland has every title which it could possibly derive from its respectability; from the energy, cultivation, zeal, and piety of its clergy; and it also derives much advantage from many recollections of former times; but still nothing has been said to show upon what principle it is that an Establishment is to be maintained which is the Establishment of a minority only of the people.

"As I have already said, it is my strong conviction that it would have been wise of the Church of Scotland not to have forced this question to the point. As they have judged right to do so, it is fair to call upon them to produce their arguments, and not to say only that they are a respectable body, which no one contests; that their clergy are excellent, which I admit; or even that the Patronage Act has diminished the funds in parishes, which is quite possible. They must also show that the exclusive enjoyment of the national property, which has been set apart for ecclesiastical purposes in Scotland, by one religious communion, ought to be maintained. My intention is to hold myself free on this subject; but, first of all, I should like to be assured of the concurrence of right hon. gentlemen opposite in what I have said. I should like to know whether they agree with me, that this is a matter which ought to be determined by the sentiment of Scotland, and not of England?

"In some sense there might be some self-gratulation upon the part of myself and my right hon. friends, who saw the danger of the change in 1874 and warned the promoters of the Act of it. The change that has taken place in Scotland in the position of this question is one which any intelligent man who comes from Scotland will not for one moment deny. The position of this question now is totally different from what it was ten or even five years ago. A controversy has been raised by those whose interest, and perhaps whose duty, it would seem to have been to have avoided raising such a controversy. Let them now set out clearly and intelligibly what they think to be the merits of the case, and I have no doubt that it will receive an impartial hearing.

"The Established Church of Scotland must stand or fall according to the general convictions of the people of Scotland.

The Marquis of Hartington said on the same occasion :—

"The supporters of the Established Church themselves admitted that dissatisfaction with the Establishment existed in Scotland, and what he said at Edinburgh, and what he repeated now, was that some remedy for that evil must be found. He was prepared to discuss any remedy that might be suggested, and was not committed to the opinion that Disestablishment was the only way out of the difficulty in which the people of Scotland found themselves, as far as this was concerned. But he believed the feeling in Scotland in favour of Disestablishment was real; and if the majority of the people decided in that way, he for one should support them in the course they pursued.

* * * * *

"He adhered to every word he had said at Edinburgh, for he felt that in Scotland there existed a state of things which could not last, and for which some remedy must be found."

Other utterances might be cited, but those adduced are sufficient for the present purpose. In Scotland, therefore, it is held as settled that the grievance, and the public question rising out of it, are recognized as present and as requiring to be dealt with; that the Liberal party, as such, will not undertake to solve it by Disestablishment until Scotland has uttered a verdict of her own in favour of that course; but that if she does, they ought not then to decline to undertake it.

It ought to be added, however, that in relation to this subject, assertions are sometimes made which have no foundation in any statement by the Liberal leaders. It is assumed, for example, that the mind of Scotland on the subject can be made clear only by Disestablishment becoming a main issue at a general election. A pledge to that effect was sought to be extracted from Mr. Gladstone, in 1879, by Scottish Liberals connected with the Scottish Establishment. Lord Hartington then led the party, but the important place Mr. Gladstone must occupy at the election was of course foreseen. Mr. Gladstone wrote, in May of that year, as follows:—

"I certainly desire that this question, which has been recognized as eminently one for the Scottish people to consider, should not be raised by the party until the Scottish people shall have pronounced upon it in a manner which is intelligible and distinct. But I do not find the phrases 'main issue' and 'side issue' to be sufficiently free from ambiguity to lead me to choose them for the conveyance of my own sentiments, while I think a distinct and intelligible expression must be all for which such gentlemen as I have described would wish to stipulate."

The door is left open, therefore, for the "distinct and intelligible expression" occurring by some other process. It is often asserted or implied, in like manner, that Mr. Gladstone has pledged himself and his party not to touch the question of Disestablishment during the present Parliament. On that subject he wrote—

"I have received the letter in which you express an apprehension that the leaders of the Liberal party should give a virtual pledge that they will not touch the question of Disestablishment during the next Parliament. I do not fall within the description of leader of the Liberal party, but for one I have never at any time given such a pledge to my knowledge in regard to any question before the public of whatever kind."

On the whole, therefore, Mr. Gladstone has not tied his own hands or those of his party on the Scottish Church question. It is certain, indeed, that he will not commit his party in this Parliament, nor in any Parliament, to Disestablishment in Scotland without the distinct expression of Scottish opinion first occurring. It is certain, also, that the last general election did not, and could not, afford the distinct expression desiderated. But Mr. Gladstone has not shut out the possibility of the voice of Scotland becoming audible and clear even during the duration of this Parliament. Still less has he pronounced against the Scottish Church question being treated meanwhile as a grave and present public question, either in Parliament or elsewhere.

The last two utterances of Mr. Gladstone are from a letter published in the newspapers in 1879. In that letter he refers to having been written to from different quarters, and thinks it expedient to "embody in my reply to you all that I have to say, in the present state of things, on the subject of Establishment or no Establishment in Scotland." He further remarked on that question, that he could not profess, in the present state of Imperial affairs, that this Scottish question occupied the first, or nearly the first, place in his mind. The remarks now made, accordingly, are not meant to produce an impression on the question whether Mr. Gladstone either expects or desires that the Scottish Church question should be audibly pronounced upon by Scotland during the present Parliament, or within any other fixed period; but at least he has said nothing to deprecate it, or to deny to the utterance, beforehand, the regard that might be due to it.

All this is worth observing, because minor oracles of the party (very minor generally) take upon them to be more authoritative. At the same time, while the question is fully raised, it is not here maintained that the proposal of Disestablishment in Scotland has yet reached the stage at which it can claim the official decision of the heads of the Liberal party; and no argument shall here be offered against any who may maintain that it is not likely to reach that point otherwise than through the operation of a general election.

Meanwhile, the ultimate determination of the question depends partly on the strength of the various denominations. A word, therefore, as to numbers. There are no figures which can be regarded as having public authority later than the census of 1851. At that time, an enumeration was made of those attending Divine service on a certain Lord's Day. The Established Church could claim an attendance in the forenoon (which is here taken, as being more favourable to the Established Church than the afternoon or evening) of 351,454; the Free Church and United Presbyterian together, 451,499; other denominations, 140,908. Recent debates, however, have brought out newer figures, the most pretentious of which is a return of communicants borne upon the communion rolls of the Established Church for the year 1878 or 1879. This exhibited a total membership of 515,786; and as the Free Church

and the United Presbyterians, together, enumerated their communicants for the same year at 403,097, it is maintained that the Established Church has acquired a great preponderance over the two Churches which it is most natural to bring into comparison with it. In a letter to the *Times*, in January last, the present writer stated that the figure given for the Established Church is preposterous. It had, in fact, been received in Scotland with general incredulity. Since then a writer in the same paper has asserted the return to be reliable. It may be worth while to indicate the main considerations bearing on this question.

The roll of communicants is a list of persons who are recognized as having a right to communicate. It is kept by adding from time to time the names of those who are admitted to the Lord's table for the first time, or who bring certificates, as communicants, from other parishes, and by deleting the names of those who remove, who die, or who lapse. The latter process is called "purging the roll." It is the part that is apt to be neglected where rolls are loosely kept; and, in point of fact, there is nothing wonderful, and nothing very discreditable, in a roll coming to be swollen in that way to twice its proper dimensions. For the primary object of the roll is not statistical; the additions come in at definite times, and people feel it incumbent to record them; while no one is very directly injured or prejudiced, by delay or inattention in the matter of deletions.

That this cause, or some other, has operated to swell unduly the Established Church rolls, appears by every test that can be applied to the case. Outsiders have no access to the nominal lists. But the newspapers have employed themselves in taking and publishing a census of the Church attendance in a good many places, covering a considerable proportion of the population of Scotland. The results vary in different localities; but in almost every instance they throw a questionable light on the returns of communicants, and give, on the whole, a decided preponderance to the non-established Presbyterians.* Again, in smaller parishes where the relative strength of denominations is well known, the returns have been tested by comparison with the population, and with the same result. In some cases, simple inspection is enough. Four congregations in one presbytery are credited, this year, with 9,800 communicants among them: a thing portentous to a Presbyterian eye, and at once suggesting some non-natural explanation. In fine, there is no growth on the part of the Established Church in influence, or in power to affect public opinion, corresponding to the immense advance in numbers which the figure put forth for them would imply that they had made.

It is not doubted that, since 1851, the Established Church has made

* Since the above was written the returns have been summed up as follows:—Population of towns and parishes subjected to census, 906,646; attendance at Established Church, 92,960; other denominations, 215,939. The summary does not distinguish the numbers for non-established Presbyterian Churches. The districts in the North, where the Established Church is weakest, are not included in this census.

progress in the number of her adherents, and that a portion at least of the increase has been well earned. Church extension operations have been carried on with great spirit; and in many districts the aid which an Established Church can acquire from a territorial aristocracy, generally favourable, has been sedulously put to use. The Church, therefore, has won adherents from the numerical increase of the population, and from the outfield. Besides, there are plain reasons for holding that for a good many years after the Disruption, the Established Church had less than her natural share of one class—those church-going people, namely, who do not attach importance to Church principles and Church distinctions; and probably she has regained something like the position in relation to them which she might be expected permanently to enjoy. But it is quite another thing to suppose that this growth has reversed her relation, numerically, to the population outside her pale, or to the two Churches already named so often. It is to be remembered that if the Established Church has made some progress, they too have not been idle. The Free Church, which in the end of 1843 had about 500 regular congregations, and in 1851 had grown to 743, now numbers 1,000, besides mission stations. This fact may be added, that in the year 1880, the Established Church returned the amount of voluntary contributions by her members for religious and charitable objects at £377,760. In the same year, the Free and United Presbyterian Churches raised £916,885. Supposing the Established Church to be credited with £80,000 more, for sums not brought into account, and adding the whole amount she derives from the State at the estimate—liberal it is believed—of £360,000, the total would still fall short of the figure for the other two Churches by nearly £100,000. These matters are of subordinate importance, and have been touched upon only because statements are put abroad, which, if not contested, may be regarded as authoritative.

It may be right to say, in leaving the subject, that the returns of communicants by the Free and United Presbyterian Churches have not, it is believed, been impugned as to their accuracy. It is known, in fact, that the Free Church return is made for a financial purpose, and that every congregation has a specific financial interest in keeping its roll properly purged. But it is perhaps not so well known that Free Church returns are, in one respect, certainly under the mark. Explanations on this subject would necessarily be minute and technical, but shall be given if required.

Those who are hostile to the project of Disestablishment, or who are annoyed at its making progress under other auspices than their own, are wont to make reference to divisions of opinion on the subject existing among the members of the Free Church. The action of the Free Church and its people must have a material bearing on the result, and that action, it is implied, will be paralyzed and frustrated by internal dissensions. A word on this subject may be useful. Among the minor sections of the Free Church three tendencies can be re-

cognized, which have found distinct utterance. One is that whose latest manifesto is a pamphlet just put forth by Dr. Kennedy, of Dingwall.* The *mot d'ordre* of this party has hitherto been understood to be reconstruction—that is to say, they hold that the only solution of the problem of Church and State in Scotland, at which the Free Church can legitimately or consistently aim, is an Establishment on Free Church principles. With some of the party this merely means that they prefer to let the problem alone, rather than help to solve it by Disestablishment. In the case of others it is a more positive and practical policy. To these last Dr. Kennedy must be reckoned; and yet he has just thrown out the idea that in certain circumstances he could support a project for withdrawing the teinds from their present application, and constituting them into an aid-fund applicable to all Churches which hold the Confession of Faith. This is, of course, Disestablishment followed by a kind of re-establishment on a wider basis, which takes no note of the questions dividing Scottish Presbyterians. Another section of the Church is represented by Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff, *clarum et venerabile nomen*. He regards the principles and position of the Free Church as undoubtedly pointing to a termination of the existing connection of Church and State in Scotland. Nor does he think that, in existing circumstances, that termination could be succeeded by anything in the nature of an Established Church as heretofore understood. Supposing, however, the existing connection to be terminated, it would, in his judgment, be an important and pressing question, how the State, no longer expressing its regard for religion by maintaining an Establishment, ought still to indicate a friendly attitude to Christ's truth and cause. That is a difficult question, but, as Sir Henry considers, it is eminently a question on which a Church should have counsel to give. And until the Free Church has arrived at some satisfactory conclusion on that point, and sees some reason to think it can be realised, he prefers that she should abstain from the active prosecution of a Disestablishment policy. A third shade of view is represented by Professor Bruce, of Glasgow; who while admitting Disestablishment to be indispensable in order to the right ultimate solution of Scottish Church questions, conceives it to be unbecoming and inexpedient for the Free Church, as a Church, to engage in any agitation on the subject.

All these sections taken together are in a great minority in the Free Church, and it will hardly be denied, in the face of current indications, that it is a minority steadily diminishing as the practical alternatives become clear to men's minds. But it is more important to observe that not one of them, contemplated as a fact and as a part of the existing situation, suggests a solution of the problem, apart from Disestablishment. The reconstruction suggested by the first section is removed as far as it can be from anything like large or general comprehension;

* Dr. Begg is by far the most considerable person in this section. His last word is to recommend a Royal Commission.

it is therefore quite remote from the ideas in which Establishments must henceforth find succour. The aid-fund idea, on the other hand, presupposes Disestablishment as a preliminary.

Enough has probably been said on matters which may seem to general readers to be rather of a parochial order. It may, however, be worth while to add, that the positions assumed by minor ecclesiastical parties in Scotland are often misunderstood by those outside, because they are interpreted as indicating the practical objects which the party will proceed to realize. Very often, positions so assumed are the result of deductions from theoretical principles, supposed to be imperative, and to require illustration; they have no relation to the aims which would occur to practical politicians.

The case for Disestablishment in Scotland can of course plead in its favour all the arguments which may be urged for religious equality; and even those who are not voluntaries may admit that to violate religious equality is undesirable, unless some plain good end is to be served by it. But besides, the case rests on this, that the representative position and the peculiar privileges of a National Church are accorded to a communion related, actually and historically, to the population, to the Presbyterianism, to the religious life and activity of the country as the Church now established is. That is unreasonable, and it is unjust, in the broad palpable sense, which needs no theoretic reasoning to enforce it. We decline to submit to that injustice any longer. We fear no contradiction from reasonable men, when we assert that the present position of things cannot possibly be maintained. And we advocate Disestablishment as the remedy, all the more confidently, because during the years that have passed since the question was raised, no other remedy that is worth discussing has been propounded by any one. No one supposes now that the Establishment is to be politically rehabilitated by the accession to it of the Free Church or of the United Presbyterians. People who, standing outside, propose to manipulate the convictions and the conduct of other men to suit their own theories, have pretty well given that up in this case. The ecclesiastical question in Scotland is present, practical, and pressing. And we demand of all parties in the State reason and justice.

We demand justice. But it must at the same time be said, that the energy with which we demand it is reinforced by very strong convictions of another kind. We have the deepest persuasion, in the first place, that Disestablishment will do no harm. All useful work now done by the Established Church of Scotland, she will continue to do after Disestablishment, not with less advantage, but with more. Nor will Disestablishment lower the religious vitality of national life. What measure of regard to Christ's truth or kingdom can be embodied in national acts and laws, in the strange circumstances of our modern time with the State organized as it is, with the Churches and the creeds so unhappily divided, is not in all respects an easy question. What-

ever the measure of it may be, we recognize the importance of holding up before the nation and its rulers the light which Christ has brought us. But we believe this will be done, not worse, but better, so far as Scotland is concerned, when the religious responsibility of the nation is no longer supposed to be embodied in a form of conspicuous injustice, and when the maintenance of this is no longer perpetuated as a cause of quarrel between Christian men. We have the deepest persuasion, in the second place, that disestablishment will do good. We believe it to be of great importance to the religious well-being of Scotland in the future, that its Church life should be disentangled from complications and debates created by the State. We believe that the effort (well intended, beyond all doubt) on the part of many, to fetter the religious future of Scottish Presbyterianism to the existing Establishment, is a fatal misconception of its true interests, even as understood by themselves. Of these things we are persuaded. But if any one declines to be so persuaded on these points, we go back to the ground of reason and justice, on which we stand immovable. Our claim for right is not prejudiced, even if we are too sanguine in thinking that some further advantages will attend the concession of it, which all do not anticipate with equal confidence. With a view to gain those advantages, we should never think of interfering with the Church Established as to its internal life, or Church procedure. But the relation in which it shall stand to the nation and the national life is a question for us all.

ROBERT RAINY.

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS IN FRANCE.

THE French public funds have just passed through a violent crisis which it is perhaps difficult for those at a distance to understand because it is entirely local—individual, so to speak ; and as it arises from purely adventitious causes, it has only a reflex effect upon the general interests of the country and those of foreign markets. A few explanations and some general information, psychological as well as anecdotal, and strictly impartial, will doubtless be read with interest by the English public.

The French people, considered as a whole, are industrious, frugal, prudent, and consequently pretty well off. Large fortunes and extreme poverty are less common among them than elsewhere. Between these two poles of the social sphere a vast space is occupied by the middle class, which is perhaps the most numerous, the richest, and the most active in the world.

These qualifications, brought into action by an intelligent and generous nation, would form its noblest side, were it not that they are to some extent spoilt and rendered useless by certain failings. The middle classes are fond of luxury, and all classes are romantic. The taste for the marvellous and for extraordinary adventures is kept alive in the poorest Frenchman by means of fiction of the coarsest description, distributed by millions of copies in collections sold at a halfpenny ; and the same taste is also gratified as much by the historical phenomenon which made an artillery officer Emperor of the French, as by the literary fiction which hands over to Lieutenant Dantès the buried treasures of the island of Monte Cristo. This fundamental disposition, which appears in history as the intrinsic attribute of the Gallic race, is translated into the region of economical and financial facts by a marked inclination for chimerical speculations and uncertain profits.

Thus is explained the giddy movement which, in the early years of the eighteenth century, caused the success and the fall, equally rapid, of Law's system. The fundamental principles of credit expounded by the illustrious Scotchman were understood by no one, but he gained acceptance for them by coupling them with plans of speculation which fascinated everybody.

After 1720, France, tried by unheard-of misfortunes and never-to-be-forgotten experiences, abandoned herself less readily to theories and illusions. The spirit of speculation decreased in direct proportion to the accumulation of solid wealth by manufacturing and agricultural labour. But there still remains something of it; and from time to time, at intervals of five or ten years, France becomes enamoured of some tempting scheme which ends in ruin. The next day after the disaster she collects herself, prepares her balance-sheet, pays her debts, and courageously sets to work again. It is thus that she has borne with the greatest composure the two partial *kracks* of the *Crédit Mobilier* in 1857 and 1867, that of the *Crédit Mobilier Espagnol* in 1877, and the astounding farce of the *Banque Européenne* in 1879.

These enterprises were of gradually diminished importance and extent, and one might have believed the French public cured of its financial *turlutaines*, had not the tragi-comedy of the *Union Générale* come to prove that the race of *gogos* is decidedly immortal on the soil of ancient Gaul.

Before describing the origin and the functions of the *Union Générale*, the principal agent if not the cause of the crisis, it is necessary to understand the state of the money market at the time when it made its appearance.

At the commencement of the year 1879, the political atmosphere of France seemed to have become calm. The treaty of Berlin, where the French plenipotentiaries had been the object of attentions more or less sincere, appeared to have dissipated foreign difficulties for some time to come; at home, the final defeat of the Conservative party, the triumph of the 363, the retirement of the Marshal Duke of Magenta, and the peaceful advent of M. Grévy to the presidency, seemed to render probable the consolidation of the Republic; that large class whose interests only require calmness and stability, were inclined to have confidence in the continuance of the new state of things. On all sides people were working with ardour, encouraged by the abundance of the metallic circulation and the facilities which it afforded for credit.

Scarcely six years had passed since France had paid over to Germany the heaviest war indemnity which has ever been borne by a civilized country, and already the savings had easily replaced the six milliards exported in the shape of specie, bills of exchange, or international securities. The Bank of France, whose metallic reserve reached nearly 2,250,000,000 francs, for the first time since its formation reduced its rate of commercial discount to 2½ per cent.; the private banks, over-

gorged with deposits, only allowed their customers the ridiculously small interest of $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 per cent.

Two consequences necessarily resulted from this astonishing prosperity: the first was a rise in the public stocks, followed by an advance in those of private companies. The 5 per cent. rentes, notwithstanding the ever-impending menace of conversion at a reduced rate, rose from 111.60 to 118.90, or 7.30 per cent.; the 3 per cent. rente from 76.30 to 83.60, or 7.30 per cent.; the 3 per cent. redeemable rente from 79.00 to 86.80, or 7.80 per cent. At this price the 3 per cent. stock, considered as a type of the French stocks, since it represents the irredeemable and inconvertible half of the French public consolidated debt, only yielded to the purchaser an annual interest of 3.40 per cent.

This was, as it were, a visible transformation in a country accustomed for a century past to consider 5 per cent. as the minimum rate, and that which regulated the income to be derived from capital. The gain in capital to the original stockholders of all classes was immense, since the 5 per cent. stock created by M. Thiers in 1871 and 1872 to pay the war indemnity had been issued at about 80 francs net, that is to say, at $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The original subscriber to the 5 per cent. stock therefore gained 38 francs on his purchase price—that is to say, $47\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the capital originally laid out.

The fall to 3.40 per cent. of the income derivable from the public funds, which had for its corollary the reduction of the rate for commercial discount to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., was certainly a most favourable circumstance for the development of the public wealth. By taking advantage of it with caution and moderation, good things might have been accomplished, if not great things. Unfortunately it was misused. Instead of reflecting that the lowness of the rate for money, though excellent in itself, might be but temporary, and that its maintenance was dependent upon a thousand influences, difficult to define as well as to anticipate, such as political events, foreign or colonial wars, the movement of the precious metals, variations in the rates of exchange, the state of foreign markets, &c., people regarded it as finally settled. The financial press, with that facility and suddenness of generalization which characterize French writers, announced the diminution of the rate of interest on loans as an economic revolution equivalent to that produced in the sixteenth century by the discovery of the New World, and thereupon people proceeded as if it were a question of working the treasures of a third America.

The first application of this theory was made to the bonds of the *Crédit Foncier* of France, which that establishment succeeded in converting at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest. The Municipality of Paris, stimulated by the success of the *Crédit Foncier*, likewise reduced the interest of a portion of its debt; other towns—Lyons, Marseilles, &c.—followed in the path which had been marked out for them. Thus the reduction of the mean rate of interest, being accepted as an irrevocable

fact, became the general rule. The Government, though it did not conform to this rule on its own account, since it did not convert the 5 per cent. rentes, introduced it into the region of legal facts by issuing to the Crédit Foncier the order to reduce its rate for loans to private persons and to communes proportionately to the reduced rate at which it had been enabled to convert its own bonds.

The second consequence of the advance in the public stocks, and the more or less permanent reduction of the rate of interest on loans, was, necessarily, the development of new undertakings, which multiplied with incredible rapidity. The proposition was a very simple one, and constituted the sole *platform* for all the prospectuses: "As the public funds, and the principal credit establishments, public or private, such as the Bank of France, the Crédit Foncier, the Comptoir d'Escompte, the Banque d'Escompte, the Bank of Paris, the Société Générale, and the Crédit Lyonnais, only yielded an income ranging from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., any new scheme which should promise a return of from 5 to 6 per cent. would be hailed with delight by those in search of remunerative investments for their savings."

This fertility of private initiative gave birth to several useful and enduring undertakings, at the head of which must be named the Banque Hypothécaire de France, created by the association of seven of the principal credit establishments—the Bank of Paris, the Banque d'Escompte, the Société Générale, the Société de Crédit Industriel, the Société des Dépôts et Comptes Courants, the Société Financière de Paris, and the Crédit Lyonnais.

The Banque d'Escompte has provided Italy with two large insurance companies, the one for fire and the other for life insurance, which have been called upon to render valuable services in a country where operations of this kind were almost unknown. The idea was immediately taken up and imitated; speculation caused about thirty insurance companies to spring up, which insured everybody except their own shareholders.

The public, somewhat perplexed in presence of this avalanche of fresh investments, and bewildered by the fall in the rate of interest, which neither allowed them to purchase the old securities, such as rentes or railway shares and bonds, these having become too dear, nor yet to place their money on deposit at the banks at $\frac{1}{2}$ or 1 per cent. per annum, found their instinctive fears gradually lulled to sleep, and their instinct of cupidity, on the other hand, awakened.

So it happened that, with the same facility with which the ostrich swallows oakum and pebbles, the public absorbed the shares of imaginary mines, coming from the two extremes of the world—now from the shores of Lake Ontario, now from those of the Caspian Sea.

A humorous episode occurred which favoured this incipient effervescence. It was the appearance of the Banque Européenne, promoted by the notorious Philippart. In spite of the scornful withdrawal of the Haute Banque, and the refusal of support signified by the majority of the

stockbrokers, the shares of the Banque Européenne, a Belgian company, offering no legal security to French capital, were carried off at a premium of two or three hundred francs. The Belgian financier was so dazzled by a success which was, probably, unexpected by him, that he ruined himself in a few days, and, seized with a fit of madness, suddenly disappeared, leaving to his astonished shareholders nothing but eyes to weep with, and fragments of paper of a delicate colour with which to wipe their eyes.

By a significant contrast, a first attempt to raise the capital for the Panama Canal was at that time unsuccessful. The public refused to the illustrious M. de Lesseps the confidence which they freely bestowed on the adventurer Philippart. We see in this contrast the struggle between the two opposing currents which vex the soul of the French speculator—prudence pushed to the most excessive distrust, and the love of speedy gain pushed to the most insane credulity.

From this time date the first efforts made by certain syndicates or *consortia* to force up certain stocks which were thought capable of bearing this hot-house process. From 1879 to 1881 pamphlets appeared successively, advertised at great expense, with these attractive titles:—“Crédit Foncier Stock at 2,000 francs;” “Suez Canal Stock at 3,000 francs;” “Bank of France Stock at 8,000 francs.” The prices at that time did not exceed 1,000 francs for Crédit Foncier stock, 800 francs for Suez Canal, 3,000 francs for Bank of France.

These attempts to produce an artificial rise succeeded in the case of the first two stocks, owing to a lucky combination of circumstances. The settlement of the Egyptian question by the joint action of England and France enabled the Crédit Foncier to realize its Egyptian securities at a considerable profit, and the Suez Canal reaped the benefit of an increase in its receipts which exceeded all expectations. The Crédit Foncier of France had in hand a considerable number of founder's shares in the Suez Canal; the two stocks were, therefore, to a certain extent, liable to be affected by identical influences.

Such was the ground upon which a new scheme sprang up with much clamour, after having vegetated obscurely for nearly two years. This was that same Union Générale which has just succumbed, after having first created and then destroyed with its own hands a capital of over a milliard francs (£40,000,000).

The Union Générale had very modest beginnings. Its destiny seems to be written in this line of Victor Hugo's:—

“Sois petit comme source, et sois grand comme fleuve.”

There was in Paris, a few years ago, a banking-house of the second rank, managed by M. Dervieu, which had for its special object the discounting of bills and drafts created for the cultivation, cropping, and exportation of Egyptian cottons. One day M. Dervieu formed his bank into a *société en commandite* with limited capital, which he called the Union Générale, under the name of Dervieu, Guillaumerc

having its office at No. 48, Rue de Provence, Paris. Under these conditions, it is still to be found entered in the year-books for 1878. In the month of May in that same year, the *société en commandite* Dervieu, Guillaumeron et C^{ie} was transformed into a *société anonyme* with a capital of 15,000,000 francs.

The history of this transformation is a very curious one.

Those who took part in the worldly and financial movement of the early years of the Second Empire have not forgotten the original figure of another banker, named Henri Place, of the firm of Noël, Place et C^{ie} whose establishment was situated in the Rue du Faubourg Poissonnière. Intimately connected with the brothers Péreire, Henri Place took an active part as director in the early and brilliant operations of the French Crédit Foncier. Fortune seemed to smile on him. He was a bold, enterprising, amiable, literary man, of refined conversation, passionately fond of classical music, and, withal, "a mighty hunter before the Lord." He possessed at that time the Château of Petit Bourg, formerly the property of the Marquis Aguado. The luxury of Henri Place was prodigious. One day he let loose into his shooting grounds at Petit Bourg several thousand Chinese golden pheasants, to give sport to his guests of the next day. On another occasion, wishing to offer to Prince Napoleon, the cousin of the Emperor Napoleon III., a hunt worthy of him, he had upwards of a hundred hectares of land, all contiguous, sown with lucern and stocked with ten thousand partridges, so that the princely sportsman could not advance a step into the lucern without raising a perfect cloud of birds.

Suddenly, on the 31st of May, 1856, people learned with astonishment that the magnificent owner of the Château of Petit Bourg had just been declared bankrupt by the Tribunal of Commerce, with liabilities amounting to 19,000,000 francs. Unfortunate speculations in grain and flour were said to have brought about this catastrophe, the real causes of which were never rightly known. Although Péreire Brothers lost some millions by it, they hastened to intervene, and through their exertions the creditors were paid in full, and the Tribunal of Commerce revoked the declaration of bankruptcy. But the blow had fallen; Henri Place's name never appeared again in any financial enterprise. This does not mean that the ex-banker had given himself up to inactivity. In retirement at his mansion in the Place de l'Europe, where he amused himself with the cultivation of roses, he was meditating fresh operations; he conceived among others the ingenious if not practical idea of transforming the enclosed ground belonging to the railways into plantations of fruit-trees. It was he who discovered the beds of oysters which abound at the mouth of the Tagus, and who presided, clandestinely, at the formation of a society called Les Huîtrières de Portugal, which soon sank again beneath the waves.

From the recesses of his industrious and luxurious retreat Henri Place one day fancied he had discovered the road to wealth, and at the same time to safety. It is known that the Italian Government, having

become masters of Rome in 1870, and consequently responsible for the whole of the old Pontifical debt offered to the holders of the latter the exchange of their scrip for that of the Italian 5 per cent. stock. The Pontifical stockholders, being for the most part legitimists and clericals of high social standing, felt an invincible repugnance to enter into direct contract with the Italian Government—a repugnance which imperilled their interests. Impressed by this state of things, Henri Place founded an establishment which should undertake to receive and collect the Pontifical scrip, and convert it *en masse* on account of the holders. This transaction, approved and recommended by the legitimist press, met with perfect success. As legal representative of large claims on the Italian State, Henri Place made several journeys to Rome, where Pope Pius IX. naturally gave him a very friendly reception. From that moment it became the determined purpose of the former director of the Crédit Mobilier to establish, with the support of the temporary customers who had entrusted him with the scrip of their Pontifical stock, a Catholic bank, destined to become a great power, with ramifications extending throughout all countries which acknowledged the spiritual authority of the Holy See.

He waited several years, with a patience that nothing could dishearten, for the opportunity to realize this magnificent dream of a financial Charlemagne or Sixtus V. Circumstances or chances, difficult to determine, having brought him into relations with M. Dervieu, the manager of the Union Générale, this obscure bank was chosen by Henri Place as the pivot of his operations. The little Union Générale of Dervieu, Guillaumeron et C^{ie} became a *société anonyme*, with a capital first of fifteen and then of fifty millions, patronized by honoured and honourable names, under the presidency of M. le Marquis de Plœuc, formerly Inspector-General of Finances, deputy for Paris in 1870, and formerly Deputy-Governor of the Bank of France.

Neither Henri Place nor M. Dervieu reaped the fruits of their initiative. Disagreements, which it is needless to recall here, brought about their almost immediate retirement. M. Dervieu has reconstituted his bank, and Henri Place has been dead some months; it would be a sort of impiety to break the silence which reigns around his tragic end.

Henri Place's conception was not wanting either in justness or penetration. In the state of division and hostility in which parties live in France, it is certain that a considerable and respectable class would derive both convenience and advantage from confiding their interests to agents identified with them in a religious and political point of view. But in the sphere of business, ideas are worth less than actions, and neither convictions nor good faith and earnestness in well-doing are a substitute for practical fitness and professional experience. This has been only too well proved by events.

The new Union Générale, installed at No. 9, Rue d'Antin, in the old mansion built at the beginning of the eighteenth century for M. de

Prévalon, very soon found the unemployed capital of a portion of the upper classes of French society flow into its coffers as deposits. At first it justified universal confidence by its prudent and quiet mode of proceeding. It did not declare, and never has declared, any other dividend than the interest of 5 per cent. on the paid-up capital (6·25 per annum on 125 francs paid up on each share of 500 francs). From the last six months of 1878 to the first six months of 1879, the nominal value of its shares scarcely exceeded on an average 530 to 600 francs. It is true that a rise in value of 50 to 100 francs on 125 francs paid up represented a premium of from 40 to 80 per cent. But with the customs of the French market, and in the midst of the fever of speculation which was commencing, this premium did not appear excessive. However, the chief directorship of the society had changed hands. The Marquis de Plœuc had retired since the commencement, and had been succeeded in the presidency of the board of administration by M. Eugène Bontoux, formerly Engineer of Roads and Bridges of France.

The new president entered upon his exalted position with the prestige of undoubted respectability and the reputation of a skilful administrator, which he had acquired for himself while residing at Vienna as Director-General of the Railways of the South of Austria.

M. Bontoux, a native of the south of France, is a man about sixty years of age, of remarkable intelligence and uncommon activity. Some years ago he lost a son to whom he was devotedly attached; and he sought consolation for his grief in religion. He is what is called a *pratiquant*; in whatever circumstances he may be placed, even if his table or his drawing-room is crowded with guests, he himself gives the signal and repeats the formula for evening prayer. This religious fervour explains his connection with the Catholic party, and accounts in some measure for the species of mystic exaltation which he seems to have imported into his conception of financial affairs.

In the course of the year 1880, the capital of the Union Générale, which had already passed from fifteen to fifty millions, was increased to 100,000,000 francs by the creation of 10,000 new shares, on each of which a quarter, that is to say, 125 francs, had been paid; which after all only placed at the disposal of the society an effective capital of 25,000,000 francs. M. Bontoux, who had formed and kept up relations with distinguished persons in Austria, sought in that country a basis of financial and manufacturing operations. He obtained the concession for a bank called the "Imperial Royal Privileged Bank of the Austrian Territories" (Kaiserliche Königliche Privilegirte Oesterrische Länder Bank), which was presented to the public as a sort of State bank on which certain privileges, great in appearance at least if not in reality, had been conferred; and we know that the Austrian Cabinet was sharply attacked on this subject by the Parliamentary Opposition during the last few days of the year which has just closed.

The shares of the Privileged Bank were offered at a high premium in the

Paris market, and were taken up in great part by the shareholders of the Union Générale, who derived a large profit from this transaction. How was it that the Banque Autrichienne, or Ländler Bank, received in the Paris market the surname of *Timbale*, which rapidly became popular? It should be explained that a long time ago a *timbale* of macaroni à la Milanaise, invented by a provision dealer named Mme. Bontoux, obtained a high reputation among Paris gastronomists. In the days of the Empire all Paris knew the old Avignon woman, enveloped in her long black widow's veil, behind her counter in the Rue de l'Echelle. Mme. Bontoux's *timbale* was the favourite dish at the tables of the rich: M. Bontoux's Banque Autrichienne became the favourite dish with speculators. Such are the origin and the meaning of this familiar phrase.

M. Bontoux's success—not in the Austrian market, which never abandoned its attitude of extreme reserve with regard to this class of enterprises, but with the Imperial and Royal Government—could not but be viewed with some displeasure by those persons of financial influence who justly availed themselves of rights acquired by long service rendered to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The new bank therefore found itself in a completely isolated position in the financial markets of Vienna and Pesth.

At Paris, the rapidly effected rise in the shares of the Union Générale and the Ländler Bank, in concert with the excessive prices of the Suez Canal shares, produced unheard-of effects upon the market. The price of each of these stocks had risen to 3,500 francs. This might do for the Suez Canal, the receipts of which were visibly and rapidly increasing. But how are these extravagant prices to be explained for an association like the Union Générale, which had never distributed any profits beyond interest at the rate of 5 per cent. on the paid-up capital?

The questions of the astounded public were only answered by bursts of an enthusiasm which was contagious. The Union Générale became a sort of religion: people believed in M. Bontoux, or they did not believe in him. The faithful were rewarded by a shower of golden manna. The misfortune is, that that class of capitalists which belongs rather to the higher social spheres than to the business world, intoxicated by a rise which had lasted through twenty-six consecutive settlements, or during thirteen months, madly imagined that this would continue for ever. The game of *baccarat*, so much liked in Parisian circles, was deserted for speculations in the Union Générale and the *Timbale*.

Serious business was neglected. A certain section of the public, dazzled by the spectacle of gains as rapid as they were boundless, would not hear of investments at 5 per cent.; the continuation prices rose, for the favourite stocks, to 25, 30, and 40 per cent. The best securities felt the effects of this dearth of money, and it may be said that from the month of November last business became impossible.

Vainly had a few speculators endeavoured to restore the market to a perception of the real state of things by checking the triumphal march

of the Suez and the Union Générale stocks; they had been repulsed with loss.

At this time, however, the more sober-minded sort of people could not help carrying their thoughts back some twenty years—that is to say, to the Austro-Belgian enterprises of M. Langrand Dumonceau. The analogy was clearly visible. Like M. Langrand Dumonceau, who was created a Roman count by Pope Pius IX., M. Bontoux had sought his credentials at the Court of Rome, and his points of support in the Vienna market, which had given way under his feet. Like M. Langrand Dumonceau, who had consumed fifty millions obtained from the Emperor Francis Joseph, and eighty millions from the Prince de la Tour et Taxis, M. Bontoux had attracted to himself the money of the French Catholics, being aided in this by the hateful persecution of the congregations and charitable institutions by M. Jules Ferry. Will the upshot be the same? Shall we see the honour and fortunes of the French Catholics sink into the unfathomable abyss in which the honour and fortunes of the Belgian Catholics were engulfed?

These retrospective fears were dissipated in the presence of the firm conviction of honest but fanaticized people.

On the other hand, conflict and opposition seemed to excite the Union Générale to the point of defying fate.

It was not without astonishment that the public heard, during the month of October, 1881, that the Union Générale intended once more to increase its capital, under special conditions, which it made known to its shareholders at their meeting on the 5th of November following.

We have already seen that the capital, after successive augmentations, amounted at this time to 100,000,000 francs, represented by 200,000 shares of 500 francs each—with a quarter of that amount, or 125 francs per share, paid up, this being the minimum required by the French law. The board of administration proposed to the general meeting of shareholders, held on the 5th of November, a resolution to increase the capital to 150,000,000 francs, by the creation of 100,000 new shares. The resolution was carried. But here commences the strange part of the matter. These 100,000 new shares were to be issued at 850 francs, payable within a very short period (from the 10th of November to the 25th of December)—viz., 500 francs for payment in full of the new shares, and 350 francs as a supplementary deposit destined for the reserve fund. Each original share conferred the right of subscription to two new shares, which, from the 1st of January, 1882, were to be assimilated to the original shares; finally, it was decided that the remaining 375 francs should be paid up on the original shares by means of a deduction from the reserves. Now, in order to make this payment of 375 francs on each original share, representing a total of 75,000,000 francs, it would be necessary, after deducting the thirty-five millions of supplementary deposit demanded on the new shares, to reduce the reserve fund by forty millions. But what reserve fund? These audacious schemes furnished much matter for reflection. How are we to account for an association which, for

eighteen months, had at its command only an effective capital of twenty-five millions, having accumulated a reserve fund, or, if we will, an available profit, of forty millions? What business had been done to produce this?

M. Bontoux had founded the Franco-Hungarian Bank, an Association for the Construction of Railways in Brazil, the Bucharest Gas Company, the Lander Bank of Vienna, and the Lauder Bank of Pesth; he had purchased various sections of railways which had not been prosperous; and, lastly, he had grouped, under the name of Alpines, several discredited and abandoned iron foundries and mines.

None of these undertakings could have got beyond its period of preparatory organization, and consequently they could not have yielded any appreciable profit. It is true that the Union Générale had entered into an agreement for a loan of 30,000,000 francs to the Government of the Prince of Servia, and had undertaken the construction of railways in the principality; but this twofold transaction could only have yielded profit on the settlement of accounts after the lapse of some years. It is useless to look more closely into the matter; no other profit can be discovered as having been realized by the Union Générale, except the increase made last September in the capital of the Lander Bank—that is to say, a premium of 150 francs on 100,000 new shares, being a total of 15,000,000 francs. It had even been remarked, on this subject, that the shares of the Union Générale had gone up in consequence of this result; while those of the Lander Bank rose with equal rapidity because, with the twelve millions and a half which formed the first quarter of its supplementary capital, it had purchased shares in the Union Générale. Thus each of these two associations reckoned as profits the premiums obtained, or merely quoted, on the shares of the other.

But to return to the general meeting of the 5th of November. M. Bontoux delivered an address, in which he affirmed that the Union Générale had never sought its profits in illegitimate speculations. This declaration would have produced a favourable impression, if the whole of his words had not betrayed a sort of enthusiasm which men of business could not mistake for the natural expression of a well-founded confidence.

To these enthusiastic manifestations of the Union Générale and its partisans, practical men opposed a calculation of a seriously alarming nature—that of the premiums accumulated on a limited group of shares.

The price of 3,500 francs for the 200,000 original	Francs.
shares of the Union Générale represented a	
premium of 3,000 francs per share, or . . .	600,000,000
At 1,400 francs, the 100,000 new shares gave	
a premium of 200 francs per share, or . . .	90,000,000
At the same rate, the 100,000 shares of the	
Lander Bank likewise represented . . .	90,000,000
Total fr. . .	780,000,000

The total capital, including premiums, amounted to 1,030,000,000 frs., without reckoning the Alpines, the Servian railways, &c. It could not be admitted that the Union Générale, whatever may be thought of the superior skilfulness and constant good fortune of the man who presided over its destinies, was obtaining an adequate remuneration for a capital of this value. On the other hand, the shares, assignments, and founder's shares of the Suez Canal had, by a similar speculation, been burdened with a premium of more than a milliard. It cannot be imagined that a financial market, even though very powerful, can long support the burden of an imaginary premium value, doomed to remain unproductive, and consequently to disappear some day or other.

A dull disquietude, therefore, reigned among those who were not blinded by the deceitful prestige of the Union Générale. The safest transactions deserted for mere gambling; continuations only to be obtained at usurious rates: such was the situation.

The first note of alarm made itself heard at the settlement of the 15th of October. M. Magnin, who was at that time Minister of Finance, refused to come to the aid of the market by employing, for continuations in the French rentes, the smallest portion of the enormous amount at the disposal of the Treasury which had accumulated in the coffers of the Bank of France; and, moreover, he chose this precise date to call up several hundred millions due by the subscribers to the last redeemable loan. More than five hundred millions were thus rendered immovable in the midst of the settlement.

At the following settlement (November 2), the majority of the stock-brokers, who were visibly alarmed, began to limit the transactions of their customers. Mistrust was the order of the day. It increased after the general meeting of the 5th of November and the speech of M. Bontoux, who shortly afterwards departed for Vienna, under the threat of the interpellation addressed to the Austrian Government.

However, the Union Générale would doubtless have succeeded in averting a crisis, or at least in delaying it, had it not been for the occurrence of certain circumstances—some of them independent of its foresight and its control—which followed each other in such a manner as to cause an irresistible overthrow.

The high prices of the Union Générale and the Suez Canal shares had brought about a proportionate rise in a certain number of securities, which were not all of the choicest description; but the firmness of the French rentes, like the keystone of an arch, sustained the whole market.

This keystone was shaken, contrary to all expectation, by the advent of M. Gambetta to power on the 14th of November, 1881. The name of that one of his colleagues, whom he made the mistake of associating with him for the portfolio of Finance, sounded in the ears of the public and of the bankers like a knell of alarm. M. Allain-Targé was known to be in favour of the immediate conversion of the 5 per cent. rente,

and the repurchase of the railways—two measures alike unpopular, and at all events dangerous for the market, especially the second. From that time the price of Government stocks declined, and the 5 per cents. fell 5 francs in a few days.

This depreciation in the public funds naturally became the starting-point for extensive reductions. Such is the general cause of the crisis. The Union Générale precipitated it on its own account by certain acts which the present state of its affairs forbids us to judge.

Besides those credit establishments whose respectability has been and is still unimpeached, there had sprung up within a year new associations, having for the most part no other avowed object than mere speculation, such as the Crédit Provincial, founded with money gained upon the Union Générale and the Suez Canal premiums, with a capital of thirty-seven and a-half millions, and which had seen its shares rise from 500 to 5,000 francs. It was the same with some other associations connected with the Crédit Provincial, called the Syndicat Parisien, the Syndicat Lyonnais, &c.

The Union Générale had some time before founded a branch establishment at Lyons. This branch, it must be confessed, encouraged the development of speculation among the population of Lyons. The passion for gambling, kept up by a multitude of small, low-priced financial newspapers, made incalculable ravages among the lower classes. Small shopkeepers, clerks, workmen, and domestic servants associated together to deposit their savings with stockbrokers in common; useful work was neglected, and people now lived only upon speculation.

The profits were at first immense, and kept on increasing, as we have seen, for more than a year.

This continued gain gave rise, in Lyons itself, to a competition which was displeasing to the Union Générale. The Bank of Lyons and the Loire, founded and managed by M. Savary, deputy of the Republican Left, very early obtained a large share of confidence from the people of Lyons. The 500 franc shares rose to 1,850 francs. Its directors thought that the fostering soil of Austria, so fruitful in the case of the Union Générale and the Lânder Bank, was not exhausted, and that, since there was room for two such establishments, there would be room for three. The Bank of Lyons and the Loire petitioned the Austro-Hungarian Government for a concession for an Imperial Royal privileged Maritime Bank, which should establish its centre of operations at the port of Trieste. This request met with a kindly reception, and the bank thought itself sure of success, when M. Bontoux, taking umbrage—at least, so it is said—availed himself of his stay at Vienna, and of the influence which he possessed there, to procure the rejection of the demand of the Bank of Lyons and the Loire, which had already deposited in the Austrian Treasury a sum of 25,000,000 francs in specie.

The tidings of the check received by M. Savary came upon

speculators at Paris and Lyons like a thunderbolt. The shares of the Bank of Lyons and the Loire sustained a fall of 800 francs at a single *bourse*.

This was, in truth, the signal for the collapse. The Lyons market lost a heavy sum; in order to indemnify itself, it commenced selling Suez shares. The psychological hour of the fall had struck: wholesale speculation seized upon it with fatal precision. The Suez shares, which, as late as the 9th of January, were dealt in at 3,375 francs, fell at the settlement of the 16th to 2,100, overwhelmed by offers so numerous and so rapid that the purchasers, if there had been any, would not have had time to meet them.

In the earlier moments, public opinion, imperfectly informed, or rather misled, by the interested complaints of the losers, thought it saw in the fall of the Suez shares the effect of a kind of plot against the national welfare. A few well-known speculators—M. Lebaudy, brother of a deputy, and partner with him in a colossal refinery; M. Lévy-Crémieu, director of the Banque Franco-Egyptienne; M. le Baron d'Erlanger, director of the Crédit-Général Français; and some others—have had to submit to accusations, to which they have had the wisdom to reply only by the silence of conscious strength. There is no defending or even judging operations of this kind. The sellers, to a great extent, regained in January what they had lost in premature experiments. Less known capitalists had acted in the same way, at their own risk and peril, without any preliminary understanding with any one whatever. As for the hypothesis of a coalition of Israelite and German bankers against the interests of a Catholic and French bank, it is a pure chimera. Besides, the Union Générale was not aimed at by the sellers of Suez shares. It was only reached by ricochet.

In fact, while the Suez shares sustained a decline of 1,000 francs from the 9th to the 16th of January, those of the Union Générale had only gone down 300 francs, or from 2,700 to 2,400. The final break-up was not accomplished till the day after the settlement of the 16th of January, when the necessity of providing themselves with resources, no less than the sentiment of fear, decided the purchasers of Union shares to extricate themselves and sell out.

The situation then became very serious, and for this reason. As long as the value of the Union Générale shares did not exceed 1,500 or 1,800 francs, the delighted shareholders, getting a glimpse of still more fascinating prospects, thought only of carefully preserving these gold-producing securities. Under these circumstances, those who sold for time-bargains had no alternative but to allow themselves to be ruined, since they could not find any other floating securities on the market to repurchase. But when a rise took place, such rates as 2,500, 3,000, and 3,500 francs liberated a certain number of securities, which were realized. Sellers could thenceforth resume the offensive. The fall became marked, and the panic did the rest.

Then the Union Générale, losing all self-possession, and forgetting alike the recent declarations of its president and the express provisions of its statutes, attempted to check the fall in the price of its shares, by repurchasing, through the medium of stockbrokers, those which were offered. But on the other hand, in consequence of combinations of which we are not yet permitted to fathom the mysteries, it found itself a creditor of the *coulisse*—composed of unrecognized brokers, who do business in what is called the free market—to the total amount of the new shares which it had sold to them. The agents, fearing with good reason that they would not be paid by their customers, who were out-flanked by the vastness of the differences, appealed for help. M. Bontoux arrived from Vienna only to learn the already desperate condition of the Union Générale, the responsibility for which condition he now declines by shifting it upon the manager, M. Feder, who, in turn, seeks to shield himself behind that of the board of administration.

The Haute Banque, which had all along systematically kept aloof from the affairs of the Union Générale, at this supreme juncture assumed an attitude worthy of the esteem in which it is held. A syndicate, in which are represented the houses of Rothschild, Heine, Seillière, Mallet, Hottinguer, Pillet-Will, the Comptoir d'Escompte, the Banque d'Escompte, the Crédit Lyonnais, &c. &c., gave its guarantee in order to facilitate the settlement of the 2nd of February. The syndical chamber of the stockbrokers of Paris was authorized to contract a loan which ensured the corporation against all contingencies.

Perhaps even the Union Générale might have been saved by a similar arrangement, had it not put forward claims which it did not seem possible to accept. The Union Générale acknowledged itself indebted to the stockbrokers in a sum of about fifty millions, representing 22,000 of its own shares bought in at over 2,000 francs. On the other hand, it claimed to be a creditor of the *coulisse* for 150,000,000 francs, the price of 100,000 new shares which it had sold at the average price of 1,500 francs. It wanted the *parquet* to set off against the amount due to it from the Union Générale a similar sum deducted from the amount due to the Union Générale by the *coulisse*. This arrangement was deemed unacceptable, in the first place, because, according to the principles of the Code Civil, compensation can only take place of right between two persons who are reciprocally debtors and creditors of each other; secondly, because the *parquet*, by accepting the *coulisse* as its debtor, would have seemed implicitly to recognize the existence of the latter, which it has always denied and opposed; thirdly—and this is the most striking reason of the three—because the *coulisse*, enlightened by the revelations of the last few days, disputes the regularity of the issue of the new shares of the Union Générale, and maintains the fundamental invalidity of this issue as having been made in violation of the rules imposed on *sociétés anonymes* by the law of the 24th of July, 1867.

In presence of the objections which its proposals encountered, the heads of the Union Générale formed a resolution in which they perhaps saw an heroic remedy, but which was only suicide. They closed their doors, suspended payments, and presented a petition to the Tribunal of Commerce for the appointment of an official liquidator. This was the end. After three days the official liquidator, having examined the books, was in a position to prepare a provisional report, and the Minister of Justice ordered the arrest of M. Bontoux, the president, and M. Feder, the manager. Were these arrests necessary? Was the refusal of release on bail justified in the case of two persons who cannot be suspected of wishing to withdraw from cross-examination? To these two questions the future alone can furnish a satisfactory answer. Be this as it may, criminal proceedings have been commenced against MM. Bontoux and Feder, on the charge of misappropriation, breach of trust, and violation of the law of the 24th of July, 1867, regulating the mode of formation and working of *sociétés anonymes*. This last charge, the least serious by far, appears unanswerable; the first two could only be sustained in case the sums placed at deposit with the Union Générale, and which amounted to 133,000,000 francs in November last, had been misappropriated. It is impossible to pursue this line of investigation further without seeming to show a want of regard towards men who perhaps will be able to justify their intentions if not all their acts.

The Parisian world is especially concerned about the responsibilities of all kinds which may have been incurred, in a proportion difficult to determine, by the directors of the Union Générale, who are all distinguished and esteemed persons, such as M. Léon Riant, ex-deputy, formerly Postmaster-General in the Cabinet of the 16th of May and member of the Municipal Council of Paris; M. Charles Cambon, President of the Syndical Chamber of Merchants at Lyons; M. le Vicomte de Mayal de Lupé, editor in chief of the legitimist journal, the *Union*; M. de Montgolfier, ex-Senator; M. Eugène Veuillot, brother of the celebrated publicist who is director of the religious journal, the *Univers*; M. le Prince de Broglie, son of the Duc de Broglie, &c. It is generally believed that, unless in particular and individual indictments, only civil compensation will be enforced against them. The Union Générale may, moreover, count upon an addition to its assets of 75,000,000 francs, the amount of the three-quarters unpaid on the 200,000 old shares, for which the original subscribers are liable by the terms of the French law.

On the day following the arrest of MM. Bontoux and Feder, the Union Générale was declared bankrupt.

The sensation produced by these serious events is as profound as it is painful. At the first moment, fears were entertained that the disaster might affect the public credit and the very sources of social activity. Distressing stories were told: at Lyons, where the contagion had become general, despair reigned everywhere. The *parquet* of the

Lyons stockbrokers found itself obliged to entrust the collection of its debts to a special committee of liquidation.

At Paris, a certain number of persons of high position were affected. We may mention a very respectable journalist, a large shareholder in the Union Générale, who but lately believed himself to possess a fortune of fifteen millions; at present he owes 1,875,000 francs, the amount of the unpaid portion of 375 francs on 5,000 Union Générale shares. An amiable tenor singer, well known in London as well as in Paris, had, it is said, gained 800,000 francs; of this sum he has lost 500,000 francs, and is not in any better spirits on that account.

But if we take a calm survey of the vast battle-field, we discover, with a certain amount of comfort, that the evil is less extensive and less serious than was to be feared. Even at Lyons, where the victims are numerous, commercial bills falling due on the 3rd of January were punctually met. The stockbrokers of Paris pay to the last farthing, and are in almost all cases paid in the same manner. The *coulisse* has manifested an astonishing power of resistance, and an admirable probity in the fulfilment of its engagements. Only two or three houses have found themselves embarrassed, but their integrity is so well-known, that, supported by the sympathy which they so well deserve, they have been enabled to carry on their business. After all, if the speculators upset by this formidable reverse of fortune suffer seriously, they form but a small number. The mass of the commercial and agricultural population has not allowed itself to be enveloped in this kind of financial cyclone.

The advent to office of a personage who enjoys the confidence of the public, M. Léon Say, has had a re-assuring effect. The new Minister of Finance declared that he would not convert the 5 per cent. public stock, and that he would not re-purchase the railways. This categorical declaration perhaps did less towards the restoration of calm than his wise and courageous refusal to compromise the State in the settlement of private interests.

The lesson which speculators have just received is a very hard one: many innocent families and many honest persons will suffer from the consequences of allurements to which personally they have remained strangers. But the fortunes of France are safe; while the material perturbations which would have been brought about had the powers of the State intervened between the creditors and their debtors, would have done irreparable mischief by sapping the foundations of public and private credit.

AUGUSTE VITU.

ARE IRISH LANDLORDS ENTITLED TO COMPENSATION?

THE great social problem which is being worked out in Ireland has now reached a new stage; its discussion, accordingly, has assumed a different form. Public interest is at present not much concerned with the soundness or unsoundness of the theories upon which the Land Act is based, or with the credibility of the evidence adduced in support of them: it is concentrated rather upon the actual working and administration of the Act, which, for reasons not altogether dissimilar, is fast becoming a source of alarm to its friends, and of consternation on the part of those who acquiesce in, or, perhaps more correctly, submit to it.

It is not too much to say that this question—the present prospect of the Government scheme of pacification—will, though slightly noticed in the Queen's speech, be among the most prominent of the subjects debated in the present session. Two or three of the many promised measures will perhaps contrive to struggle into existence; but this divides public attention with another great question—the Reform of Parliamentary Procedure. The resolutions chance upon rather troublous times; they will be exposed to the criticism of two oppositions,—the one, compact and numerous; the other, disorganized and desperate; and it is not likely that the members of the latter will resign without a struggle the privileges which create their strength, and in the use of which they have attained to so admirable a proficiency.

The time, then, being ripe for taking stock of the position, I propose to consider the present administration of the Land Act and the perils by which it is surrounded; to examine the question of compensation, proving it to be just in the abstract as well as practicable in detail; and finally, to discuss the principles upon which it should be given, and show that it is the most feasible, if not the only way, by which an escape

may be found from the difficulties which, now undoubtedly existing, have not yet occasioned sufficient inconvenience to raise a popular outcry.

It is a well-recognized maxim of political science, though perhaps one hardly appreciated by the authors of this measure, that the intrusion of legislation into a sphere lying outside its proper province is likely to entail, more or less, difficulties of a practical nature. The exigency of the case is, of course, the excuse for a law intended to regulate relations which under ordinary circumstances are better left to the discretion of those immediately concerned. These difficulties are twofold: the first connected with the construction of the measure itself; the second with its practical working and administration. The former difficulty, though for the time being surmounted, has not yet wholly disappeared. How hardly even so much was accomplished is best known to those who undertook the arduous duty of construction. But it may be doubted whether they yet have recognized the magnitude of the obstacles which stand in the way of the practical working of the measure; they may take some time in fully grasping this, as they did in realizing the condition of the country.

It is not to be denied that the machinery provided by the Act is wholly inadequate for the vast work which it is intended to accomplish. It is not of much consequence whether it is denied or not: the conclusion is the result of a simple calculation. When, in the first instance, four Sub-Commissions were appointed, it was not difficult to show that, supposing each of them to decide five hundred cases in the year, it would take three hundred years to settle the rental of Ireland. When five additional Sub-Commissions were appointed, an independent calculation was made by M. de Molinari, who assigned to the process a space of one hundred and forty-two years. The Sub-Commissions are now twelve in number, and the period may therefore be further reduced to a century.

This view, though exaggerated in some respects, is not altogether extravagant. Among the tenant-farmers of Ireland, supposed to number 600,000, there are said to be about 100,000 leaseholders; these are for the present to be excluded from consideration, though they are beginning to inquire why they are to be refused a share of the good things provided for their more fortunate, though in many cases less meritorious, neighbours. But independently of such considerations, the actual number of applications, small as it is in comparison with the number of possible applicants, is absolutely overwhelming. To put it in the unvarnished but expressive language of *United Ireland*, if it is allowable to quote from that excommunicated journal—"There are seventy thousand fools in the Land Courts waiting for the day of judgment to have their cases tried." The success of those who have been fortunate enough to reach their day of judgment is more than sufficient to shake the constancy of the far more numerous class which still stands by the doctrine

of the League; and it can hardly be doubtful that the gradual withdrawal of unwholesome influences will bring within the pale those who have as yet refused to accept an Act which confers on them such exceptional advantages. The effect of the decisions of the Chief Commissioners in the cases which have come before them on appeal is also to be considered; this, however, is a question which still remains open. Her Majesty's Court of Appeal has yet to place its construction upon Healy's clause—that is, to decide whether the enjoyment of premises for a length of time is to be regarded as compensation for improvements made by the tenant or his predecessors in title. If they should hold with the majority of the Land Commissioners that length of enjoyment is not to be taken into account as a compensating element, it may be reasonably expected that the result will be a decided increase in the number of applications to the Courts of First Instance. If, on the other hand, they support Mr. Commissioner Vernon's view, it is obvious that the embarrassment caused to the single Appellate Court of the Land Commission by the large number of appeals already taken will be considerably increased. With regard to this, however, it may be said that the difficulties are at present so great that any addition to them would be of small consequence.

Such then is the position, the gravity of which it is difficult to measure in words. The acknowledged ability and unsparing energy of the Chief Commissioners, aided as they are by a hard-working and zealous staff, have wholly and necessarily failed to cope with, or even to make a sensible impression on the stupendous work which has been assigned to them. Nor is it easy to see how any further addition to the working power of the Commission could provide a solution of the difficulty. At the present rate of progress, and presuming, of course, that settlements out of Court are the exception, three times the number of Sub-Commissioners could not possibly settle the rental of Ireland within the appointed time. It must be remembered that every tenant whose rent is fixed by the Court may apply for its revision at any time within twelve months of the completion of the statutory term—that is to say, at the end of fourteen years from the gale-day next succeeding the order of the Court. The work must therefore be completed within this time; and even though this should be accomplished, the long deferring of hopes already raised is likely to produce a popular sentiment with which it will be difficult to deal. It has no doubt been said, and will be repeated, that when the principles of these judicial valuations are definitely laid down, and when the working of the Act is clearly seen and understood, the litigating parties will quietly settle their differences, and not trouble the Court further than to request its sanction of their arrangements. This seems to be an over-sanguine view: there have not as yet appeared many signs of the establishment of principles in accordance with which the work is to be conducted; and when it is considered that there will be special circumstances connected with each

case, it may be doubted whether any general principles will be forthcoming at all.

There is a further obstacle, of no small magnitude, to the realization of this too hopeful forecast. Those who are being deprived by the State of the property which they have acquired, in some instances by the very act and with the direct sanction of the State itself, are of opinion that they are entitled to compensation in respect of their losses; they further think that settlements made with their tenants must tend to damage, if not to destroy, their chances of obtaining any such compensation. That they have good cause to entertain this view it is not difficult to prove. They may appeal upon the point both to reason and to authority. Men more moderate in their views than the President of the Board of Trade would not be slow to argue that those who agreed to take less than they had been taking did so because they knew that they had been taking too much. Lord Derby, discussing this question at Liverpool on the 3rd of January, said:—

"As to compensation, without denying that there are cases in which it might be abstractly just, I cannot see how it could be practically managed: you would have to try every case over again. You must exclude the claims of those landowners who, voluntarily or under pressure, have settled with their tenants out of Court. You must exclude equally the case of those liberal and indulgent landlords whose rents will not be reduced to any appreciable extent: and of course it is not contended that compensation should be given to those who may have really abused their powers."

It is now an ascertained fact that the Prime Minister was wrong in supposing that the Act would not bring about a general reduction of rent. The Sub-Commissioners, acting as well upon evidence as personal inspection, have with remarkable unanimity declared that in their opinion the whole of Ireland is subjected to excessive rent. In arriving at this conclusion, which the reports of decided cases from day to day confirm, they have doubtless surprised many persons. They must have surprised Mr. Gladstone; they have possibly caused some surprise to their chiefs: and, what is more curious, they have not failed to astonish one another. A Sub-Commissioner of southern extraction, but operating in the north, a gentleman whose reputation reaches the standard to which that of Cæsar's wife failed to attain, is known to have asserted that the reductions which he assisted in making in the north were, beyond all doubt, just and proper, but that he could not possibly understand on what principle his brethren were making similar reductions in the county where he resided.

It is not easy to analyze the various underlying sentiments which have combined to bring about this result. There is, however, one main factor, not the less potent because it is seldom put forward judicially in a specific or definite shape. The idea, sown with unsparing hand in sympathetic soil, has taken firm root, that land in Ireland has diminished considerably in value during the last few years. The causes of this deterioration are not subjected to an accurate

examination, but it is generally set down, by those who adopt this view, to the account of American competition and a succession of bad harvests. In a case, reported in the *Irish Law Times* of December 24, the rent being £11, the chairman of the Sub-Commission is represented as saying—"We have examined the holding, and think the rent a high one; on the other hand, we have it that the tenant, apparently of intelligence, and resident in the locality, only six years ago purchased the holding for a very considerable sum of money (£325). We think we must hold that at the date of his purchase the rent was fair; but, bearing in mind that land was at the period at its height, we think the tenant entitled to a moderate reduction. We fix the judicial rent at £12 12s., to commence from November 1, 1881; and, as the tenant purchased subsequently to the fixing of the existing rent, which we hold to have been a fair one at the time it was so purchased, we do not consider him entitled to the costs."

Here the general decrease in the value of land is distinctly estimated at ten per cent.; no other reason was assigned in the judgment for making the reduction.

The result of these operations is that many persons who derive their sole means of livelihood from Irish land will be irretrievably ruined; and this, too, without any fault of their own. Those of them who are unable to live upon the charity of their friends, will be obliged, as in some instances has already happened, to have recourse to the unsympathetic charity of the State. Moreover, it is by no means the persons at whom the Act was aimed who will suffer this grievous wrong: it is not the persons who have been passing sentences of death, who will thus be sentenced to death in their turn. As far as the good things of this life are concerned, those who are hard and grasping in their dealings with others must assuredly come off the best. No legislation can prevent or even sensibly affect this result: the legislation which attempts to do so, cannot fail to hit many a mark besides the one at which it aims.

There are several distinct classes of persons in Ireland who, without ever having been guilty of any cruelty or even harshness in respect of their dealings with land, are now being mulcted of their property for the benefit of the community. There are many individuals who, having never increased their rents, are living on the margin which remains after the discharge of incumbrances imposed upon their properties long before they were born. Their case is peculiarly hard: for the treatment which they are experiencing is not only unjust but illogical. Laying aside all legal technicalities, it is worth while to consider the practical condition, as regards ownership, of an incumbered estate. The simplest case will be the best: suppose an estate with a rental of £1,000, charged with a mortgage for £8,000, bearing interest at five per cent., and with a permanent rent-charge of £200 per annum. From the legal point of view the positions of the mortgagee, the rent-charger, and the owner

are very distinct; but practically they are joint owners of the profits derivable from the land. The mortgagee owns about two-fifths of the property, the rent-charger about one-fifth; the owner is much the worst off, inasmuch as the cost of collection and chances of disaster must be deducted from the remaining two-fifths which belong to him. If, then, the value of the property is to be reduced, why should the whole loss fall upon the person who is least able to bear it? They are all three equally innocent. Why should not the disaster which is crushing when inflicted upon one, be made less intolerable by an even distribution? It may, indeed, be said that when the value of land is diminished by natural causes, the loss falls upon the owner alone, and that no one could seriously contend that it should be shared by the incumbrancers. This is true; but the objection ignores the difference between the operations of Nature and those of Parliament. It is not to be expected that Parliament should attempt to modify or distribute the force of the blows which *actus Dei* may inflict upon individuals; but it can control and distribute the force of the blows which it inflicts itself. The question raised here has not failed to present itself to several thoughtful but confiscatory minds; but they have not ventured to give expression in public to the conclusion to which their premises conduct them. The reason is obvious: the necessity for giving that compensation which, under such circumstances, was never yet denied, would be too glaring and imperious.

Perhaps harder still are the cases of those who have invested their savings, at the invitation of the Government, in the purchase of incumbered estates, on security then guaranteed by the Government itself, while the price which they have paid was estimated on the basis of a rental with which they had little reason to suspect that the Government would ever spontaneously interfere. Until lately, no proposition has been more generally recognized than this, that the valuation known as Griffith's is considerably—in general, about one-third—below the letting or real value of the land. The Parliament of Great Britain now informs the purchaser who sank his money under such circumstances, that Griffith's valuation and the letting value pretty nearly coincide; that the rental upon which he purchased must be lowered to a point which may be above or below this valuation; and further that the tenant has an interest in the holding, which has sprung into existence since the date of his purchase, and the value of which, though the principles upon which this is calculated have not yet been fixed, may be roughly estimated at between five and ten times the amount of the judicial rent. The value of the larger holdings is generally appraised at the smaller figure: the smaller tenant is stimulated to live and thrive by the specification of a higher value. The operation of the Act upon an estate purchased thus might readily be of this sort. Suppose a property with a rental of £1,000 a year to have been purchased for £20,000. The rental is liable to be reduced by 25

per cent.; this is not considered excessive; the value of the property is thus diminished by one quarter. The tenants' interests, supposing the holdings to be small, are then fixed at eight or ten times the amount of the judicial rent: this represents the sum which the landlord will have to pay for replacing himself in his previous position, and thus making himself a mark for a further legislative operation.

The owners of intermediate interests in leasehold property must not be omitted from the category of those who have special reason for complaint. In a case which came before the Limerick Sub-Commissioners, the middleman drew from his tenant a rent of £19 a year, and paid to his lessor a head-rent of £11. This latter circumstance seems not to have transpired at the hearing of the case; the judicial rent was fixed at £9, and the middleman was deprived of his whole property and subjected to an annual fine of £2. It is but just to add that in the next case in which a middleman was concerned the judicial rent was fixed at a sum slightly exceeding the head-rent.

The position may now be summed up. The great mass of the cases of those who are already in Court cannot possibly be heard for years. Those who have yet to become suitors will have to wait for their turn, and will probably grow impatient in the process. The working of the Act, tedious as it is, is fraught with serious disaster, and even ruin to many of those who are brought within the sphere of its operation. The friendly relations formerly existing between landlord and tenant have been hopelessly disturbed. The Act, instead of producing finality, has started a permanent and universal system of litigation, which will be always, of necessity, in an ever-increasing arrear. It has failed to satisfy those for whose benefit it was intended, while the condition of the country, in spite of the signs of improvement discerned by intelligent but not unprejudiced travellers, is at this moment, in the opinion of those who have the means of knowing, and who know, worse than it has been at any previous time.

What, then, is the solution of the problem? It is to be found only in the introduction of some agency which will induce each party to agree with his adversary quickly. At present it is prejudicial to landlords to enter into any such agreement; and until some such inducement in the nature of compensation is held out to them, they will certainly refuse to give up, except by process of law, that which they have hitherto legally enjoyed. The form which such compensation is to take is a question of vital importance; but it is well first to recognize the necessity of not discarding a principle which rests upon the doctrine of the security of property—the foundation of all law.

The science of legislation has no better established axiom than that which asserts that one class of persons ought not to be benefited at the sole expense of any other class. The general advantage of the community is the only ground upon which the property and rights of any individuals can legitimately be transferred to others. If this is so, it

follows that the community which is thus benefited should recompense the persons at whose expense the advantage has been gained. The settlement of the Irish Land Question would be a priceless boon to the whole community; it is accordingly just and right that all should share a burden which, while it is crushing when concentrated upon the immediate losers, will, when evenly distributed, be scarcely felt. Hitherto this principle has met with full recognition. When the State has either itself taken, or authorized others to take, the property of individuals, compensation has been given on a just and even liberal scale. In the latter case, indeed, as railway companies have reason to know, the method provided by Parliament for estimating compensation may fairly be called generous, if it is correct to apply that term to a liberality which is exercised not at one's own expense.

But there is a still higher ground than justice to the individual upon which this doctrine rests. The security of property is the foundation of the whole social order; to violate and discard this principle, as is openly suggested now, is to take a distinct step, and not a small one, in the direction of Communism; and Communism, as we have been taught from time immemorial, and by Aristotle among others, is synonymous with the ruin of empires. It would be too much to expect that our rising statesmen, who intend to regenerate this empire, should know or care what Aristotle said; but they might study with advantage the few short chapters in which the founder of the scientific study of law in England deals with the subject. One or two quotations from Bentham's work can give but an imperfect idea of the earnestness with which he dwells upon the importance of the principle in question, and the urgency with which he deprecates any departure from it. He classes under the head of general confiscation—

"Vexations exercised upon a class of men, under the vague pretext of a political crime—a pretext so vague that while it is pretended that the confiscation is a punishment, there is often room to believe that the crime has been created for the sake of the confiscation."... "The principle of security requires that reform should be attended with complete indemnity."... "I cannot yet quit the subject, for the establishment of the principle of security demands that error should be pursued into all its retreats."... "The interest of individuals, it is said, ought to yield to the public interest; but what does that mean? Is not one individual as much a part of the public as another? This public interest which you introduce as a person, is only an abstract term: it represents nothing but the mass of individual interests."... "Individual interests are the only real interests. Take care of the individuals; never molest them: never suffer any one to molest them, and you will have done enough for the public."... "I shall conclude by a general observation of great importance. The more the principle of property is respected, the stronger hold it takes on the popular mind. Slight attacks upon this principle prepare the way for heavier ones. A long time has been necessary to carry property to the point where we now see it in civilized societies. but a fatal experience has shown with what facility it can be shaken, and how easily the savage instinct of plunder gets the better of the laws. Governments and the people are in this respect like tamed lions;

' si torrida parvus
Venit in ora cruor, redeunt rabiesque furorque.'

The history of English legislation since the year 1868 lends considerable point to these observations.

Or shall we hearken to J. S. Mill?—

"The principle of property gives them [the landowners] no right to the land, but only a right to compensation for whatever portion of their *interest in the land* it may be the policy of the State to deprive them of. To that their claim is indefeasible. It is due to landowners and to owners of any property whatever, recognised as such by the State, that they should not be dispossessed of it without receiving its pecuniary value, or an annual income equal to what they derived from it. If the land was bought with the produce of the labour of themselves or their ancestors, compensation is due to them on that ground; even if otherwise, it is still due on the ground of prescription. Nor can it ever be necessary for accomplishing an object by which the community altogether will gain, that a particular portion of the community should be immolated. When the property is of a kind to which peculiar affections attach themselves, the compensation ought to exceed a bare pecuniary equivalent."... "The legislature, which, if it pleased, might convert the whole body of landlords into fund holders or pensioners, might, *a fortiori*, commute the average receipts of Irish landowners into a fixed rent-charge, and raise the tenants into proprietors; supposing always that the full market value of the land was tendered to the landlords, in case they preferred that to accepting the conditions proposed."

Three leading members of the Liberal party—Lord Derby, Mr. Chamberlain and Sir Charles Dilke—have pronounced upon this subject. The latest and greatest of those who have gone over to the majority, is saved by natural caution from the violence which frequently attends a change of opinion; but never in all his previous career did he use so fallacious an argument as that which escaped him on the occasion of his first deliverance from a Liberal platform. His view is that "in the state of things in Ireland, those whom the State, at infinite cost and trouble, is struggling to preserve, may fairly be asked to accept the necessity of sacrifice on their side." This argument would be difficult to answer, if it were not the primary duty of a Government to protect the lives and properties of those whom it taxes ostensibly for that purpose, and further, if the Government were not open to the reasonable suspicion of remissness in discharging this duty.

The advanced thinkers take a bolder line. Mr. Chamberlain assumes that all the reductions are fair—*i.e.*, that the old rents were exorbitant and unjust. To give compensation would therefore be to reward injustice. The exacting and tyrannical landlord would receive a large reward for his misconduct; the generous and indulgent would be recompensed in the inverse ratio of his merits. Moreover, an enormous sum, about one hundred millions, would be required for the purpose. Sir C. Dilke, speaking at Chelsea, adopts these views, and regards the claim of the Irish landlords to compensation as analogous to that of his constituents for the losses accruing to them in consequence of the exclusive devotion of Parliament to Irish affairs. This was a sentiment equally likely to provoke the enthusiasm of the audience and the derision of the intelligent reader. It was meant presumably for the former purpose.

It will be observed that these arguments introduce the novel and dangerous principle, that claims for compensation in respect of property taken by Parliament for public purposes should be attended with an investigation of the manner in which such property was acquired; further, that such claims should not be admitted unless the owners thereof could prove that they had conformed in its acquisition, not only to law, but also to a standard of morality, which, judging from the leniency with which "promoters" are treated, is not expected of ordinary men. The remarks of Bentham and Mill already quoted show the danger of admitting this principle; its rejection is fatal to Mr. Chamberlain's view.

The strongest argument of the opponents of compensation is based upon the difficulty of framing a scheme which will confer no undue advantage upon the undeserving; not one of them has ventured to attack the general principles upon which such claims rest. Their views may be summed up in two simple propositions: first, that the conduct of all those whose rents have been reduced disentitles them to compensation; secondly, that the amount requisite for the purpose would be greater than it would be convenient to pay.

The former proposition is at variance with the evidence and report of the Bessborough Commission, the admissions made in Parliament by the Prime Minister, and the decisions of those Sub-Commissioners who reduce rents which were admittedly fair a few years ago. As to the latter view, it is enough to say that the Minister who uses such an argument proves one thing only—that it is possible to attain to that high position without possessing, or being capable of possessing, a single statesmanlike instinct. But the financial difficulty must be removed; and if at the same time a compensation scheme can be sketched which will not reward the unjust in proportion to their injustice, no small advance will have been made.

It is a wild exaggeration to say that one hundred millions of money would be required for this purpose. The amount of rent paid by leaseholders, who are supposed to number about one-sixth of the farmers, and by the occupiers of grazing lands, cannot be precisely estimated; but their farms being, as a general rule, very much larger than those of the tenants from year to year, it is safe to say that they pay at least one-third, probably about three-eighths, of the rent of Irish land. We have accordingly to deal with reductions made in respect of a rental of ten millions, instead of sixteen. The rental of Ireland would thus be reduced by two and a half, and not four millions, as Mr. Chamberlain calculates: and the sum required for compensation would be sixty-two and a half instead of one hundred millions. Further, it is not likely that the reduction of twenty-five per cent. will be universal: twenty per cent. would be a more reasonable estimate. The average reduction, which at the end of December was 24·8, touches a lower figure on January 31st, as may be seen from the subjoined table:—

TABLE showing details of 1164 cases in which Judicial Rents were declared up to 31st January, 1882.

PROVINCE	Number of area dealt with.	Area in Statute Measure		Rent		Poor Law Valuation.		Judicial Rent.		Reduction		Increase		Percentage of Reduction on Judicial Rent.			
		Acres	Square Feet	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£		s	d	
ULSTER .	450	12,207	0 22	10,371	16	6	7670	16	7	7554	7	6	2531	0	11	15 12 2	24.3
LEINSTER	265	8564	1 40	7230	2	10	4553	15	3	6740	5	6	1493	11	10	2 17 6	20.0
MUNSTER.	209	11,613	3 8	11,900	16	6	7041	12	2	6727	7	10	2613	17	7	10 10 0	22.9
CONNAUGHT	240	6765	2 13	3307	13	3	2197	4	8	2493	7	6	914	12	3	2 6 6	27.6
IRELAND .	1164	38,230	5 20	32,270	8	0	21,771	8	9	21,740	11	7	7532	2	7	51 5 2	23.3

Assuming, then, the average reduction to be twenty per cent., the rental of ten millions, upon which the Act operates, will be reduced by two millions only, and the capital sum required for compensation is thus cut down to fifty millions. Again, it is not upon the difference between the previous nominal rent and the judicial rent that the computation should be made, but upon the sum by which the judicial rent falls short of that actually received. This distinction would probably make a difference of £500,000, bringing down the actual reduction of rent annually received to a million and a half. Once more, to give compensation at the rate of twenty-five years' purchase would be absurd; any landlord would be content with fifteen times the amount of the actual yearly loss. This reduces the figure to twenty-two and a half millions—a capital sum, the interest of which might be paid, in a fairly prosperous year, by the addition of one halfpenny to the income tax.

It is not pretended that this is an accurate calculation, or that the result arrived at does more than roughly approximate to the amount which might be required to satisfy the claims of justice. Rough as it is, it is sufficient to indicate the weakness of the position which requires to be supported by such reckless deviations from fact.

The actual diminution of yearly income, however, though an undeniable ground for demanding compensation, is not the most solid one on which to base the claim. There is another point of view, from which every landlord affected by the Act has suffered a loss, and is entitled to restitution in some form. The position of the landowner has undergone a complete change. The expression "landowner," or "landlord," is no longer applicable to him. These terms should disappear from the language, or be transferred to the real owners of the land. The Solicitor-General for Ireland accurately stated the effect of the Act, when he said to the free and independent electors of Derry, with equal persuasiveness and truth, "The freehold, in point of fact, has passed to the tenant." Where the freehold exactly is now, in point of law, it might be hard to say; but that practically it is in the tenant, ere can be no doubt whatever. He is the true owner of the land,

subject to its divestment under most favourable circumstances, in case he fails to fulfil the statutory conditions. The so-called landlord is a mere rent-charger, with certain rights of resumption, more or less expensive, in case of such default. The landlord is deprived wholly of the satisfaction formerly derived from the use and enjoyment of his property; of the pleasure of making his land more valuable by improvement, which in some cases amounted almost to a passion. He has lost along with this all opportunity of investing his capital in this manner—an advantage which, when judiciously used, was the source of no small profit. He has no longer the power of raising his rent, which might in many cases be legitimately exercised, as, for instance, if from natural or economic causes his land should considerably increase in value. Many persons, of course, would speak lightly of such losses; but they are not the less real; and the difficulty is more easily got over by making little of them, than by answering the argument. Every landlord is entitled to compensation in respect of these disabilities, quite independently of the manner in which he has treated his tenants.

Regarding, then, the claim for compensation from this aspect, though not losing sight of the actual loss suffered by all except a few, we arrive at a principle for framing a scheme, under which the rack-renting landlord will lose, and the generous landlord gain, exactly in proportion to their respective merits. Let the judicial rent be assumed to be the fair rent: it is such, indeed, by the Act of Parliament; and let every landlord receive at the hands of the State a sum calculated upon this basis, say three times the amount of the judicial rent. This is an arbitrary, but, as it seems to me, not an unreasonable sum. It will fairly compensate for the altered position; it will probably satisfy the great majority of those who have undergone this change; and it will induce those extra-curial settlements, without which the Act will prove a complete legislative failure. The necessity of trying every case over again will be removed. The rack-renter will receive no more than his due, and the moral objection of the opponents of compensation will disappear.

To revert to the subject of finance. Assuming that the rental upon which the Act operates, as already explained, is reduced to eight millions, the amount required for satisfying all claims when estimated from this standpoint, will be twenty-four millions—less than one-fourth of the sum by the sound of which Mr. Chamberlain sought to frighten the people of England out of their innate honesty and sense of justice.

It would be more than a pity if the long and universally established principle which has been examined here were now to be shaken, by dint of misrepresentation and unreasoning violence. In more uncivilized countries, as well as in ancient times, this principle has met with ample recognition. Even so despotic a ruler as Ahab, when he desired to annex the vineyard of Naboth the Jezreelite, first offered him full com-

pensation for it. Herein the Prime Minister must be held to have fallen short of the Israelitish King. With respect to their subsequent transactions, they stand on a footing of equality, neither having proceeded to the abolition of the landlord without due regard to the forms and processes of law.

About fifty years ago the moral sense of England rose in revolt against slavery, and declared that that institution should not continue to exist within the limits of the British Empire. This movement was the culmination of a popular sentiment which had been intensifying for an indefinite number of years. The moral sense of England has not risen in any way against the owners of Irish land; but that of the leaders of the advanced section has within the last two years been stimulated by political exigencies into a very abnormal activity. To have been a rack-renting landlord is surely not worse than to have been the owner of human beings, whom, if in number more than a few, even the most humane of masters could not secure from the cruelties which an overseer might inflict. Yet the justice of the slaveowners' demand for compensation was admitted; it was awarded to them in no illiberal spirit, and without any awkward investigation of the manner in which they had acquired the property which they were then called upon to resign. The amount handed over to them, if reinforced by the sums now being expended in Ireland on various judicial, military, and coercive operations, which would thenceforth become unnecessary, could not fail to satisfy every fair claim. England, as a nation, is vastly richer than she was fifty years ago. Is she less prudent, less honest, and less just?

H. BROUGHAM LEECH.

THE VISTAS OF THE PAST:

THE MOON AND THE EARTH.

MANY of those who follow with interest the teaching of science, but have not leisure to study carefully the methods and principles on which those teachings depend, are inquiring what new views are these according to which the moon was born of the earth many millions of years ago and has been retreating ever since from the parent orb; how these views are related to the nebular hypothesis of Laplace; and what bearing they may have on astronomical and geological estimates of past eras in the earth's history. An eloquent lecture by the Astronomer Royal for Ireland has done much to increase the interest with which these questions are viewed; indeed, it may be doubted whether many who are now inquiring about these matters had heard of them at all before Dr. Ball brought them before the attention of the audiences to whom his lecture has been addressed.

I propose to sketch—and only to sketch, for the subject is one which would require more than a full number of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* for adequate discussion—the ideas resulting from the researches of Mr. George Darwin, noting how they are related to former views respecting the development of the solar system, and how they bear on certain other astronomical and geological theories. At the outset I may remark that I cannot altogether agree with the opinions expressed by Dr. Ball, and to some degree by Mr. Darwin, respecting the manner of the moon's birth; but as to the general theory to which Mr. Darwin's researches have led there seems very little room for doubt or question.

In carrying back our thoughts to the past of the earth, our most trustworthy guide (though we must be careful in following even this guide) is evidence found in the study of processes actually taking place at the present time. For instance, we find that the earth is slowly

cooling. We can, therefore, safely go back to a time when she was much hotter than she is at present; and though we may not be able to assume confidently that her temperature was ever so great as to cause every particle of her substance to be vaporized, may infer even that, if other features actually existent seem readily explicable on such an assumption. Again, we find that the earth gathers in every year hundreds of millions of meteoric masses of greater or less weight, down to bodies weighing only a few grains; and we know from the orbits followed by the greater number of these that they belong to systems travelling around the sun on paths of such a nature as to forbid us from believing that they were originally expelled from the earth. Seeing, then, that the earth is gathering in materials from without, though now at a very slow rate, and seeing further that this process is of necessity one which takes place more and more slowly as time proceeds, we are justified in looking back to a time when it progressed far more quickly than at present, in considering that over the whole intervening period—many millions of years—it has been at work, and finally in inferring that no unimportant part of the earth's present mass has been derived in this way from meteoric aggregation.

Now, among other processes of change that are taking place in the earth and her dependent or associate orb, the moon, are two others, discovered in comparatively recent times, though not quite so recently as some might infer from Dr. Ball's account. About a quarter of a century ago Professor Adams, co-discoverer with Leverrier of the distant Neptune, announced that he had discovered an error in Laplace's discussion of the so-called acceleration of the moon, and that when this error was corrected the acceleration could not be entirely accounted for by the theory of gravitation. It was presently shown by the eminent astronomer Delaunay (not to be confounded for a moment with the Delaunay who has recently insisted on the inferiority of the weaker sex) that this unexplained part of the acceleration of the moon may be explained on the assumption that it is not the moon which is gaining, but the earth which is losing time; in other words, that the great terrestrial clock, the rotating earth, by which we measure time, is not going at a uniform rate, but is gradually losing its rotation spin. Laplace's assertion that the earth's rate of rotation, so far as astronomy can measure, is appreciably constant, was based on his investigation of the moon's so-called acceleration. Supposing that no part of this change remained unexplained, when solar and planetary perturbations of the moon were taken into account, he naturally inferred that the great terrestrial timepiece is keeping most perfect time. Finding, on the contrary, that a part of the acceleration does remain unexplained, we are justified in assuming, as at least a possible interpretation of the excess of acceleration, that our chief timepiece is losing time. Delaunay pointed to the tides as a probable and sufficient cause of this change—the great tidal wave carried, not bodily, but still swayingly, against the

direction of rotation, checking the earth's rotation spin slowly but "exceeding surely."

Next, it was shown that, accompanying this change, there must be a gradual loss of lunar motion, accompanied by a gradual recession of the moon.*

Elsewhere I may take occasion to describe more at length these two processes of change. Here, for the present, let it suffice to note that astronomy recognizes them as taking place, and that they therefore are among the processes which we may carry back in imagination to a very remote past, that so we may recognize what probably was the initial condition—at any rate, a very early condition—of the orbs in which they are taking place.

Of course it is an obvious thought that if the moon is thus receding now, and has been receding in the past, she will one day part company with the earth altogether, and that she was at one time quite close to the earth, and even a part of the earth's mass. Considering, also, the change in the earth's rotation period, and carrying our thoughts as far back into the vistas of the past for this change as for the other, we see a time when the earth was rotating so fast that its equatorial parts were barely restrained by gravity from yielding to the tremendous resulting centrifugal tendency. A simple calculation shows that if the earth rotated once in about one hour and a third, retaining its shape unchanged (which last it could not do unless very much more rigid than it is), a body at the equator would be absolutely weightless. But a much slower rate of rotation than this would suffice to break off the equatorial regions. If the earth rotated once in about three hours the equator would increase its distance from the polar axis, the centrifugal tendency (the rate of rotation continuing) would be greater and the surface gravity less, and the material of the equatorial surface parts would be separated from the rest of the earth's substance.

Dr. Ball follows Mr. Darwin in taking about this rotation rate—one spin in three hours—as that existing when the moon's mass separated from the earth. If we assume the earth at that stage of her existence to have been, apart from centrifugal effect, of the same volume and mass as at present, her substance possibly liquid, but not in great part vaporous, this estimate would be justified. But it appears to me we must not overlook the probability that the separation of the moon from the earth took place when a large part of the earth's mass continued vaporous through intensity of heat. If that were so, the earth's volume would then have been much greater than at present, even though her mass may have been, as it probably was, much smaller. What we see now in the giant planets, long after the moon-generating part of their

* This may seem inconsistent with what we said above about the lunar acceleration which astronomers have endeavoured to explain. But this acceleration is one of the temporary changes which the moon's motion undergoes. It alternates with a similarly temporary retardation, in periods of great length indeed, but not to be compared with the enormous time-intervals which we are considering.

career, seems to confirm this view, which *à priori* reasoning renders probable. We have also to take into account the smaller mass of the earth at that remote period, before those many millions of years throughout which the earth has been gathering year by year hundreds of millions of meteoric masses.

Now, with a larger and less dense orb, a slower rotation rate—probably a rotation rate very much slower—would have sufficed to cause the earth to part with matter from its equatorial regions, where, of course, the centrifugal tendencies resulting from over rapid rotation would be most pronounced.

I have been in the habit during the last ten years of pointing out when lecturing on the moon that she probably had her origin as part of the vaporous or partly vaporous mass whence the earth also was formed, and that to this origin she owed the peculiar rotational motion which keeps the same face ever directed towards the earth. I can see nothing in Mr. Darwin's researches which should lead us to forsake this, the most natural interpretation of the moon's origin; on the contrary, the vast duration of the past periods necessary for the increase of the moon's distance from actual contact with the earth to her present orbit, and for the increase of the terrestrial day from three hours to twenty-four, suffices of itself to assure us that the earth at that remote time must have been in great part vaporous. The giant planets also, as I have already hinted, tell the same story, for though they have thrown off their moons—Saturn perhaps has not quite finished the work—they are still, as we can see from their small density and their aspect, in great part vaporous. When they were beginning the work of moon-formation, many tens of millions of years ago, they were, we may be sure, still hotter, and therefore a much larger portion of their mass was vaporous.

But it is the manner of the moon's birth, as suggested by Mr. Darwin (Dr. Ball accepting the suggestion as probably sound), which seems to me least likely to accord with the probable manner of the moon's generation, and also to correspond least with *à posteriori* evidence.

Mr. Darwin pictures the earth rotating once in three hours, with a double tidal wave (a wave affecting the fluid substance of her entire mass), raised by solar action. Such a wave, synchronizing with what may be called the pulsation period of the earth (with the dimensions she then had), would get higher and higher, just as a pendulum, receiving a succession of minute but well-timed impulses, swings farther and farther, until at length cohesion would no longer be possible, and the mass out of which the moon was one day to be formed was thrown off. The considerations I have indicated above would not affect this reasoning; they would only modify our views as to the size and condition of the earth when the moon's mass was thus liberated, and therefore as to the rate of the earth's rotation spin at the time, and the period of the moon's first free revolution. But there is a more important consideration, now

to be taken into account, which forbids us, I think, to believe that the moon's mass was thus thrown off, as it were, at a single effort. The monstrous tidal pulsation which would undoubtedly take place under the conditions described, would inevitably lead to the throwing off of a small mass long before it had attained swing enough, so to speak, to throw off such a mass as the moon's—one eighty-first part of the entire mass of the earth. Most probably, too, the crests of each tidal wave would throw off a mass of matter at about the same time, forming, for the time, two small moons instead of one large one. Still more probably, in my opinion, the crest of each wave would scatter cosmic spray rather than a single great globular mass. After each wave had thus swollen and eventually burst into spray, it would gradually subside for a while, the solar tidal impulses no longer quite synchronizing with the earth's tidal pulsation; but presently the waves would begin to grow again, would flow larger and larger, until again a flight of small masses would be flung from the summit of each. Again and again the process would be repeated, until at length the earth's constantly changing rotation rate would cause the sun's tidal action no longer to synchronize with the earth's pulsation period. Then, and then only, the earth would cease to throw off cosmical spray.

Now what would be the condition of the matter thus thrown off, and what its subsequent behaviour? Each particle, each globule of molten matter, would behave just as the moon, according to the theory we are considering, has actually behaved. It would begin from the first moment of its separate existence to retreat slowly from the earth. Long before the tidal wave had again grown sufficiently high to throw off spray, the spray last thrown off would have passed beyond its reach. Again, each of the tiny globules thus thrown off from the earth would at first travel nearly in the plane of the earth's equator (later influences would modify this relation considerably). Thrown off with slightly varying directions and degrees of velocity, the bodies expelled on opposite sides at one of these earth-spasms, would before long have spread themselves all around the earth, some gaining on the main body, others losing. Probably before the next flights of cosmical spray left the earth, the bodies last thrown off would form a tolerably uniform very narrow ring around the earth.

This process would have continued between certain definite epochs—the first being the time when the earth's rotation began to approach to synchronism with her pulsation period,* the last being the time when there began to be no sufficient approach to synchronism (in the mid-interval only would there have been perfect synchronism). This period must have lasted for a very long time—probably for millions of years. When it was over, what was the condition of the matter which had been thrown off from the earth's mass? Manifestly it must have formed at

* That is the period of vibration of her mass after any impulse affecting the whole earth had been received from without. The earth would as certainly have had such a pulsation period as the vibrating substance of a bell has.

that time a series of close concentric rings of tiny satellites. Probably the rings were so close that, though each was very narrow, they formed a continuous flat and rather broad ring. But, whether this were so or not, it is certain that the outermost and innermost ring of the series would form the boundary circles of a flat and rather broad ring-system of small bodies, closely resembling in appearance (as seen from a great distance) the Saturnian ring-system, and having a real structure precisely like that which the researches of Benjamin Peirce and the Bonds in America, of Clerk Maxwell and others in this country, have proved that the Saturnian ring-system actually has.

It seems to me, on the one hand, so clear that the process suggested (with great plausibility) by Mr. Darwin and Dr. Ball must really have taken place in such a manner as to produce a ring such as I have described, and, on the other hand, it is so certain that the Saturnian ring-system is of this nature, that I feel persuaded we have here been led—by paths along two lines of research, each of great difficulty, apparently tending in very different directions—to the explanation of the mystery of Saturn's rings, and of the much deeper mystery of the origin of worlds and moons. Sixteen years ago, in the preface to my treatise on "Saturn and its System" (my first work), I pointed out that probably in the study of the Saturnian rings we might find an interpretation of the manner in which the solar system itself had been developed. My prediction, if such it can be called, has not been exactly fulfilled, though the relationship I indicated between the two problems has been confirmed. For, instead of the study of the Saturnian ring-system having thrown light (except reflected light) on the origin of worlds and moons, it would seem as though the study of the origin of the moon had thrown light on the Saturnian rings.

Be this as it may, there can be very little question, I believe, that the moon was not formed at a single effort, as Dr. Ball has suggested, but that a series of rings was first formed, constituting a single flat ring-system. The formation of the moon from such a system of rings would result from the gradual process by which the number of the minute bodies forming the ring-system would be reduced by collisions. If the ring-system was (as seems probable) immersed at the beginning, and for a long time, in the vaporous outskirts of the earth, this process would be less slow than it otherwise would have been. Satellite after satellite would coalesce with neighbouring satellites; probably, centres of aggregation would be formed, which would absorb wandering satellites in the ring-system still more effectively. Every combination of the kind, by changing the period of revolution of the mass thus formed (for at every collision there would be a loss of *vis viva*) would tend to hasten the change of the ring system into a single orb. It is no new idea that such a process as this took place, no mere attempt to reconcile new results with views previously entertained. The occurrence of such changes as I have here described was indicated by me sixteen years ago,

in my treatise on Saturn (p. 126), and it was there shown that changes in the appearance of the rings, and probably the recent development of the inner dark ring, may be due to processes of this kind—collisions among the satellites, and consequent loss of *vis viva* by the entire system.

The formation of the moon, whether in this manner, which appears to me much the more probable, or as a single catastrophic event, must have occurred at so remote a period that the earth's rotation (carrying back over this enormous interval of time the process of retardation, which has certainly been in progress) must, when the moon was first formed, have been much more rapid than at present. The moon's period of revolution, also, must have been very much shorter than it now is. From and after that era, the processes of change must have been those which Mr. Darwin has described, and which Dr. Ball has pictured (with colouring in some parts perhaps *tant soit peu* exaggerated). We have no occasion to explain, as the latter *sarant* does, how the earth's frame recovered from the shock of the moon's genesis, or how the scar left on her then plastic surface, where the moon's mass had left her, was presently healed by the "gentle ministrations" of the mutual attraction of the particles forming her substance;* for no such scar would ever, according to our view, have marred the fair surface of the earth. But subsequent changes would have been the same in whichever of these two ways—the sudden or the gradual—we suppose the moon to have been formed.

According to either view, it is by no means clear that the moon's rotation period would have been the same as her period of revolution around the earth, as is now the case. But it is certain, that from the beginning of her existence as an independent orb, the moon must have been at work in raising a tidal wave, and at first far more actively even than now. Not only would she have raised a higher wave, because nearer to the earth, even had the earth been then what it is now; but since the earth must then have been in great part fluid, the moon would from the beginning do what the sun had for countless ages been doing—she would raise, like him, a tidal wave affecting the whole fluid substance of the earth; and, owing to her much greater proximity, the tidal wave she thus raised must of necessity have been very much greater than that raised by the sun. This tidal wave, like that now raised by the moon, would retard the earth's rotational spin, and much more effectively. The retardation of the earth's spin would then, as now, be accompanied by a gradual retardation of the moon's motion, and recession of the moon from the earth. And while these changes were taking place, the earth, by her attraction on the then fluid mass of the moon, would be producing similar effects. The moon (supposing her then to have

* "By these gentle ministrations," says Dr. Ball, "the wound on the earth would soon be healed. In the lapse of time, the earth would become as whole as ever, and at last it would not retain even a scar to testify to the mighty catastrophe."

rotated in less time than she occupied in revolving round the earth) would be acted upon tidally by the earth. A mighty wave of fluid or at least plastic matter would circle around the moon in a direction contrary to that in which she was rotating; she would, therefore, gradually lose her rotational spin, just as the earth was losing hers, only at a more rapid rate. The reaction corresponding to this action would be, in the earth's case, as in the moon's, shown by increased distance. In other words, the earth's rotation and the moon's rotation would both be reduced in rate, the moon's the more rapidly, and both changes would combine reactionally in increasing the distance separating the two bodies.

Only one of these processes is now going on—the moon's action is diminishing the earth's rotational spin (and the moon's distance is therefore increasing by reaction), the earth's action is not diminishing the rotational spin of the moon. The reason why the latter action no longer produces any effect is that it has done its work, it no longer has anything left to work upon. The moon's rotation now synchronizes with her revolution around the earth, there is no tidal wave (there could be none if the moon's entire surface were covered by ocean, or even if the moon's entire mass were fluid), and therefore there is no loss of rotational spin. I have said the earth no longer has any work to do so far as modifying the moon's rotation is concerned. This is nearly true, but not quite. The earth has still some work to do, in preventing the rotation rate of the moon from diminishing, as it would otherwise tend to do, under the sun's action. If the earth were suddenly destroyed, or rather removed entirely away from the solar system, the moon would continue to travel around the sun, in a path very little changed from that which she at present follows, and, by such wave-motion as the sun can produce in the moon's mass, he would tend slowly to diminish her rate of rotation. The neighbourhood of the earth prevents any such change from occurring, and would do so, even if the sun could raise a large tidal wave in deep lunar seas or in the moon's entire mass. It will be seen presently that this is a consideration of some importance. There is also some work for the earth to do—though it is but slight—in diminishing the moon's rate of rotation so as to correspond exactly with the slow gradual increase in her period of revolution. Students of the moon could well wish this were otherwise, so that the farther side of the moon, which we never see, might come, however slowly, into our ken.

The earth, then, acting on the moon caused the moon to adopt that mode of motion which we recognize in her, turning once on her axis while she revolves once around the earth. In this peculiarity of the moon's motion we recognize one piece of evidence, which of itself is absolutely convincing, as to the vastness of the time-intervals which have elapsed since the moon first began her independent existence. Whatever the moon's original rotation period may have been it was certainly very much

shorter than her present rotation period. If we suppose it identical originally with her period of revolution there would have been an enormous amount of work for the earth to do in gradually reducing the period to its present value—both periods, in point of fact, simultaneously. We have, then, to carry back the earth's history so far that, independently of all other evidence to that effect, we find ourselves forced to accept the conclusion that, at the beginning of the separate existence of earth and moon, our earth was a globe rotating much more rapidly than at present and much nearer to the moon.

And here the question arises whether we can find in this inference any explanation of the undoubted discrepancy between the teachings of geology and those of astronomy as to the earth's age. On the one hand the study of the earth's crust tells us of one hundred millions of years at the very least during which the earth has been the scene of changes such as are now in progress, chiefly—one may say, altogether—under solar influence. On the other hand, regarding the sun's emission of heat as resulting, in the main, from the contraction of his mass, we find that, assuming his density uniform, or nearly so, the contraction of his mass to its present dimensions, even from a former infinite extension, would have resulted only in generating as much heat as would last, at the present rate of emission, about twenty millions of years. We do not gain by supposing the rate of emission less in former ages of the earth, for then, the rate of solar work on the earth being less, the length of time necessary to complete the work which has actually been done would have been proportionately greater.

The difficulty is very serious. Dr. Croll, who was one of the first to call attention to it, suggested the explanation, which I take to be inconceivable, that our sun was generated by the collision of several orbs which had been rushing through space with enormous velocity, and that his supply of heat represents the energy of those rushing suns, as well as that resulting from compression. My own solution of the difficulty is one which is confirmed by other researches, including an important investigation by Mr. G. Darwin, that the sun is not of nearly uniform density throughout his apparent globe, but that he is enormously compressed towards the centre, and that, in point of fact, the surface we see lies very far above the real surface of the sun.

Dr. Ball believes that in the former proximity of the moon we may find a complete answer to the enigma. In the primitive oceans, he says, the moon raised tides as she does now, but when she was nearer the tides were much higher than at present. For instance, when the moon's distance was but forty thousand miles, or, roughly, a sixth of her present distance, her tide-raising power was not six times, but two hundred and sixteen (six times six times six) times greater than at present. So far Dr. Ball's reasoning is sound; but I cannot follow him in saying that therefore, the tides would have been two hundred and sixteen times as high as at present. (There is no such simple relation as this between

tide-producing energy and the height of the tidal wave.) Still, we may admit that the tides were very much higher then than now.

"These mighty tides," says Dr. Ball, "are the gift which astronomers have now made to the working machinery of the geologist. They constitute an engine of terrific power to aid in the great work of geology. What would the puny efforts of water in other ways accomplish when compared with the majestic tides and the great currents they produce? In the great primeval tides will probably be found the explanation of what has long been a reproach to geology. The early palaeozoic rocks form a stupendous mass of ocean-made beds, which, according to Professor Williamson, are twenty miles thick up to the top of the Silurian beds. It has long been a difficulty to conceive how such a gigantic quantity of material could have been ground up and deposited at the bottom of the sea. The geologists said, 'The rivers and other agents of the present day will do it if you give them time enough.' But, unfortunately, the mathematicians and the natural philosophers would not give them time enough. The mathematicians had other reasons for believing that the earth could not have been so old as the geologists demanded. Now, however, the mathematicians have discovered the new and stupendous tidal grinding engine. With this powerful aid the geologists can get through their work in a reasonable period of time, and the geologists and the mathematicians may be reconciled."

I am disposed to doubt seriously whether mathematicians and astronomers have done more than to somewhat alleviate the pressure of the difficulty we are considering. That they have subtracted somewhat from the work which had formerly been assigned to the sun must be admitted. We need not inquire what the former height of the tides, or to discuss the action of the tidal wave in detail. If we consider only that the tidal wave, according to the very theory we are considering, has, by its reaction against the earth, reduced the earth's rotation-spin from a rate of one rotation in perhaps not more than three hours, certainly not more than six, to one rotation only in twenty-four hours, we see that the work done on the earth's crust must have been enormous. It represents the friction-products, so to speak, of all that work. The wonder might rather be that the ocean-made beds are not much thicker than they are, than that they are so thick. But here is our difficulty returning to us in another form. Is it clear that the beds considered by Dr. Ball were not made subsequently to the time when the moon was at the comparatively small distance he mentions? Can we for a moment imagine that the tremendous work of checking the earth's rotation-spin to less than a quarter of what it was, has only left such traces as these? Must not that work have been done while still the greater part of the earth's mass was fluid, and the water tidal wave have begun its work long after? Geologists have other reasons than the thick ocean-made strata for their belief in the vast periods of time which form the great difficulty of the problem. There is the evidence derived from the study of organic matter, the evidence derived from the remains of once-living creatures—animal and vegetable. The moon might have raised a tidal wave as high as Chimborazo without hastening the progress of what may be called the development of the earth—nay, she would very seriously have checked this progress. It may be doubted,

even, whether life, belonging to any save the lower forms, could have existed during the time when such tidal waves as Dr. Ball pictures careered round the swiftly rotating globe.

It remains to be noticed that, though the day will continually increase as the moon recedes, and, *vice versa*, the length of the month, measured in days, attained long since its maximum. It was then—some millions of years ago—about twenty-nine days long, and is now but twenty-seven and one-third days, as days are now. As the moon recedes, the lunar month—which is also the moon's day—will contain fewer and fewer of our terrestrial days. For our day grows longer, now, at a greater rate than the lunar month increases. Our day will continue to grow longer and longer as the moon recedes. In one hundred and fifty millions of years, or thereabouts, our day will be about one thousand four hundred of our present hours long; this period, also, will then be that in which the moon circles around the earth—about fifty-eight and one-third of our present days. Dr. Ball goes on to consider how the sun would affect this state of things. There would be a tide raised by the sun on the earth after the moon had ceased to raise any tide (the earth's rotation exactly synchronizing with the moon's revolution); and, as a result of this, Dr. Ball says, that the earth would begin to rotate in a longer time than the moon circles round her. It appears to me that the moon's action would check any tendency of this sort, just as the earth's action on the moon has, as we know, prevented the moon from rotating in a longer period than that of her revolution round the earth. The state of compromise with a moon circling once in one thousand four hundred hours round the earth rotating in the same time, the moon also so rotating, would be, I believe, a state of stable equilibrium. It is not a very pleasant future to look forward to. Fortunately it is very remote.

RICHARD A. PROCTOR.

SOME POPULAR PREJUDICES CONCERNING LAND AND LABOUR.

NOTHING can more clearly show to a man who has never painted how small his habit of observation is, than to set him down with brush and palette to produce an image of any thing or place which has been before his eyes all the days of his life.

He finds, on a close examination, that he has been, as far as his eyesight is concerned, living on mere conventions instead of facts, and recognizes, to his surprise, that the true aspect of things, when he studies them attentively, differs wonderfully from his former superficial notions.

There can be no better illustration of this truth than is shown by a comparison of our conventional ideas of the "galloping horse" with the fact of his appearance, as shown beyond possible question, in the series of astonishing instantaneous photographs which have been published within the last couple of years. We have all our conventional ideas of what a galloping horse looks like : a very good type of which idea may be found in the universally admired "Tent-pegging" of Mrs. Butler. Probably, not an equestrian in England ever looked at it without pleasure and admiration, and yet the infallible photographs prove the drawing an entire convention, and that a galloping horse is never in a position at all like the one portrayed.

For the sake of truth in Art, her votaries must change their treatment of the galloping horse, but the old convention is so deeply rooted in our ignorant fancies that many a long year will pass before the error be forgotten and the true representation be anything but unpleasant to the eye. Grave though this consideration be to a generation of aesthetes, the circumstance will not weightily affect the ordinary course of history ; and England may afford, for a century or two, to be nationally indifferent as to which principle of drawing the noble quadruped in motion be the more to be desired.

But there are other subjects than matters of drawing on which we are apt to maintain conventional ideas which cannot bear the test of truth: and some of these are grave and pressing enough at the present moment to make it every good citizen's duty, as far as he may, to urge his fellows to investigate them a little more closely than they have hitherto done; as unenlightened error, or too hasty acceptance of crude or inaccurate opinions, on such points, may vitally affect our history, and prove, in a national sense, disturbing to our peace and obstructive of our progress.

The land and labour question, which, in all its wide ramifications, is becoming now so prominent, is a question on which every one conceives himself qualified, by noise or knowledge, to express an opinion; and very few seem to have the least notion of foregoing their privilege to do so. Nor have we any right to doubt that the tendency to discuss this important subject will grow with every day, for months, and perhaps years, to come.

It may, therefore, be permitted me, as a humble contribution to the study of the subject, to indicate a few points on which I fear we are too willing to accept conventional notions (not necessarily true because conventional). I am not concerned to plead for their rejection, but only for a candid examination of their truth or error, in order to save us from basing serious arguments, and perhaps important measures, on foundations which may crumble in the end.

I propose, therefore, in the following pages to lead my readers to examine a few opinions on the land and labour questions, which they will acknowledge to be very generally held, and to inquire from our examination whether or no the prevalence of these opinions be due to haste or thoughtlessness (in a word, to prejudice), or be the outcome, as they should be, of careful study of facts and deliberate process of reason.

And I would treat the matter as a student, not as a politician. I have no passions to be stirred in these matters: a landowner, who, far from looking on landowning as the *summum bonum* of existence, sold his modest patrimony within a year of its coming into his possession; a registered voter, on several qualifications, for a quarter of a century, who has never recorded a vote, and on whom only one parliamentary candidate has ever in all that time expended even a post-card by way of canvass, I may urge my compatriots to bring a few of their opinions to the test of truth and fact, without being fairly chargeable with landowning prepossession or political partisanship. I do not even assert that the opinions I examine are wrong; I only urge on those who hold them the supreme importance of being satisfied that their opinions are right, and of making sure that principles are sound before they insist on carrying them into practice.

Thus, I should like to make my article consultative instead of controversial. I would present to my readers a telescope and not a blunderbuss; and would urge on them the manifest advantage to themselves, in any conflict that may arise, of quietly studying the battle-ground before they rush into the fray.

There is no opinion on the land question more generally entertained than this, that small occupations were extinguished in the interests of large capitalists, or, in a word, that small holders were removed to make room for large ones.

I may, perhaps, be permitted a quotation or two to show the form in which this opinion is very apt to find expression. I take one for my purpose from the Rev. A. Jessop's interesting article in the *Nineteenth Century* for August last, entitled, "My Return to Arcady." He there examines and describes the changes apparent to himself on a return to rural residence after long abode in town; and he writes in a feeling and reasonable way; while hasty or extreme statements seem entirely out of his intention, if not quite out of his line. Here are a couple of his passages; the italics being my own:—

"The small farmers have grown fewer and fewer, their homesteads have fallen into decay or been pulled down; they and their families have been thrust out—driven off to America, or New Zealand, or Australia, and their place knows them no more.

"When compelled to make room for some go-ahead capitalist at last, they turn their backs upon the old place with a sigh, and not seldom a sob, puzzled, ashamed, and bitter at heart, with a sense of wrong, and possessed by the conviction that the devil and man have been against them or they would never have been turned out of their old home.

"These are the men whom economists and agents and capitalists are combining to cast from their holdings.

"To worry such a class as this from their ramshackle little houses is to my mind to commit a crime which . . . I should be sorry to have to answer for at the bar of God."

These passages may suffice to show the notions entertained and published by a presumably thoughtful man; and they are couched in a form certain to gain the adherence of a great number of superficial and impressed readers, who are not thoughtful men at all.

Let us inquire whether, on a point like this, of which the importance to the whole land question is undeniable, his conclusion be better named a prejudice or a judgment.

This prevalent idea takes its rise, like a great many other general mistakes, from the too common error of confounding *post hoc* with *propter hoc*. People look to the average size of holdings forty years ago, and, comparing them with present ones, see that they were much smaller in olden time; a fact which, I suppose, no one would dispute. But they prejudge the matter by assuming, as a reason for this difference, the fact that small holders were turned out to introduce large ones. A little thought on the history of the matter might lead to a more reasonable judgment.

If, within a single half-century, such a change became the interest of any class which had not been its interest before, some new reason must be found to explain the sudden discovery of the new interest, or the stupidity of the interested class in not having understood their advantage a century before. In a word, some reason must be adducible, contemporaneous with the commencement of the operation, for the

assumed ousting of small holders within the last forty years. Yet I have never found superficial disputers ready to offer me any other reason for it than the alleged selfishness of landowners, who expected to get more money by turning out working farmers and putting in capitalists.

Let us examine the facts, and see whether they support the assumptions. I take my own parish, and use, as reasonably typical and most convenient, the unimpeachable documentary evidence at hand in the Tithe Commutation award made forty-five years ago; and I do this as suggesting an easy way for any one else either to disprove or accept my position. I believe a short reference to the Tithe award in nearly every parish in England will show that the vast majority are similarly circumstanced with my own; and I am supported in this view by inquiries among my neighbours.

Leaving out of view the roads, the waste, all holdings of fractions less than an acre, and the glebe land (which, of its very nature, does not come into the land-market at all), my parish contains some 1,800 acres of area. Forty-five years ago this area was owned by seventeen persons, and held by twenty-three occupiers, eight of whom were owners themselves occupying a third of the whole. We have now (for all but some twenty-five acres) only one owner, instead of seventeen, who holds (in copse wood, not in arable) less than a twentieth part of the whole.

We had twenty-three occupiers, we have now only seven of the twenty-three; seven held between two and ten acres, we have only one such now; ten held between ten and a hundred acres, we have now only three such; four held between 100 and 300 acres, now we have only one; and the rest is held by two, both over 500 acres, while formerly only one occupied so large an area.

"Surely," it will be said, "these startling statements prove the case at once." I do not think so. Conjecture is a very different thing from history. If I had shown that one man owned all the land in this parish forty years ago, and that the occupiers of it had since been reduced from twenty-three to seven, there might be (till we examined it further) a presumption in favour of his having cleared away the small holders to introduce the large ones. For it has been possible, of course, for a landlord arbitrarily to deal so with his property, even against his own interest, if he were exceptionally headstrong, tyrannical, and foolish. We need not, however, argue on exceptions; for I will briefly show that such a course, if followed at all, was against the landlord's interest.

None will question the fact—it is one on which all distributive trading is based—that retail prices must be higher than wholesale ones. That is to say, that the accommodation of a number of persons with small quantities must command a larger relative remuneration than the accommodation of a few persons with large quantities.

A merchant can afford to sell to one customer a whole chest of tea of 160 pounds at far less profit per pound than he could sell it for in 160 transactions of one pound weight at a time. A builder who wishes to build a street, on each house in which he can fix a permanent ground-

rent of £5, can afford to give a vastly higher price per acre for the land than a farmer who wants it for tillage; a landlord, accommodating a number of occupiers by giving them small agricultural holdings, can, in every case but one, obtain an enhanced price for the sum of those many accommodations over the price he can obtain by accommodating only one holder, and letting all his land to him. This is the reason why, up to a certain date, our land was cultivated in a number of small holdings. They were collectively more profitable to the landowners than the large.

Is it at all likely, then, that a sudden folly should have seized upon the whole race of landowners, large and small, old and new alike, inducing them, as a class, to change a system long existent and approved?

Can it be that, from some epidemic notion in favour of simplicity and symmetry in their holdings, and contrary, largely contrary, to their own pecuniary interest (which every man follows closely himself, while affecting to despise every one else who does the same thing), they resolved to break all the old ties, in many cases lasting for generations; to expel all the old tenants; to send them forth homeless and helpless, with hearts embittered by a sense of wrong, and so forth?

Let us for a moment admit the class to have been, or to be, as heartless, as cold, as unfeeling as their worst depreciators will; yet neither these latter nor any one else will believe, for a moment, that any large proportion of the class were as foolish as they were unfeeling, and did their fellow-men a needless wrong, to their own obvious and manifest disadvantage.

But, it will be said, how is the fact to be got over? England was divided into small holdings, it is now divided into large ones. Let us remember that the fact is not denied, that I am only asking a fair examination of the alleged cause of the fact.

Nothing can shake the truth of the economical principle, that to let land in small holdings, if practicable, is more profitable to landowners than to let it in large ones. I have shown it antecedently unlikely that the landlords, from mere freak or fashion, would, by the change which has taken place, have universally agreed to damage their own interests.

Why, then, did they change the old plan of letting the land in small holdings? I have said that, *in every case but one*, till then inconceivable, this plan was most lucrative; landlords would not have changed it could they have helped themselves: but they could not help themselves.

The one case, till then inconceivable, occurred. The demand for small holdings vanished, and the change to large holdings became indeed the landlords' destiny, but, for all that, was not the landlords' doing.

For to speak of a more or less profitable method implies a choice between two methods; and they were left no choice and were limited to one. It was not a matter of freak or despotism. They did not evict the tenants, the tenants abandoned their holdings: and, failing occupants for small farms, they had to take those willing to occupy large ones. Only wholesale buyers were left in the market for the goods the landowners had to retail.

This is somewhat more like what any one of thought and reflection would expect to be the true explanation of the change in occupations, for it is in accordance with common sense and the natural promptings of self-interest.

Let us next ask whether, as a matter of historical fact, the covetousness of the landlords or the disappearance of the small holders from the land-occupancy market really caused the change.

My parish record answers the question plainly enough. Its land was held, as we have seen, by twenty-three occupiers holding above two acres, and has now only seven. Who removed them? Certainly not the landowners.

As far as I can ascertain—and I have taken pains to do so—*every one of the tenants* "gave up" of his own accord. The landlords, not being lunatics, did not drive them out, the tenants removed themselves; and they disappeared, not simultaneously as the result of any organized, deliberate movement on the part of others, but one by one, as they found small occupations less and less worth holding. For, even were it true, which it is not, that the ancestor of the present owner had arbitrarily "ousted" all his tenants against their will, that would only at best account for the determination of half-a-dozen out of twenty-seven occupations. Who emptied the rest? For eight of those holders were *owners* of the land, whom no landlord and no capitalist could have "ousted" against their will. But, besides the eight occupiers who were owners, whom no man could have turned out, there were, forty years ago, nine more owners who were not occupiers; no tyranny or caprice could have "ousted" them; and they were not "ousted." They sold their land of their own accord, as a matter of business, not as a matter of constraint; for when small holders, generally, gave up their lands as unprofitable, small owners, for want of small tenants, found more profit in selling than in keeping their small estates.*

I think, in face of these considerations, my readers will feel it worth while to admit the possibility, which is all I venture to ask, that some degree of (it may be, unsuspected) prejudice has contributed to the general opinion that the selfishness of landowners drove out the old class of small occupiers, and deprived them of the means of earning honest bread. But, if this be so, I may be fairly asked what special reason existed for the change having been made as suddenly, as resolutely, and as universally as it was; to what, if not to arbitrary greed and heartlessness, can the revolution be attributed which undoubtedly took place? The answer is extremely plain. Of course, there was a good reason; a reason which is a recollection, not a revelation. Time, while developing the fact, obscured the reason, which the old of to-day have

* It is noteworthy that the only man who, in leaving his holding or selling his land, was supposed to have retired at a profit, was the holder of the only farm above 500 acres, and he was a tenant, not an owner. No small owner made money of his land.

forgotten, and the young of to-day have never cared to seek for. They have mistaken subsequence for consequence, and assumed succession in order of time to be result in order of causation. Every one knew the reason thirty years ago; the generation which has risen since then, taking the facts of the present without the history of the past, has fitted some novice's hasty guess to the facts.

The nature of a whole class of men did not suddenly alter, making them all, at one particular date, go mad to damage themselves and injure their fellows; but the conditions of things did alter at one particular date; and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, however indispensable, expedient, and beneficial to the people at large, made the general retention of small holdings impossible, by rendering it generally impossible for small landholders to live.

It seems to me, in view of these considerations, that to blame land-owners generally, for letting in large holdings land which they could not let in small ones, is no more reasonable than to declare, as a general rule, that every man who covers his baldness with a wig may be assumed to have torn out all his hair in a fit of rage.

Leaving this point for the moment, in the hope that its examination here may, at all events for some of my more candid readers, disembarass the future discussion of the land question of one of its most invidious and exasperating features, I turn to a kindred common and growing opinion, in the adoption and promulgation of which I would venture also to inquire whether prejudice may not possibly be outweighing judgment. I mean the allegation as to the extinction of small freeholders, formulated by Mr. Joseph Arch in hundreds of speeches, and notably (in a literary form) in the essay which not only found its way about two years ago into the same Review as Mr. Jessop's, but appeared there honoured with special notice in an article by Mr. Gladstone published in the same issue.

And let me not be accused of trifling with my readers by taking up their time with refutations of Mr. Arch. Though he have lost much of his early influence, and though the organization of which he is the head has dwindled down within the last seven or eight years from 300,000 members to 15,000, or a still smaller number, multitudes of the working men who distrust his leadership have adopted his opinions, and will not let them go, unless men whom they trust, of higher education, take the trouble to see, and use the candour to correct, the class prejudice which so dangerously confuses the discussion of such topics as he handled. I will quote the words in which he teaches men to account for the extinction of the forty-shilling freeholder, in much the same fashion as they have been taught to account for the extinction of small cultivators. He says:—

"There were, it is true, at one time, a few forty-shilling freeholders who had votes; but how many of them have disappeared within the last few years? Some may ask, 'How has that been brought about?' Is it not a fact that the

forty-shilling freeholder had, as a rule, to work for weekly wages, wages insufficient to enable him to insure in a society against affliction and old age, and when either came upon him he had to ask for parochial relief, which was refused? And many a forty-shilling freeholder, who, amid great privation through life, managed to hold his freehold; when he could work no longer on account of old age and infirmity, his freehold had to go—Ahab stepped in when Naboth could hold out no longer! *By this process numbers of our English peasantry have been deprived of their home and their votes.*"

It will be noticed, by people who think, that all this suggestion proves is the writer's own conviction that forty-shilling freeholds were too small to support a labourer's life in supplement of his wages; a most important point to bear in view when we presently inquire whether there be or not a good deal of of prejudice in the assumption that small peasant proprietorships would be generally advantageous to the proprietors. For the rest, what a number of fallacies does his statement imply! That a *process* was used to deprive poor men of their home and vote; that when old or sick, or otherwise unprovided, they were wronged, by some one or other, if they realized their own property; that, though the law only provides rate-relief for the absolutely destitute, it was a cruel injury to refuse, to a man holding freehold property, relief from rates extracted from the earnings of many who had no freehold property at all; and, finally, that every seller of a small freehold—whom, let us remember, no landowner but himself could possibly have "turned out"—was a poor crushed Naboth, and every buyer of a freehold (peasant or otherwise) was a covetous Ahab—"Ahab stepped in when Naboth could hold out no longer." All these statements seem to me (assuming the author's own sincere belief in their truth) not untainted with prejudice; a position which will be strengthened when we note that, to hold the contrary, we must assume that no small freeholders ever wasted their means, drank away their patrimony, sold even their votes at election times and their freehold too for money's sake, and not from other men's pressure, and felt ever after (as some certainly did) that what they got for the sale was all the tangible good the franchise had ever done to them. This is too much for quiet reasoners to assume; and, being so, the conclusion too fails to commend itself to calm judgment. For the "process" by which we are told the Ahabs ousted the Naboths was (by the essayist's own showing) one in which the Naboths sold, or forfeited, or abandoned their freeholds themselves for a consideration, which, as unprejudiced reasoners will remember, was just the very thing that Naboth would not do.

Another common prejudice, that work leaves the country because of the badness of labourers' dwellings, is exposed by two clear facts: firstly, that the worst cottages, generally owned by the poorest proprietors, command now, within a trifle, as much rent as the very best which improving owners can build, as they often do, at a large money loss; and, secondly, that renters of the worst rural cottages are satisfied, in towns, with one miserable room for a family, instead of a house.

It is very easy to cry shame on every owner of land (whether of less or more) as blamable for bad houses; but very unjust, till the censurers have drawn a clear line between the self-interest which builds all other houses in the world for profit, and the philanthropy they call on other people to exercise, of building at a loss. Not till we make our labourers independent enough to pay for better houses, can better houses, as a rule, be provided for them.

I wish from my heart they could be better lodged on easier terms. But, often though I have discussed this question, I have never found the view I combat capable of any more reasonable statement than this: "Somebody is bound to provide an excellent dwelling, at a loss, for every labouring man, in every place where, at any time, and for any time, he may be willing to reside."

Again, thousands of persons firmly believe that the landowners, by deliberate purpose and design, drove away the peasantry (as well as the small farmers) from the country to the towns. This has been very persistently put before the public, notably by Mr. Arch himself, in the same article to which I have already referred.

He there says that, by pulling down cottages (his context assumes that it is only rich landowners who have any cottages, or, at least, have any bad ones) and not building others to replace them, "they have driven the farm labourer into the towns, and in tens of thousands of instances have robbed the land of his useful labour, for which we are suffering to-day."

Now, is this assertion true? For, if it be true, what does it amount to? Simply to saying that, in this case again, landowners, as a body, were so utterly blind to their own interest as to make their land worthless, by depriving it of that labour which alone would make it profitable.

Of course, any stick will do to beat a dog; but it does not follow that every one is equally justified in using it for the purpose. That a great deal of labour, in the nature of things, left the country and migrated to the towns, is perfectly true; but there was a simpler and truer reason for it than that landowners wilfully damaged the value of their land in order to banish their cottagers. There came an enormous development of manufactures in towns, a huge demand for work, a general rise in factory wage. This, of course, attracted labour from the country with as much certainty as that water runs down hill. There was no special simultaneous increase in agricultural profits; but agricultural wage rose high as well as factory wage; for the law of supply and demand drew away rural labour, making it scarce, and consequently dear. It was *no advantage* to the landed class to get rid of labourers; but their migration *greatly bettered* the condition of those who remained, not by any means the most vigorous and energetic of their class. We shall see this by calculating the effect of remedying the supposed error. Let us suppose, for a moment, the charge to be admitted, and that the landowners, confessing their fault, should say: "We see our error; we regret

it; we will correct it. Everywhere, having been told our duty, we will do it; we will rebuild all the pulled-down houses, and we will bring in labourers again from the towns to fill them." What would be the result? A louder outcry than ever. "What! more labourers to be brought in amongst us? Another conspiracy of landowners to our hurt! More labourers to compete with us in the labour-market, and so bring down our wages!" Piping and mourning are both wrong, to children in the market-places, who will neither dance nor lament.

There is another still more convincing way of exposing the want of judgment which leads one man to make, and many men to echo, such assertions. It is to go back a little while to the facts of this particular case, and to inquire, if the land was robbed of its labour, whether the crime could have been committed by any one else but the landowners. It is not so very long indeed since the people were told, "There are too many labourers in the villages; we will find you work elsewhere—in towns, in mines, in factories; leave the landowners' crops to rot on the ground, leave the empty cottages to crumble to decay; and then the scarcity of rural labour we produce will raise its price to any pitch we choose." And, not content with this, the giver of such teaching went, at the labourers' expense, to America, to organize there an enormous emigration; to expatriate, without ultimate benefit, a number of labouring men, in order further to raise English farm wages by "robbing the land of its labour;" but the name, strangely enough, of the man who did this thing, avowedly and not constructively, was "Joseph Arch," in proper person, not "the British landowner," on whose shoulders he complacently piles the blame. I, for myself, see no sin in shifting any poor man, who cannot help himself, from one spot, where he can earn little, to another where he can earn more. I should hold my duty to my suffering fellow-man as man, more important than my abstract duty to the land as land, whoever might own it: but, if to do this be made an accusation against a class who never did it, I think it must tend to remove whatever prejudice the accusation causes if I have shown that the wrong was done by the man who lays the information, and not by the people against whom he lays it.

"But," some one will ejaculate, "whose part are you taking here? All these inquiries and questionings seem aimed at whitewashing persons instead of correcting conditions; they tend to make out a good case for the large landowners, and to support the exclusion of the poor man from possessing land. This, your pretended appeal to calm reason, is a partisan upholding of the landed interest, and should not be listened to in these enlightened days."

Now hard words break no bones; and I just stop to note that this statement itself is another prejudice; I will shoot it flying, and nail it to my desk, as a keeper nails a magpie on a barn-door. I care not who has the land. I have proved it by parting with my own, as thousands

of large landowners wish they could do to-day ; but I make this appeal to reason, not at all on behalf of the landed interest, which may take care of itself : but *entirely on behalf of the unlanded interest*, which the prejudices I examine, if allowed to spread unchallenged, may signally and miserably mislead.

If I at all know my own feelings, so far from ever caring, if a landowner, to get rid of small tenants ; or, if a capitalist, thinking it possible (were sufficient small tenants obtainable) to gain enhanced profits by letting my land to large ones in preference, I should act entirely the other way. If I owned ten thousand acres to-morrow, and believed that it would really contribute to the happiness and profit (for, in agriculture, the first depends on the second) of five thousand families to let them buy two acres apiece, at a fair market price, they should have gladly every acre I possessed. I have hinted that there are thousands of landowners in England to-day who would echo the assertion, and be only thankful that purchasers under such circumstances could be found to supply a market, so that they might realize a part, at least, of their large capitals sunk in the losing investment of land.

But just as truly as I should think it right, if possible, to act even generously in helping a number of poor men to anything like a happy independence ; I should as certainly condemn the wild thoughtlessness of those who, looking at only one side of the land and labour question, and accepting, without earnest examination and study, assertions within their power to test, should tempt large classes of their fellow-men to expect moral, physical, and material regeneration from a course that might eventually only prove a multiplication of misery.

If, therefore, I seem so far to whitewash one class, I reply that this must be done in order to enlighten another ; and the most prejudiced will hardly blame my doing so, if it be clear that, in warning a large class from peril, I was compelled to deliver a small one from odium. For all these prejudices I have examined, however they affect the persons concerning whom they are held, hide, more or less, from ignorant people's minds, the great mistake which lies at the root of what so many seem to think the secret of our social salvation—some national manufactory of a peasant proprietorship in land.

In a word, my opinion (which of course may be fairly called a prejudice too, till it have borne the test of experience) would really amount to this, that, were all landowners in England bought out to-morrow, and every man, somehow or other, put in possession of his fair share of land, the agriculture of England would be no better circumstanced, as regards American competition, than it is to-day. The *Times* newspaper in one issue (that for Jan. 7, 1882), gives Mr. Giffen's letter and Mr. Shaw-Lefevre's speech at Reading on agricultural depression, with a leading article on both, showing plainly that, no matter how these gentlemen, both authorities in their way, may differ in the position from which they view the subject, they reach the same

general appreciation of its most striking features, which are summed up in these few words:—"Defective harvests, far from being, as they are sometimes asserted to be, the sole cause of the depression of the agricultural interest, are not even to be reckoned as a main factor in it. . . . We must bear in mind what agricultural depression means. As far as it comes from low prices it is positive gain to all classes as consumers, *but with a sad set-off for the classes directly or indirectly interested in production.*"*

In the face of this statement, made by men whose opinions are at least noteworthy; and in face of the fact of all alike seeming agreed that prices (at least for twenty years to come) are likely to continue low; I venture, on the part of those people who are far better off now as belonging to the *unlanded* interest, to warn the public against adopting the hasty counsel so many give us, or taking measures for enormously increasing the landed class, whom these prices ruin, by establishing an extensive peasant proprietary; against plunging, by some as yet undefined contrivance, a multitude of harmless, unskilled, hopeful people into occupations which may prove profitless, anxieties which may break their hearts, and dangers against which there may be no defence; or (if all this be deemed too distant to be dreaded) against cruelly exciting hopes in the minds of the poor, whereof the non-fulfilment would as surely fill them with discontent, as the fulfilment would overwhelm them with ruin.

Just when we see great merchant-ships sinking in the fury of a tremendous hurricane, is a time when we may well question the wisdom, as well as the result, of advising the owners of a fleet of herring-cobles to venture out to sea.

For this reason, having examined, at great length, some theoretical prejudices which obscure the study of the question, I proceed to touch, more briefly, possible prejudices on practical points of the same subject.

Let us take first the one last hinted at. May there not be some prejudice in our hastily resting, as some of us complacently do, on the assurance given us by one or two of our travelled investigators, that the agricultural interest in England will recover at the end of twenty years? It seems to me (carrying on the shipwreck illustration) that, however true, it would give but little comfort, to shout through the tempest to the crew of a doomed vessel, as it drives on inevitable rocks, that the sea is sure to be as calm as ever next week, or next month, or next summer. Twenty years may possibly restore our farming interest, but

* I am no Protectionist. But I must point out that this is the strongest unconscious advocacy of a duty on foreign corn I have ever seen. For if our great authorities lay it down as an economical law, that the gain to the mass from low corn prices *must* prove *loss* to the food producing class, the common-sense corollary is that that class will cease to produce food; in a word, that English agriculture must end, and English land become worthless. For it can be the duty of no class to starve itself for the good of the mass, and none would be silly enough to do it if it were. But the extinction of English agriculture would be a loss to the mass far outbalancing the gain of cheaper food, since, by sending all labour to manu- facture, it would lower the amount of wages more than the cheapness of food enhanced their purchasing power.

never to the men now interested in farming. For who will not think it better not to farm at all, than to farm at a loss? Supposing men content to live, and bring up their families, on air in the meantime, and have nothing for their labour and their capital during twenty years; they would have lost as much as their whole capital, at five per cent. simple interest, and two and a-half times their whole capital, reckoned, as it should be, at compound interest.

The man who understood this would belong no longer to the agricultural interest. He would take out the ruins of his capital from the land, and bring his labour to stone-breaking or road-mending, sooner than toil, to no man's good, at a hopeless rope of sand. That man must, indeed, have a strong prejudice in favour of land cultivation, who, believing in such a prospect, would still cultivate the soil at risk and cost, instead of living comfortably on the interest of his capital till the whirligig of Time brought round its revenges, and, after twenty years, if he should live so long, showed him a prospect of some return for his toil and money if he put them on the land once more.

Again, it is very often said, if the land be divided into small parcels, more will be got out of it, it will be better cultivated, better broken, better cleaned, better manured, be made to yield far more, and each acre and rood will receive more personal labour than at present.

It may be so, perhaps, but all this will not *necessarily* make it more profitable (not to say less unprofitable). It does not *necessarily* follow that all peasant proprietors will be both more industrious and more scientific than large farmers, who have studied most points of the question; but even were this the case, we must remember that better tillage, better cleaning, better manuring, in fact, all increase of operation, implies increase of cost and increase of risk.

This is another of the considerations so easily overlooked by superficial reformers. They see agricultural failure in all its melancholy prevalence to-day; and they hear, and have perhaps noticed, that, within the last thirty-five or forty years or so, a great change was made by the establishment of large farms held by capitalist farmers in succession to small farms held by working farmers. They assume that the new system, which was right for many years, must have been always wrong because it is become unprofitable now; that, for the same reason, its introduction must be blamed and the action reversed. They do not see that the question, when the change took place, was not between large farming and small farming, but, practically, between large farming, and nothing. And so they lay the blame on persons instead of on circumstances.

All this, however, concerning opinion merely as to past conditions, would be entirely unimportant for influencing action as to present conditions, were there not persons (many of them, we must remember, dwellers in towns, with little agricultural knowledge) too ready to press

on other people (in turn only too ready to be persuaded) the very dangerous doctrine that, no matter how conditions may have altered, the best cure for a bad present method is to go back to whatever method it replaced. We might just as well go back to mail-coaches because railway dividends fell one per cent. No; we should trace the real cause of the failure, and see whether or no our agricultural disaster results from the old methods being retained by those who outdo us in the markets.

Is it then, I ask, by small holdings, minute economy of space, costly enrichment of soil, and so forth, that America undersells us? No! It is the large produce, easily won from vast extents of almost costless virgin soil, brought year by year into cultivation by the million of acres, with much machinery, the smallest and most temporary employment of manual labour, and exemption from a mass of public burdens; these are the things we have to compete with. In a word it is not small farming but large farming in America that depresses our agriculture, and till the large farming has run over its accessible limits (as our American Commissioners have hinted to us), we are not likely to recover of our wound. At all events, to go back to small farming (which gave place to large), because that large farming is beaten by larger farming still, has no logical recommendation.

Another suggestion (made, curiously enough, in some cases by the same persons who would harangue our poor labourers into the too generally hopeless mirage of small peasant proprietorship) is, at least, far more in the line of logic: I mean the proposal of "company farming," on a larger scale than any of the largest we have in England at the present time. And even for that there is no reasonable hope; for, the working farmers having failed to make profits long ago, and the land-owners and capitalist farmers, who succeeded them, having in turn lost their capital, the expectation is contrary to common sense that the capitalist "pure and simple," who is no farmer at all, will entrust his money, with any hope of profit, to men whose practical knowledge of farming business has not protected them from losing every farthing of their own.

Another prejudice worth noting is exposed by a very simple process of arithmetic. Some of my readers will, no doubt, like myself, have been invited to join a society for the nationalization of the land, one of the proposals contained in whose prospectus aims at giving to every one the right, "once in his lifetime, to make choice of from one to five acres of land, under such conditions as would minimize the inconvenience of such selection to occupiers of agricultural land." And this right of taking such an amount of land "for a dwelling-house and garden," is not at all limited to the prosperous citizens who may like to build snug villas to their own taste wherever they fancy, without paying a fancy price for the privilege, but, we are told, "will affect every individual, from the poorest labourer to the wealthy merchant."

The presumption, of course, is (as long as human nature remains unchanged), that, if this land-possession be a blessing, very few will be

content with ever restricting their final choice to one acre, when they may hope to be able some day to choose five. In any case "occupiers of agricultural land" are to be spared as much as possible. How many will these be, and how much will be their possible sparing, if every one asserts his right? Let us see.

The population of Great Britain,* by the Census of 1881, is, in round numbers, thirty millions (to be exact, 29,712,717.) Of these, seven out of every thirteen are over twenty years of age. So that (excluding minors from the exercise of this "right of pre-emption") more than sixteen millions of persons will have a right, if they wish, to select eighty millions of acres, of course disturbing the real agricultural occupier as little as possible. But there are not thirty-two millions of cultivated area in Great Britain. And if our population increases in the next five decades at the same average rate as it has done in the last five (namely, $13\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.), there will be twice as many claimants (entitled, at five acres each, to one hundred and sixty million acres) to be provided for on a cultivated area of thirty-two million acres, or, taking the entire surface (including woods, waste, water, roads, foreshores, and urban space) of fifty-six million acres!

Another very prevalent prejudice, due to the constant quotation of a well-known couplet of Goldsmith's, is also dissipated at once by the arithmetical argument, which so few ever think of applying. I refer to the belief that—

"A time there was, ere England's griefs began,
When every rood of ground maintained its man."

Such a time there never was! When Goldsmith wrote, the population of Great Britain was well under seven millions, its cultivated area less than thirty-two millions. This would give a cultivated area of eighteen roods instead of one per head of population!

I must treat very briefly a few more hasty opinions on this subject, which I have selected for remark from many on which the exigencies of space prevent my entering here.

One of these, a very common one, suggests that, because large profits are gained from market gardens, a main part of the land should be cultivated in that form. But the reason these are profitable is simply that they are few, and their multiplication must reduce the assumed profits on which the calculation is based, to what might prove below the margin of any profit at all. Apart from the fact that market gardens, for the most part, must, for many obvious reasons, be near the towns they supply, it is perfectly plain that any vastly increased cultivation of market-garden produce must either find no market, for want of consumers, or must lower the price and so diminish the profits to the

* I leave Ireland quite out of view, not entirely because so little remains to be done to make that country henceforth the paradise of small holders; nor because, for some time at least, a common prejudice in favour of a quiet life (or indeed of life at all) might induce so many people, under any form of law, to select five acres of any Irishman's holding as the object of their "pre-emption," but for the more practical reason that the returns of acres in Ireland cultivated in pasture are not at hand for our calculation.

producer. In a word, if the main part of our labouring class, with an acre or two of land apiece, took to cultivating asparagus, sea-kale, and green peas, those favourite vegetables would become as cheap as cabbages and carrots in good seasons, and be beaten out of market altogether in bad ones, by foreigners producing in a better climate than our own. One man might earn a good living by exhibiting a white elephant, but if every man were given a white elephant for exhibition, no one would pay for looking at any.

The same consideration applies to many other suggestions; such, for instance, as that every one should keep a cow, and sell the milk, &c., or cultivate poultry and sell eggs for a living. And the suggesters of these measures for general adoption have always individual instances to quote where such a course has been strikingly successful.

Thus, they say, "Notwithstanding the great change from small to large holdings, there are some small holders who prosper. Why should not the rest?" The answer is, that these persons prosper *because* they are exceptions, and could not prosper were there many competitors with them in the field.

Finally, perhaps, some will say (prejudging the matter quite as wildly as any other), "These contentions are entirely vain, however plausible they seem, against what we must consider a settled matter of foregone conclusion, that the people shall be given individual rights in the land of the country. In one form or another peasant proprietorship must be introduced."

Well, this may be so; we cannot tell what astonishing measures may come to pass, nor in how far, in such a matter as this (as, perhaps, in some other matters), the "inconceivable" of yesterday may become the "indispensable" of to-morrow. All I have to urge is the importance of judging instead of prejudging, and the danger of acting on mere presumption without attentively hearing the evidence which alone can justify a verdict. It may be that haste, ignorance, enthusiasm, romance, and cheap or even partisan philanthropy may scoff at political economy, sneer at study, overbear counsel, and scout common sense. I only plead, however, that plain facts should be considered and not ignored. A pearl-fisher who dives with his eyes shut is far more likely to flounder into a shark's jaws than to bring up treasure. In that case, as his folly endangers himself alone, it need concern nobody else. But what should we say to the suggestion that national measures should be taken for securing to all the inmates of our blind asylums opportunities for earning a good living by pearl-diving?

Even, however, supposing a law for the establishment of general peasant proprietorship to be passed, it would be a dead letter. Why? Because we may make the best arrangements for the proprietorship, but we cannot create the proprietors. We may bring small parcels of land into the market, but we shall not find the buyers. A few citizens here and there, who have made a little money, and look

wistfully to retiring to "a little box in the country," will gladly buy their portions. But they are not peasants. They will buy for rest, not for labour; they will invest for comfort, not for profit; they will live on their savings, not on their earnings; and none should begrudge them their ease and their repose. These can become proprietors indeed, but not peasant proprietors.

Where are the peasants to buy, as French or Swiss or German peasants will, in the free land market?

Alas! we have them not. Ours have no money in their pockets! What advantage to them whether profit be twenty per cent. or two, prices remunerative or unremunerative, burden slight or heavy, rent £10 an acre or ten shillings; if they themselves have not a half-a-crown in the world? The few who have, *rari nantes in gurgite vasto*, might perhaps prosper, as exceptions, on the land, but they would prosper anywhere; since they have emerged, by a miracle of thrift, sobriety, and self-denial, out of that very slough of misery and degradation into which the mass of our poor labouring folk are plunged, from their birth, by our unnatural, immoral, dishonouring Poor Law system. There, indeed, is something for the true friend of the poor man to reform, something the alteration of which may create, in our country, a self-reliant, thrifty, provident class, who might, indeed, become at last the agents of its social degeneration. Perhaps, by proper training as well as proper teaching of a rising generation, we may have some prospect (by the time, say twenty years hence, when we are told that agriculture may hope to be once more remunerative in England) of bringing into a free land market what the market is useless without—free, independent, intelligent buyers of the labouring class. To train men up to such a hope as this is better worth their true friends' talk and toil than to excite them with class accusations, to dazzle them with delusive promises, and so lead them to eventual disappointment, as seems so much the tendency of the day. It is in the interest of such holier and more hopeful work that I have ventured here to speak an earnest word on the importance of finding out, before we encourage the spread of new notions, however plausible, whether their advocacy be truly based on sound reason or only on inconsiderate prejudice.

WILLIAM LEWERY BLACKLEY.

THE PROCEDURE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THERE can be but few members of the House of Commons who are satisfied with the manner in which public business is conducted; there can be few persons outside the House who take an interest in public affairs that are not convinced that some remedy should be found for that state of things which delays legislation when legislation is urgent, which is answerable for slovenly and ambiguous clauses in laws actually passed, and is irritating and wearisome in the last degree to those who listen. There may be some persons who deliberately wish to bring Parliament into contempt, for some ulterior purpose; there may be some persons who wish to get notorious by being nuisances—perhaps to establish a reputation by being voluble. But the majority of the House would be glad to transact business, and would be thankful to be free from those hindrances which delay business, or prevent it altogether from being done. The Government, as we are informed on the highest authority, is determined to reform the proceedings of the House of Commons, and to make that reform the first business of the session. Mr. Gladstone has practically asserted that this reform is urgent, and declines to pledge himself to any measure till the House of Commons has agreed to new rules of procedure.

The House of Commons has no code by which its debates are regulated. It has standing orders in plenty in relation to private business, and the constitution and conduct of committees. It has usages in debate, some of which are whimsical and even unintelligible, though they doubtless once had a meaning. But it has no systematic and exhaustive rules for the conduct of its deliberations. Up to the present time it has almost entirely relied on traditions, though a few of these traditions have been weakened and even treated as obsolete. In consequence, no deliberative assembly expends so much time with such small

results as the Commons do, for few persons would doubt that all the relevant criticism which is brought to bear on measures could be stated in one-tenth the space which is now consumed. Besides, it is constantly the case that, while a prodigious amount of time is occupied with some Bills, other Bills pass without necessary amendments, because they are pressed at times when the House is jaded and inattentive.

The Speaker, as we all know, presides over debates and enforces order. In early times this great official was not only the channel of communication between the Commons and the Crown, but was held responsible at once for maintaining the privileges of the House and for preventing collisions with the Crown. The Speaker framed budgets and announced grants. He even undertook and drew up the articles of impeachments, though the object of his attack might be a servant of the Crown; and he might be in his private capacity an ardent advocate of the prerogative, or even a strong partisan of the Sovereign's administration. I do not remember in the long list of Speakers but two who were found unworthy of the trust which the House reposed in them. These men were Finch, in 1629, and Turor, in 1695.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Speaker was declared "to be indifferent to both parties," and to have no vote in a division. The occasion was one in which the Government of the day was interested, but the Government, as represented by Cecil, affirmed that the Bill was lost by the disability of the Speaker. As time has passed on, the Speaker has more and more occupied the position of being the guardian of the rights of minorities and even of individuals. Nothing, I conceive, would be more fatal to the Speaker's authority than any indication on his part that he was indisposed to secure a fair hearing to any opposition however small, and to any individual, however unpopular. It is his first duty to secure an audience for those who wish to make a statement of their views to the House, and to be patient as long as this statement is seemly and in order. It cannot be doubted that this deference to minorities and individuals is carried to an extreme length.

There is one direction in which the Speaker exercises, unknown to the outside world, and in many cases to the House itself, considerable censorial power. It is well known that after private business is over members ask questions of Ministers. There is a general rule that these questions should not be argumentative in form, nor express any opinion on the part of the questioner; but as notice of a question is generally given, it is within the discretion of the Speaker to disallow a question either absolutely or in part. It is understood that in exercising this criticism, the Speaker takes counsel with the Clerk of the House. It is not intended to imply that this power is unwisely or unfairly used. It might in many cases be extended with advantage. The right of asking questions is supposed to be one of the most valuable which private members possess, and may be as useful to the Minister as it is to the public. Whether the further right of moving the adjournment

of the House, in case the answer be unsatisfactory to the individual, should be allowed is another matter, and is quite open to discussion.

But it seems that the privilege of asking these questions has an exaggerated importance assigned to it. Nothing is easier than to give an answer which, with all the appearance of candour, will baffle the querist, and yet satisfy the House that the question has been fairly met. The House is generally full at question time, much more, I am persuaded, in order to witness the ingenuity with which the Treasury Bench evades the issue raised than in expectation of any real disclosure. But it is not infrequently the case that a member of the Government wishes that a question may be put to him, in order that he may have an opportunity of making an informal statement, and thereby of learning what may be the attitude of the House towards the intended action of the Government or the Department.

Questions are put to the Treasury Bench occasionally because constituents press their representatives for public information. This is particularly the case when newspapers give an account of what seems to be a miscarriage of justice, or of excessive severity in the apportionment of sentences, or there is a suspicion that some favour has been shown to individuals in the management of Crown lands, or the Office of the Woods and Forests has dealt harshly with tenants of the public estate. A considerable part of one evening during the last session was occupied in discussing the real or alleged grievances of a farmer who had rented part of a particularly unlucky purchase made by the Commissioners in Bedfordshire. It may be, however, stated generally that if members would be content to forego the publication of their questions, they would get more satisfactory information than is ever accorded in the House, by going directly to the office whose conduct has been impugned, and by making private inquiry there.

In every case, the questioner proposes to call attention to a grievance, and it is, I presume, on this ground that such questions are printed and take precedence of all other public business. The fact that they are printed and circulated in the morning before the sitting, gives them a prominence in the newspapers which is accorded to hardly any other topic. They are, therefore, peculiarly the form in which vain and fussy persons may make themselves conspicuous with the least possible trouble. Except an occasion of great gravity occurs, members of experience and reputation rarely ask questions, and when they do they generally give private notice. There cannot be a doubt, I think, that if the questions were not printed, and it were made a rule that any person who wishes to put a question to a Minister shall communicate his question in writing, and thus seek for information, much time would be saved, and many irrelevant and trivial matters would not be brought forward.

The querist who is dissatisfied with the answer has now the right to move the adjournment of the House. This course has been described as irregular, and is generally most vexatious. But unless some remedy

is devised against Ministerial reticence or evasion, the entire surrender of this right would hardly be allowed; for although the conduct of the Minister might be made the subject of a substantive motion, the opportunity of making such a motion, unless the issue is to be of the gravest kind, may be a remote contingency. If the Leader of the Opposition challenged the Government, directly or indirectly, the Administration could not decline the challenge. But the case is different with an independent member, especially if he be generally a supporter of the party in office. Hence, those who sit on the Government side of the House are more sensitive as to the right of question and of motions for adjournment than the Opposition is. The feeling is stronger than ever in the present Parliament, for the late House was treated, according to all accounts, with very little confidence by Lord Beaconsfield's Government; and among the many evil legacies which that Government left, not the least mischievous is a deeply rooted distrust in the utterances of an Administration.

The questions are over, and the business of the House begins. Let us suppose that it is a Government night—that is, one in which the measures of the Government take precedence of other business. Under the existing system, an objector can withstand a Bill on leave being asked to bring it in; on the first reading; on the second; on the motion that the Speaker leave the chair, and the House go into Committee; on every occasion on which the Chairman of Committees has to leave the chair, or, as it is technically called, to report progress; on every clause in the Bill; on the report; on the third reading; and on the motion that the Bill do now pass. The power which an individual member of the House has to be a nuisance is almost unlimited; and, if there be a combination of objectors, it is possible to create almost interminable delay. Had the Speaker not intervened on the 2nd of February, the House might, as far as the forms are concerned, have sat till now. The customs of the House—it is absurd to call them rules—have given hitherto, it must be admitted, an unlimited power of a paltry minority to stultify the proceedings of the whole Parliament. Now, it is clear that, even if the minority were inspired and infallible, their pretensions could not and would not be endured, when they put patience to such a strain as it was put to in January and February 1881.

The Protection to Person and Property Bill, and the Peace Preservation Bill (which are now called Coercion Bills), were assailed at every stage, and were carried by what outside critics call a *coup d'état*—that is, by an unexpected exercise of vigour on the part of the Speaker, and a vote of urgency on the part of Parliament. Mr. Brand suspended the ordinary practice of the House, and determined to put the first reading of the first Government Bill to the vote without further debate. Mr. Parnell tried to move that the Speaker had been guilty of a breach of privilege, and Mr. A. M. Sullivan that the House disagrees with the Speaker's ruling.

The Speaker is absolute, and, for the time, infallible, on a point of order. I say for a time, for undoubtedly his conduct may be challenged, after he has ruled, if the House concludes that he has been in the wrong. He has, beyond doubt, to exercise his judgment in emergencies, and is responsible to the majority of the House for the direction which his judgment takes. It may be that certain Irishmen think that the action of the Speaker was arbitrary. It is certain that many say so. But if the Speaker had not taken the line which he did, it is at least possible that the majority might have thought him wanting in proper respect for his high function and for the great majority of the House who placed him where he is, respect him, and support him. Some thirty persons acted with Mr. Parnell. Twenty times thirty were on the side of decency and order. Are they to count for nothing in the conduct of public business? Is it to be hereafter possible that an insignificant minority should arrest the whole course of public business, because they have determined to task the patience of all other members—an absolutely overwhelming majority—to the uttermost?

The Speaker did not, either in the February or in the March debate, transcend the powers of his office. He simply revived, in a new manner, and most prudently without referring to ancient precedents, the powers which his predecessors had used. It is more to the purpose to recall these precedents, because they have been omitted from the valuable and copious collection of Sir Erskine May, whose work on "*Parliamentary Practice*" is rightly recognized as an authority. As on the occasion referred to above I called the Speaker's attention to these rules, it may be worth while to refer to the occasion on which they were prescribed.

The first Parliament of James I. met on March 19, and was opened by the King in a very long speech. The House chose Sir Edward Phelips as their Speaker, and instantly asserted their privilege over elections. They made a wise choice, for Phelips could make as long a speech as the King, and, what was far more to the purpose, knew how to protect the independence of the House from the intrigues and ill manners of the courtiers who were there. Hence, the four rules of April 10, 17, and 19, and of May 19. The first was directed against irrelevant orators, and was in these words—"That if any man speak impertinently, or beside the question, it stands with the orders of the House for the Speaker to interrupt him, and to know the pleasure of the House, whether they will further hear him." The second is, that "If any superfluous motion or tedious speech be opened in the House, the party is to be directed and ordered by Mr. Speaker." The third is, "*Qui degreditur a materia ad personam*—the Speaker ought to suppress." The fourth, "That if any man speak not to the matter in question, the Speaker ought to moderate." This last vote was renewed in 1610, in the words—"Mr. Speaker may stay impertinent speeches."

Hatsell goes on to observe :—

"It is very much to be wished that the rules, which have been from time to time laid down by the House, for the preservation of decency and order in the debates and behaviour of members of the House, could be enforced and adhered to more strictly than they have been of late years. It certainly requires a conduct on the part of the Speaker, full of resolution, yet of delicacy. But as I very well remember that Mr Onslow did in fact carry these rules into execution to a certain point, the fault has not been in the want of rules, or of authority in the chair to maintain those rules, if the Speaker thought proper to exercise that authority. The neglect of these orders has been the principal cause of the House sitting so much longer of late years than it did formerly. 'Nothing,' said Speaker Onslow, 'tends more to throw power into the hands of a Administration, and those who act with a majority of the House of Commons, than a neglect of, or departure from, these rules. The forms of proceeding, as instituted by our ancestors, operated as a check and control on the actions of Ministers, and they were, in many instances, a shelter and protection to the minority, against the attempts of power.'"

By this, Speaker Onslow must have meant such rules as were interpreted by the Speaker.

It has been said that these ancient rules are obsolete. At any rate, the third, against personalities, is in constant use, and has never been suffered to drop. It is difficult to see why the others should be considered obsolete. Irrelevant talk, superfluous motions, tedious speeches are infinitely more frequent now than they were in the first parliament of James I. Deliberate obstruction does not prevent the doing that which the House is determined on doing. The chief mischief of the practice is that it prevents legislation which is not contentions, but requires careful consideration. The tactics of Mr. Parnell and his party did not prevent the two Bills which the Government declared to be necessary in order to maintain peace and the law in Ireland, from being passed. The majority of the House was determined to pass the Irish Land Bill, however hostile the Opposition might be to it, and however insidious might be the support of the Parnellites. But obstruction stopped a Bankruptcy Bill, a scheme for the supply of pure water at reasonable prices to the inhabitants of London, and a Bill to ensure, as far as possible, purity at elections, simply because what the House thought to be vital was made to occupy all the time which might have been given to measures of solid and urgent usefulness. But the fact is, all Parliamentary procedure is founded on precedent. The rules of debate which are collected into Sir Erskine May's large volume are chiefly culled from adjudged cases in the journals, from the practice of the House and not from any formal and explicit orders. Many of them are of older date than the rules of 1604. I held at the time, and hold still, that it was in the power of the Speaker, under the rules of April 14, 1604 and May 2, 1610, to ask the House whether they would hear such and such persons any longer, and even to peremptorily silence a talker, and that it is his duty to exercise this authority against manifest obstruction. It has been said that if such a step were taken,

the question would involve a debate. To this the answer seems obvious. Neither reason nor precedent would justify the offender in remaining in the House—still less of speaking when his conduct is called in question—for it is a general and unbroken tradition that members who incur the censure of the House are bidden to withdraw, and would not be allowed to explain themselves if the offence which they have committed is patent and unquestionable. Nor is it to be believed that the framers of the rules would have allowed themselves to be stultified by permitting debate on that which they were determined to stop, or that they would have let a factious minority justify that which the Speaker saw was a deliberate affront to the majority. Nor need there be any fear that the action of the Speaker would be abused: ill-used minorities are very likely to become majorities. Triumphant majorities know very well that they may be displaced, and the instinct of self-preservation in the event of a political reverse is a very powerful check on the abuse of mere numerical strength. But individuals who have no responsibilities, of whom every Parliament contains several, and small parties who are intent on aims which are not consistent with the integrity and even the existence of Parliament, can be quieted even by the ancient usages of the House, and should be, on a division without debate, as they certainly were when the usage was affirmed in 1604 and 1610.

As every member of the House can ask questions, move the adjournment (or, if the House be in Committee, move that the Chairman report progress), offer amendments in Committee, talk out a Bill on Wednesdays, and block any amount of Bills, so as to prevent their being taken; so he can, on certain days, occupy the House with motions. It is well known that some of these motions have been most valuable as means for eliciting and even educating opinion, both within the House and outside it, and that they have led the way to most important reforms. It may even be said that very many valuable acts of legislation have been the outcome of motions which, often maintained at first by small minorities, have finally been accepted by large majorities. Were the right of making such motions, or of what corresponds to them, moving addresses to the Crown (which are virtually instructions to the Administration), taken away, the House of Commons would abandon one of its most distinctive and valuable functions. But it may be doubted whether the right should be allowed to individual members. It would not be too much to demand that twenty persons should at least be required to agree to the terms of a motion before it should be put, perhaps even forty, the number required to constitute a House. As matters stand at present, the only way in which a foolish motion may be met is by a count, and it is sufficiently notorious that one or two members of the House can secure a count, by getting the first place for a motion of theirs by ballot, but can effect nothing else.

There are occasions, however, on which it seems that the right of making a motion should be restrained. If a Minister of State affirms that it is inexpedient in the public interests to answer a question, or to produce papers, it may be equally inopportune to make a motion, and expedient to disallow debate on it. I was never more struck with the necessity that there is for such a power than on the occasion of a debate on the war with the Boers.* A motion, condemning the war, was made while hostilities were being carried on. The mover did not wish to press his motion to a division, but would have withdrawn it; others wished to take a division, and insisted on this course. In consequence, the motion was lost by a large majority. The writer could not vote. He disapproved of the annexation as an act of pedantic and meddlesome folly, and as sure to provoke disturbance. But to have voted with the majority would have been to increase the impression that the English Parliament was determined to subdue the Boers. That most unwise motion, the result of which was telegraphed to South Africa, but necessarily without explanations, probably cost a thousand lives and a million sterling. It ought to be possible to prevent such a motion from being made, and it is more than likely that if the amount of forty members had been requisite before such a motion could appear on the order-book, it never would have been made. Even if such an endorsement had been given, the Executive ought to have the power which it is acknowledged that it should have in declining to answer questions, and should be able to declare, subject to the approval of the House, that the motion is inopportune or of mischievous tendency.

Any member may block a Bill—i.e., he may put a notice on the order-book to move its rejection at any part of its career. Now, an individual member may do this because he honestly believes that the Bill is mischievous. Such a person would have no difficulty, if he could make a case out, in persuading forty members to join him in a block. It would have been easy to have obtained such a number from both sides of the house, in relation to one Bill which was brought in last year by the Board of Trade, most unwisely, as a private Bill. But the belief that a Bill is of mischievous or unjust incidence is the only justification for a block. Still a Bill may be blocked by private spite, by personal motives, by absurd vanity, and for sinister ends. It is easy to imagine that a man of no character or capacity may have got into the House by some accident, perhaps by some discreditable intrigue which everyone knows, and no one cares to expose. It is possible for such a person, if he exist, to lend himself out for any purpose. He has no responsibility, for he is convinced that he will

* I am referring to the debate of January 22, 1881, the mover and seconder of which wished to withdraw what they should never have brought forward, and actually did leave the House in order to avoid taking part in the division. But some inconsiderate persons insisted on the division, in which it was impossible for many persons to vote either way, even though the previous question was moved to meet the motion.

not be in the House in two Parliaments. He has had and can get no political character; but he can make himself a nuisance of the first order. He can compel a consideration to which he has no claim. The Party with whom he votes may find his advocacy discreditable, and association with him inconvenient. But he can to some extent pleasure them by annoying and thwarting the Administration. He will certainly, if he has the slightest shrewdness, get clients among discreditable interests, and he can be obstructive without stating his reasons. It is of the highest importance to the conduct of business in Parliament that such an individual should be extinguished. He would be extinguished if he were compelled to find associates. And if it be said that such an expedient would coerce independence or individuality, it may be assumed that some kinds of independence are mere insolence, or worse, and that some individualities ought not to survive. He would be extinguished, if it were necessary for him to find a quorum of associates. He would never get a quorum of accomplices.

Amendments in Committee can, under present usage, be moved without notice. It is difficult to see how this power can be taken away as long as the House is invited to discuss the details of an elaborate and intricate measure without guidance. To say that no persons but draughtsmen and lawyers, but the authors of measures and those who are in their confidence, understand the details of Bills, is one of those generalities by which people who do not know House of Commons business disparage its procedure. This kind of language has been used about the Land Act of the last Session, and the public is informed that all but a very few members of the House voted the provisions of that famous Act ignorantly and blindly, and withstood them in the same state. But, as a matter of fact, the leading provisions of the Land Act of 1881 have been detailed and discussed for the last fifty years. There is not a man who has busied himself with the Irish Land Question at all, who has not learned the principal points at issue, and has not avowed his opinion in addresses and pamphlets. It is possible that the machinery by which the measure was to be carried out was not as exactly foreseen. But those who are convinced that the relations of Irish landlords and tenants must be revised by some authority, were aware that the Act which, sooner or later, should emancipate the Irish tenant from legal tyranny, must be provided with adequate machinery, and were not very careful as to the details of the machinery, since these could be readily amended as soon as the principle was finally asserted.

The critics of the House of Commons are, and should be, many. Its procedure is open to the gravest criticism. Its debates appear in the worst light to the public at large, who are justly irritated at delays, the cause of which is only too patent. The battle is witnessed from the galleries. It is to some extent reproduced in the press, though the daily press is too generous to talkers. If it would only print verbatim what some people say, it is possible that constituencies

would hear something about the merits of the people they send, and the public inconvenience which they cause by their choice. I have heard one member, conspicuous for frequent and irrelevant speech, repeat the same sentence, with the simple object of wasting time, for nearly twenty minutes.

But the general public cannot know how much business is really transacted in the division lobbies. More would be done if the gentlemen on the Treasury Bench were a little less magnificent. As it is, numberless difficulties are smoothed over, and many explanations are made on topics debated, by those who rarely speak, and do better by not speaking. Genuine amendments are constantly passed in either lobby, ambiguities are explained, irritation or alarms quieted. It is quite certain that much of the best business in the House is done in places from which no report comes, and from men of whom the world hears little or nothing, during the time when some noisy speaker is gesticulating to the reporters and the galleries. The public requires to know what is done in that part of the House to which it is admitted. It does not know how much more is done in the division lobbies. Few men are convinced by speeches, many are in conversation.

Several causes tend to volubility of speech. One is vanity, the earliest temptation which attacks fluent audacity. Another is the impression, unhappily too much encouraged by facts, that if one is not too much of a bore—and it seems to need some tact for a man to see that he is a bore in the House—frequent speech is a road to office under all circumstances, and is a broad road to the speaker in Opposition. Another is the belief that one's constituency is gratified by seeing its member constantly in the papers. This is, perhaps, a mistake, for constituencies are much more apt to count the divisions in which their members are found, and this without much regard to the quality of the division, plainly because they prefer allegiance and attention to volubility. Sometimes gentlemen who are really well informed on some things wish to get a reputation for being well informed on all things, and task the patience of the House excessively. There are others who wish to waste time by speech, in order to prevent the Government from carrying necessary measures, that they may be enabled to announce to their supporters that the Session has been very barren, and that the Government announced what they did not intend to perform. One of the easiest processes by which this waste of time can be effected, is by indulging in unlimited predictions. I once ventured on saying in the House, that if Mr. Speaker would rule that every member who prophesied was out of order, the debates would be shortened constantly by one-half, frequently by nine-tenths. They who have listened will hardly say that this is an exaggeration.

There are, besides, a certain number of persons who wish to bring the British Parliament into contempt, to stultify its whole proceedings, perhaps to force a disruption of the Parliament itself—certainly, in some

in a manner which is hitherto undefined, to materially alter the Union of 1800. Most persons, I believe, are coming to the conclusion that the House of Commons undertakes business which had better be left to local authorities; and some who have thought the matter over carefully, are of opinion that the interests of the public have been seriously compromised by the present method of Private Bill legislation. Hence it would be well if institutions were framed by which some form of federal legislation of a limited kind could be left to locally elected bodies. It is true that under the present system such a reform would not materially economize the time which is at the disposal of the House. It is very rarely the case that the private business demands more than the half-hour allotted to it, though it certainly absorbs not a little time in the morning when Committees are sitting. But it is clear that the relief of business is not that which certain kinds of obstructiveness wish to affect. It will be found that those Englishmen who are most vexatious in the House, are generally such persons as sit for small boroughs, in which influence is predominant and public opinion is weak. One of those gentlemen, whose constituency is rather larger than that of some others, has had a significant reception from his supporters lately, and is perhaps instructed that he is making a mistake. At the present time, it is not very wise to be recognised as a Parliamentary nuisance by any body of English electors who are numerous and tolerably well informed.

But the case is different with some of those who come from Ireland. It is quite clear that a number of Irish members are convinced that to insult the Parliament, and to malign its principal statesmen, is a highly popular procedure. They believe, and they avow their belief, that they can win and keep their seats by such a course of action. That they should succeed in their attempt should be impossible. That they are able to do as much as they do is humiliating. That they should be restrained is no outrage on freedom of debate, but the application of necessary remedies to an offence which takes freedom away from the majority of the other members.

The Speaker is, and always has been, the protector of the rights of minorities, and even though that be a minority of one. The house demands this of him, and recognizes his authority in this direction. No one can recall a case in which a member, however unpopular he might personally be, was not permitted free speech, whenever he had something to say which should in fairness be heard. The House undoubtedly corrects prolixity by inattention, by conversation, and even by outcries. It is justified, when an attempt is made to arrest the progress of business by obstructive talk, to insist on the member resuming his seat. Such a method should certainly be adopted on Wednesdays when the six o'clock bell adjourns the House. To talk a Bill out of the forms of the House, and the abuse should be rectified. To practice this obvious convenience was to be used at

cretion, subject to a vote of the House, and, I contend, without debate. It is always within the Speaker's power to rebuke rambling talk, reiterations, and deliberate attempts to waste time. That he would exercise his inherent powers if the right of moving the adjournment, and reporting progress at the discretion of an individual, were abrogated, cannot, I think, be doubted. The patience of the House is constantly forced by the threat that if the bore is not heard, he will move the adjournment.

The principal remedy which has been suggested for inordinate garrulity, obtrusive vanity, and deliberate obstruction is the declaration on the part of the House, by motion without discussion, that the debate be now closed. It seems as reasonable that any member should move that the debate cease and a division be taken, as it is to allow a member to move the adjournment or that the Chairman report progress; and I imagine that when the nuisance of empty prolixity first became a serious grievance, such a course would have been adopted, had it not been seen that, according to the traditions of the House, the motion for closing the debate would have led to fresh debate, and have loosened again the tiresome tongues of those who, having already spoken, could thus get a fresh start. As is well known, the Speaker, on his own authority, declared the debate closed on the 2nd of February. This has been treated as a *coup d'état*; but I hold, and have always held, that the action of the Speaker was justified by the rule of the 10th of May, 1610, that Mr. Speaker can stay "impertinent speeches." That the ruling of the Speaker was directed against a small knot of persons was not disputed at the time, and was immediately justified by the action of those whose conduct was corrected. In all Parliamentary history there has never, probably, been a more ludicrous exhibition than the action of Mr. Justin M'Carthy when he marched out of the House with his companions, with his hand in the air, and shouting "Privilege!" Is Parliamentary privilege, then, the right of some twenty or thirty people to make all business impossible? Is it the privilege of persons to continue together in order that a small minority may not only dictate to, but control, browbeat, and even coerce an overwhelming majority? If it is, the party of Charles the First, when he sought to seize the five members, should have walked out of the House shouting "Privilege!"

It may be necessary to demand of the House whether a debate should not be closed. It is at least reasonable to say that this is only the formal acceptance of that which a generation ago was a regular understanding with the Whips. Such an understanding is impracticable now, for the thirty or forty members who follow Mr. Parnell affect to be a party by themselves, and to insist, as an initiative to their position, to have one of their members named on all Committees, though they regularly shirk the duty which they demand. But infinitely more important than the closing of the debate is the correction of individual impertinence, and this by a process more effective than the weak and halting rule of the 28th of

Feb. 1880, the most rational part of which is the concluding clause: "Provided always, that nothing in this Resolution shall be taken to deprive the House of the power of proceeding against any member according to ancient usages." These ancient usages always involved the suspension of the member from speaking at least, and probably from voting; and, more important still, it will be found that when a member after such discipline was readmitted, he was required to make an apology to the House for his misconduct. But there is reason to fear that if the power of moving the closing of the debate be acceded to without other rules, giving authority to the Speaker or the House over the conduct of individual members, the right of speech during such debate as does occur will be left only to the most voluble and ungovernable persons. For it cannot be too frequently insisted on, that the vast majority of the House wishes to transact business, and that those who wish to hinder it are a small, and should be an impotent minority. It is also true, that most well-informed persons can generally state what they have to say in ten minutes.

Again, it is expedient that the number of stages through which a Bill passes should be lessened. In early days, it might have been necessary that the process should be prolonged, for the Bill was not printed till it became law, and therefore it was proper to adopt every expedient in order that its contents should come to the knowledge of members. It is known that the Peace Preservation Act of last Session was opposed, and, what was worse, debated, if the talk could be called debate, at every stage. It would be very difficult to limit the discussion at the several stages of such a Bill, though it may be plain that the motion for leave is intended to prevent the proposal of any entirely irregular act. The first reading simply admits that there is reason in the attention of the House being called to that which the Bill proposes to enact; the second, that it gives a general assent to the principles and details of the measure; and that the reference to a Committee of the whole House is intended to allow a careful examination into the sufficiency of its details. The report, the third reading, and the motion that the Bill do now pass, are obviously capable of abbreviation, though the report does give opportunity for the revision of what may have been done hastily, and at least for the correction of obvious errors.

It has been often suggested that Bills which have passed through certain stages in one Session should be taken up at the same point in any Session of the same Parliament. The general defence for the present practice is that public opinion may in the interval have undergone a change. This is, however, a very inadequate explanation. In our days, fortunately or unfortunately, public opinion out of doors generally precedes legislation, and often for a very long time. The reason why the present custom prevails is probably the fact that in early times parliaments rarely lasted beyond a single session, or in the rare cases in which they were prolonged into two years, the intervals of the sitting were

adjournments and not prorogations. Apart from the waste of time, the principal inconvenience of the present practice appears to me to be that the promoters of the Bill, be it the act of the Government or of private members, are led, in order to save their measure, into making hasty and unsatisfactory compromises, which cause great inconvenience while they last, and constantly require supplementary legislation for their correction. Were, however, the Bill taken up in the following session at the point at which it was dropped in the preceding, the imperfect measure might have the benefit of criticism in detail during the recess, and be in the hands, so to speak, of a committee of the public, before its final acceptance or rejection.

But the most important suggestion which has been made with the view of lessening the stress of business, is the proposal that Bills after a second reading should be referred to "Grand Committees," who should have authority to report on them to the House. It is, I presume, intended that such a report should, in great measure, if not entirely, supersede those Committees of the whole House before whom the Bill after the second reading passes in review, clause by clause. If, indeed, the powers now exercised by a Committee of the whole House are to remain in their integrity, one does not at first sight see what could be gained by this expedient.

Such Committees as modern reformers of Parliamentary procedure recommend under the ancient name of "Grand Committees," would be very different from that whose title they are to take. According to Sir Erskine May, they did not differ from Committees of the whole House, and had long become obsolete when, in 1832, the formal appointment of such Committees was discontinued.

The modern idea of a Grand Committee is, that at the beginning of each session a certain number of members should be appointed on several groups of public measures, as trade, agriculture, education, public health, currency, revenue and expenditure, and the like. The number of such a Committee has been variously suggested. Perhaps they should be large, and, with the exception of the Administration, include the whole House. Each Committee should have a chairman elected by the members, and the chairman should have, unlike the present practice, his own vote, and in case of equality, a casting vote, in the exercise of which he should follow the practice which is now regular in the case of the Speaker's vote and that of the Chairman of Committees. I conclude that they who propose the creation of such Committees would make attendance obligatory, as it is in Committees on Private Bills.

The use which such Committees would be to the House would depend on the character of the reference. Let us assume that such a Bill as the Irish Land Act passed the second reading, the debate on this stage having necessarily not only exhausted opinion on the principle of the measure, but on the most important and essential details. It is now referred to a Select Committee, who must be instructed to report on it

to the House within a definite time, or must ask the House leave, if need be, for a further prolongation of the time allotted them. The duty of such a Committee will be to bring the bill into accordance with the instructions of the second reading, and the formal character of the reference under which they act, and from this reference they must not depart, except to state what, if any, are the deficiencies of the Bill in carrying out the provisions of the Act, and what may be contradictions or redundancies in its language.

Such a Committee should invite, under the same terms of reference, suggestions from such members of the House as are not serving on it. But it should sit, while engaged in its labours, under the same rules as those which at present guide Select Committees. Strangers should not be allowed to be present, and members, unless they are for reasons approved by the Committee invited to attend, should be required to withdraw. The Committee, in case they need it, should be entitled to have the services of a draughtsman, who should prepare or modify clauses, according to the necessities of the case, under the terms of the reference. They should, when they have duly weighed the clauses, print such amendments as they make in parallel columns to the clauses of the original draught, and then report them to the house.

I quite believe that such Committees, chosen fairly, with limits put on their action, and with the definite obligation that they should bring the details of the measure into accord with the principle of the Bill and its leading provisions, would materially expedite business. It is assumed that the Committee is impartial, and loyal to its instructions. It is therefore instantly raised out of the atmosphere of party ties or personal prejudice. The most ardent advocate of what is called freedom of contract in the letting and occupancy of land would be constrained to give his aid to that which Parliament has affirmed, in order that the act may be workable and self-contained. The most enthusiastic supporter of Griffith's valuation, or a prairie rent or no rent, would be obliged to make his notions square with the business which has to be done, and from which, by the terms of the reference, he could not depart. A great majority of the members on both sides of the House would support the Committee, as they now do in the report of Private Bills, for the House is generally disinclined to reject a Bill which has been recommended upstairs.

If the reform in procedure superseded the work of the Committee of the whole House, the debate on the second reading would be probably prolonged by reference to detail, and attempts would be made to introduce amendments on the report, and to re-commit the Bill, in order that such amendments may be inserted. It is probable that in all cases much time would in the aggregate be saved. But unless stringent measures are taken against irrelevant, tautological, and obstructive speech, the remedy for the existing inconveniences will not have been found. Do what we will, the mischief comes from individuals, and its

motive is either a morbid vanity or a determination to embarrass the course of business for party purposes, or the personal ends of a particular organization. Now, if a Government is only moderately strong, it will carry what is necessary for its own existence or credit through any opposition. What it will sacrifice, indeed is constrained to sacrifice, are those public measures which may be of supreme importance to the community, but are only slightly connected with party, or may be postponed without seriously damaging party interests. Such, for instance, is the new Bankruptcy Bill, such should be the Corrupt Practices Bill, such was, in the last Session, the Alkali Works Regulation Bill, which was practically carried through all its stages at the small hours of the morning, and by the efforts of those who support the Government, especially on the advanced Liberal side. The Conservatives, who declared through Sir R. Cross, that the passage of the Bill was essential to English agriculture, were generally absent from the House when the Bill was discussed.

The lateness of the hour at which the House begins its business is another cause of delay, and is an excuse for loquacity. The merchant has been at his counting-house in the morning, the barrister has been in court, and divers other members have had their engagements and have satisfied them. Unlike any other deliberative assembly, the House of Commons begins its work when every other kind of work is over. It is not wonderful that business done when the hours of ordinary business are past should be unbusinesslike. But as long as the community expects gratuitous service from its representatives, and puts heavy charges on the process by which the function is obtained, it has to put up with the leavings of the member's time. In all other Parliaments members are paid only enough to discourage them from undertaking politics as a profession, but enough to enable the country which they represent to claim the best of their time and their energies. In every Parliament but our own the meetings of the House are held in the morning.

I believe, then, from such experience as I have had, that the prospect of reforming the procedure of the House lies more in a firm, just, and prudent restraint of individuals, than in a code of rules, and that several inconveniences under the best arrangements will continue, as long as the nation has only the right to the residuum of a member's leisure.

JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS.

Jan. 9, 1882.

PROF. GOLDWIN SMITH AS A CRITIC.

IN the preface to the *Data of Ethics*, there occurs the following sentence:—

“With a view to clearness, I have treated separately some correlative aspects of conduct, drawing conclusions either of which becomes untrue if divorced from the other; and have thus given abundant opportunity for misrepresentation.”

When I wrote this sentence, I little dreamed that Prof. Goldwin Smith would be the man to verify my expectation more fully than I expected it to be verified by the bitterest bigot among those classed as orthodox.

I do not propose here to enter upon a controversy. I propose simply to warn readers that, before accepting Prof. Goldwin Smith's versions of my views, it will be well to take the precaution of referring to the views as expressed by myself, to see whether the two correspond. And by way of showing that this warning is called for, I will give them the opportunity of comparing representation with reality in a single instance.

In his article in the last number of this Review, and on page 340, he characterizes the doctrine I have set forth in these words:—

“An authoritative conscience, duty, virtue, obligation, principle, and rectitude of motive, no more enter into his definitions, or form parts of his system, than does the religious sanction.”

Before going further, let the reader dwell a moment on this statement and consider the full implication of its words. Let him ask himself what kind of conclusions he would look for in a system of ethics which does not recognize “an authoritative conscience,” what ideas of right and wrong are likely to be found in a treatise on conduct which excludes “duty” and “virtue;” what he thinks must be the

general traits of a moral doctrine in which "principle" has no place. Then, when he has fully impressed himself with the meaning of Prof. Smith's words, and imagined the kind of teaching indicated by them, let him observe the teaching he actually finds. The following passage from chap. ix. of the *Data of Ethics*, will prepare the way for more specific passages:—

"It is quite consistent to assert that happiness is the ultimate aim of action, and at the same time to deny that it can be reached by making it the immediate aim. I go with Mr. Sidgwick as far as the conclusion that 'we must at least admit the desirability of confirming or correcting the results of such comparisons [of pleasures and pains] by any other method upon which we may find reason to rely:' and I then go further, and say that throughout a large part of conduct guidance by such comparisons is to be entirely set aside and replaced by other guidance" (pp. 155-6).

Even without going further, it will, I think, be manifest enough that instead of putting pleasures and pains in the foreground, as alone to be considered in determining right and wrong (which Professor Goldwin Smith's account of my views will lead every reader to suppose I do), I have here distinctly asserted the need for another method of determining right and wrong. And if comparisons of pleasures and pains, or estimations of happiness, are to be "entirely set aside" in the guidance of "a large part of conduct," it will puzzle any reader to conceive what such guidance can be if there are excluded from it all ideas of principle, rectitude, duty, obligation. But now, remarking this much, I go on to point out that a large part of the chapter is devoted to the refutation of Bentham's doctrine that happiness is to be the immediate object of pursuit. I have insisted on the authoritative character of certain "regulative principles for the conduct of associated human beings" (p. 167) which are already recognized and "established;" and have urged that conformity to these must be the direct aim, and not happiness. Concerning certain moral ideas and sentiments I have said:—

"Are they supernaturally-caused modes of thinking and feeling, tending to make men fulfil the conditions to happiness? If so, their authority is peremptory. Are they modes of thinking and feeling naturally caused in men by experience of these conditions? If so, their authority is no less peremptory" (p. 168).

And then, having in various ways explained and enforced the need for these "regulative principles," and the peremptory authority of these "modes of thinking and feeling" known as conscience, I have closed the chapter by saying that "conflicting ethical theories" "severally embody portions of the truth; and simply require combining in proper order to embody the whole truth" (p. 171).

"The theological theory contains a part. If for the divine will, supposed to be supernaturally revealed, we substitute the naturally-revealed end towards which the Power manifested throughout Evolution works; then, since Evolution has been, and is still, working towards the highest life, it follows that conforming

to those principles by which the highest life is achieved, is furthering that end. The doctrine that perfection or excellence of nature should be the object of pursuit, is in one sense true; for it tacitly recognizes that ideal form of being which the highest life implies, and to which Evolution tends. There is a truth, also, in the doctrine that virtue must be the aim; for this is another form of the doctrine that the aim must be to fulfil the conditions to achievement of the highest life. That the intuitions of a moral faculty should guide our conduct, is a proposition in which a truth is contained: for these intuitions are the slowly organized results of experiences received by the race while living in presence of those conditions. And that happiness as the supreme end is beyond question true; for this is the concomitant of that highest life which every theory of moral guidance has distinctly or vaguely in view.

"So understanding their relative positions, those ethical systems which make virtue, right, obligation, the cardinal aims, are seen to be complementary to those ethical systems which make welfare, pleasure, happiness, the cardinal aims" (pp. 171-2).

Nor is this all. Having asserted that the moral sentiments "are indispensable as incentives and deterrents," and that "the intuitions corresponding to these sentiments" have "a general authority to be reverently recognized," I have ended by saying:—

"Hence, recognizing in due degrees all the various ethical theories, conduct in its highest form will take as guides, innate perceptions of right, duly enlightened and made precise by an analytic intelligence; while conscious that these guides are proximately supreme solely because they lead to the ultimately supreme end, happiness special and general" (pp. 172-3).

Experience does not lead me to suppose that Professor Goldwin Smith will admit his description of my views to be unjustified. Contrariwise, many instances have proved to me that when the statements first made are not distinguished by great scrupulousness, no great scrupulousness is shown in the defence of them. The reader will be able, however, to decide beforehand whether any reply which may be made, can be adequate. He has simply to ask himself whether, having read the sentence I have quoted from Professor Goldwin Smith, he could have expected to find in the *Data of Ethics* the passages I have quoted from it. If he says "No," as he must do, then whatever explanation or defence may be offered, will leave outstanding the charge of grave misrepresentation.

Perhaps it will be assumed that this is simply a mistake, an inadvertence, an oversight on the part of Professor Goldwin Smith—an exceptional error he has fallen into. Well, even were this true, it could hardly be held to excuse him; considering that his statement involves a condemnatory characterization of the work as a whole. But it is not true. So far from being exceptional, the instance I have given is typical of his entire criticism. I have noted eight other statements of his concerning views of mine, which are quite at variance with the facts—most of them as widely at variance as the one I have instanced. I do not wish to occupy either my own time or the pages of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* in setting forth these at length; but I am quite prepared to do it if need be.

HERBERT SPENCER.

THE CHANNEL TUNNEL.

THE Channel Tunnel may be said to be at once the question of the hour and of the century. That which appeared, but a few short years ago, as the idle dream of a visionary enthusiast, has been brought within the range of practical operation, and the question which men are asking each other to-day is no longer, "Can the Tunnel be made?" but "Ought the Tunnel to be made? and, if not, why not?"

It is with a view to the satisfactory answer of this question that I take up my pen; and, although I may appear presumptuous in the eyes of those who have given a contrary opinion, I say at once that I cannot conceive that the people of Great Britain will give any other than an affirmative reply as their ultimate solution of the problem. Two causes, indeed, may intervene to delay that reply, and these must be fairly stated in order to be successfully encountered. The first cause is, the weight which may be attached by Parliament and the public to the political and military objections which have somewhat suddenly sprung up against the scheme. The second cause is involved in the further question—"Who is to make the Tunnel?" For it is idle to put out of sight the fact that there are rival claimants for the honour of conducting this great enterprise to a practical result; and whilst this division among the supporters of a Channel Tunnel scheme naturally strengthens its opponents, it is also so manifestly desirable that, if such a work is to be carried out, the best scheme (if only one) should be adopted, and the most competent men should conduct it, that those in whose hands rests the decision may deem it wise to delay the execution of the project until these points have been determined. If, then, I can succeed in dealing with these two possible, if not probable, causes of delay in such a manner as either to remove them or to

diminish their importance in the eyes of my countrymen, I shall not regret the step which I now take in placing my views before the public. In so doing I hope it will be understood that I desire to treat with great deference and respect those high authorities from whom I am compelled to differ, and I shall endeavour to express that difference in courteous, if decided, terms. I assume that we all have for our common objects the good of our own country and the progressive improvement of mankind, and I shall readily abandon or modify my opinions if it can be shown that they are not those which would best advance both one and the other.

I have before me an article which appeared in a recent number of the *Nineteenth Century*, written by Admiral Lord Dunsany, and giving, as he tells us, "the opinions of a military authority occupying the highest position in the estimation and favour of the country"—a description which is understood to refer to Sir Garnet Wolseley. These high authorities, naval and military, are of opinion that the construction of the Channel Tunnel would expose Great Britain to the danger of a French invasion, and their opinions have been echoed by others. Indeed, the Admiral and the General have not been the first in an appeal to the fears of their fellow-countrymen. Upon the 18th of June last, the *Times* had an article to which, upon the 15th of the present month (February), it complacently appeals as having been the "origin of the controversy." In that article the *Times* pointed out that the Channel Tunnel might prove "a weak spot in our defensive armour," and it now claims that public opinion has to a great extent followed the track which was thus indicated, and that, if the construction of the Tunnel be permitted, "a fort, impregnable as far as military science can make it so, would be the least that would satisfy reasonable persons." Lord Dunsany and his "military authority" have followed closely in the track of the *Times*, and the article to which I now refer may be considered a fair and candid statement of the "hobgoblin" argument.

Lord Dunsany begins with an anticipatory disclaimer of inconsistency, in the fact that he had, in a previous article, denied that the "silver streak" was an adequate protection to Great Britain, even under the order of things which existed before this terrible Tunnel was in contemplation. The disclaimer was altogether unnecessary. The man who thinks that an armed force, sufficient to march upon London, could be landed upon our southern coast *without* a tunnel, cannot be deemed inconsistent for his belief that the construction of such a work would add to the danger which he already dreads. If, as the old song says, "Julius Caesar, the Roman, who yielded to no man, came by water"—it was because "he couldn't come by land;" and if facilities are afforded for the latter performance, those who fear a repetition of the former are by no means inconsistent in feeling their apprehensions exactly doubled. But we must push Lord Dunsany's argument to its

logical conclusion, which is neither more nor less than this, that Great Britain, in order to be safe, ought to be guarded by a complete "cordon" of vessels of war, that communication between the Continent and our "tight little island" should be systematically discouraged, or at least restricted within narrow limits, and that the feelings which, for our national safety, we ought to encourage are those of universal distrust of men of all other nations, and, I suppose, Frenchmen in particular.

It cannot be too strongly stated that the theory of the promoters of the Channel Tunnel is precisely the reverse of this. Besides and beyond the great commercial advantages which will confessedly be derived from bringing Great Britain into closer contact with Continental Europe, they believe that the chances of invasion or war will be removed to an infinite distance, and immeasurably diminished by the nearer association of the people on either side the water, by the more frequent intercourse of those whose common interests will continually become larger and more absorbing, and by the softening of prejudices and removal of mutual misconceptions which such intercourse cannot fail to accomplish. Upon this point, indeed, singularly apposite are the words of Mr. Cobden, spoken at the *soirée* of the Manchester Athenæum, in November, 1847, at a time when the intrigues of Louis Philippe, with respect to the marriage of the Queen of Spain and her sister, had greatly strained the relations between this country and France, and when, indeed, the two countries had been within what may be termed, in the language of the present Prime Minister, "a measurable distance" of a rupture:—

"Now, gentlemen, you are coming to the time when it will not be merely the selected few who travel to the Continent. I expect to see the time when the operatives from this part of the world will go in their cheap trains to Paris. Within twelve months from this time the railway communication from Boulogne to Paris will be completed, and you may go regularly from the capital of England to the capital of France in ten hours. There will be opened up by that means an intercourse between the two peoples, which I *very much desire to see*. *I want to see the different peoples of the world married*, instead of these marriages of princes that create such noise and tumult in Europe."

Could Mr. Cobden have lived to this day, he would have seen, indeed, in the instances afforded by our own royal family, that the "marriages of princes" may be so arranged as to command the affectionate acquiescence of their own countrymen and the approval of Europe; but I do not think it can be doubted that his wish for the "marriage" of "the different peoples of the world" would have remained the same, and that he would have hailed the probability of the completion of the Channel Tunnel as that which held out to him the approaching realization of a desire which I cannot hesitate to regard as one well becoming a Christian, a patriot, and a lover of his fellow-men.

But whatever may be the radical difference between the views of the

Channel Tunnel promoters and those which seem to be the logical outcome of Lord Dunsany's argument, it is necessary to deal in closer detail with the propositions advanced in his article.

Let us suppose it to be true, as his lordship tells us, that we are only possessed of a navy "on an average equal to that of France, but very inferior to that of France combined with any other maritime power." How does such an argument tell against the construction of the Tunnel? If it means anything at all, it means that circumstances may some day arise in which we shall be overpowered at sea and lose the command of the Channel. Well, but supposing such a state of things to exist, and not to have been preceded by such events as would have given our Government ample time and opportunity to have destroyed the Tunnel, if they thought fit, would it make much difference to us whether the Tunnel existed or not? If an enemy has command of the Channel, and can land a force at any point he pleases, the Tunnel, suppose it to be undestroyed, can only help him after he has first landed and secured its mouth and approaches on our (the English) side. But as long as we have got Dover Castle and fortifications frowning from the heights against any hostile approach, and Shorncliffe Camp at no great distance—what more unlikely spot in England for an enemy to land or to desire to land? Unless and until our coast defences in this locality be dismantled and denuded of men, I can conceive no place at which an enemy would find it less desirable or more inconvenient to land than at any place contiguous to the proposed entrance of the Channel Tunnel. If, on the other hand, we are to suppose our coasts defenceless, and our soldiers carefully removed from the positions in and from which they could best repel an invasion, it would matter but little whether the invaders came over or under the water, the certainty of their successful landing being equally assured. In fact, the whole of the article with which I am dealing depends entirely upon the existence of a state of things which is in the highest degree unlikely to exist until the nature, habits, and feelings of mankind in general, and of Englishmen in particular, shall have undergone a vast and extraordinary change. The arguments of Lord Dunsany and his co-Cassandra in alarmist prophecy pre-suppose (1) that an entire and complete surprise can be accomplished; (2) that both ends of the Tunnel are to be in the possession of an enemy; (3) that our military strength at and near Dover is to be *nil*, and our fortifications unmanned and useless; (4) that all telegraphic communication with London is to be suddenly stopped, without any suspicion having been given of what has happened; (5) that such ignorance and blindness is to prevail among our Government and people as to the possibility of an invasion, that we are all to go to sleep during the time that would be necessary for its inception, progress, and completion. There is, moreover, another thing to be taken into consideration and pre-supposed, namely, that the general of the invading army had matured his plans of retreat as well as

of advance. It is a noteworthy saying, attributed to a great man, that he had five different plans for the invasion of England, but had never yet been able to find one for getting back again. In all discussions of this kind, it is very desirable to regard the matter from the supposed enemy's point of view as well as from our own. It may seem presumptuous in a civilian to venture an opinion upon military questions, especially in apparent opposition to "high authority;" yet I cannot avoid the expression of a strong belief that a general in command of a hostile force upon the other side of the water would think once and again before he marched his troops into the Tunnel. Indeed, it would be madness for him to do so, unless he had the assurance that the English end was as completely in his power as that from which he started. Therefore he must have possession of the Dover forts and fortifications *before* he begins his underground march. But, in order that this may be the case, we must fall to pre-supposing again. Either there must have been gross and unparalleled treachery among our soldiers, and that treachery must have been completely successful, and have been accomplished with such celerity, as to prevent any such warning as might have summoned other English forces to the scene of action, or there must have been a previous landing and victory over our soldiers, which had given to the enemy the coveted and necessary possession of the strong places of the coast. But if, on the one hand, we are to pre-suppose such wide-spread treachery, attended by such tremendous results, there is no limit to which our suppositions may not carry us. We may suppose that all our sailors turn traitors and carry their vessels over to the enemy, or that the soldiers at Shorncliffe Camp mutiny and march upon Dover. The only reply to such suppositions is, that they are in the last degree improbable, and that arguments founded upon them fail to convince the understanding of ordinary men. If, on the other hand, we are to pre-suppose the conquest of our fortifications in fair fight, this theory also pre-supposes a previous landing, to which we are exactly as much and no more exposed to-day as we should be if the Channel Tunnel were now completed. I assert again that no general would suffer his troops to enter the Tunnel until he knew that the outlet was not only in his hands, but tolerably certain to remain so, and that this state of things could not exist except by and through a course of events so unlikely to happen as to be almost impossible, and which are exactly as likely and possible without, as with, the Tunnel. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that one of the arguments with which Lord Dunsany supports his contention is of a two-edged nature. He speaks of the passage through the Tunnel as "a route which has this peculiarity, that it can *only* be assailed at *either* end. Let a small force occupy the outlets, and they need not trouble themselves about the line of communication." The other edge of the argument is, of course, this—that troops, having once entered the Tunnel, would be utterly powerless

to defend themselves during the march from the hostile action of an enemy in possession of the other end; and, therefore, that unless both ends were held, not "by a small force," but by a force numerous and strong enough to resist all attempts to dislodge it, the passage would be one of such danger that no prudent commander would attempt it. Indeed, the more closely the subject is considered, the more clearly will it appear that precisely the same dangers of invasion as will exist after the construction of the Channel Tunnel exist at this moment, and have existed many years, and the reasons why those dangers have never overtaken us in a practical form are reasons which will continue to operate as long as England is England. I cannot help quoting here the words of another gallant Admiral, whose authority, if I should give his name, would, perhaps, be admitted by Lord Dunsany as equal at least to his own. He said: "The navy of England has guarded the whole extent of her shores for some few hundreds of years past, and it is odd if we cannot trust the army of England to guard the mouth of one little hole." Once more I say that I treat Lord Dunsany's "highest military authority" with the greatest respect, but I should like to ask him whether, if he anticipated an invasion, he, as a general, would desire anything better than that the hostile troops should advance to our shores through a Channel Tunnel, and land by means of a narrow outlet? In past times there have been plenty of panics, and we have been generally told that one of our greatest dangers was the uncertainty as to the point at which an invasion might take place. Now, however, the alarm takes an entirely new form, and we are told that we are tempting danger by making it certain that the invasion will take place in a particular manner and at a particular place, the entire control and command of which is in our own power! The truth is, that if an enemy desires to invade England, he must first obtain the command of the Channel, and having obtained that, it will matter to him but little whether there is a Channel Tunnel or not. I question very much whether our large unprotected harbours are not a much greater temptation to an invader than the Tunnel will ever be; and I do not doubt that we should have been invaded long ago if our enemies had only had the question of landing to consider. That which has hitherto deterred them from the attempt will probably continue to do so, and I frankly confess that, in my opinion, the increased facilities which the Channel Tunnel will give to the great interchange of nations, the better knowledge of each other which will be acquired by the masses of the people on either side the water, the development and extension of international commerce, and the consequent creation of new, and ramification of already existing interests, will add in no immaterial degree to the deterrent causes.

Those who take a contrary view must ignore, moreover, two most important considerations: first, the power which may and ought to be

secured by the Government of Great Britain of exercising such a control over the Tunnel as to practically exclude danger; and, secondly, the additional safety which may be obtained by such arrangements between the Governments of France and England as may render it impossible that the new route shall ever be used for the purposes of invasion. Under the first head I may remark, first, that our Government could, and probably would, insist upon taking power to close the Tunnel whenever it appeared to them that the aspect of affairs required that such a course should be adopted; and, secondly, that, if they thought it necessary, it is indubitably the case that plans can be furnished by which the passage could be stopped and the Tunnel either rendered fatal to human life within it, or destroyed in half a dozen ways, so effectually and so suddenly that unless the invaders were absolutely certain that they knew and could prevent all such plans, their risk would be so enormous as to render it most improbable that it would ever be encountered. This, however, is not a point upon which I desire to dwell, because I firmly believe that such a terrible thing as the sudden destruction of a great international work, and the loss of human life which would accompany it, if accomplished during the attempted passage of men, are contingencies of which the present state of the world's civilization would render the occurrence improbable, and which could only occur under a condition of things which is little likely to arrive.

The second consideration is one to which I would rather turn, as one which, duly weighed, may, or at least ought to, soothe and tranquillize the soul of the alarmist. Lord Dunsany tells us, and tells us truly, that the Channel Tunnel "would be on the highway of Continental and Transatlantic traffic," and from this fact he argues that "we could not be the sole rulers of its destinies." Are there not other and more reassuring inferences to be drawn from this doubtless accurate description of the character which the Tunnel would assume? That which is the highway of the world ~~rears~~ indeed to be the sole concern of any individual nation, and becomes the care of all those for and in whose interests it exists. But if any value is to be attached to this circumstance, I claim it on my side of the argument; that which it is the common interest of the nations of the world to maintain, cannot be allowed to be made the means of gratifying the ambition or love of conquest which may at any time be cherished by the individual ruler of a particular country. As the threat or the probability of an invasion of England would undoubtedly justify the British Government in the destruction of the Tunnel, so it becomes at once the interest of all nations that such a threat should be prevented, and such a probability put out of question. The "nationalization," then, of the Tunnel, which Lord Dunsany seems to apprehend, could and would only take place in one sense and with one object, namely, by a joint guarantee of the Great Powers that the highway of the world should be kept open, one

of the main conditions laid down being that it should never be used for the passage of troops or the purposes of invasion. Lord Dunsany's "General" appears to doubt that the Tunnel could be thus "neutralized" by an "international convention," but he admits that "to an ordinary Englishman this mode of reasoning would be satisfactory," and as it is to "ordinary Englishmen" that I make my appeal, I trust they will not be of opinion, with the "extraordinary Englishmen" who take the other view, that in this nineteenth century "international conventions" go for nothing, that the "good faith of nations" may be regarded as worthless, and that the undertaking, which has been rightly called the "crowning enterprise of science," would be suffered by Continental Europe to be frustrated and rendered valueless by the restless ambition of any individual ruler, supposing such an one to arise. I do not desire to dwell longer upon this point, but it may be as well to observe that, after all, self-interest is that which, to no inconsiderable extent, actuates nations as well as individuals; and, as there can be but little doubt that the interest of every great Continental nation which has commercial transactions with England would be to develop those transactions, and to increase her trade by the additional facilities afforded by the Channel Tunnel, so the attempt on the part of any one nation to use the Tunnel in such a manner as to check, if not altogether put an end to, those facilities, would at once place that nation in the position of a common enemy, and would probably bring upon her a retribution as swift as deserved. It is necessary to make these observations, in order that the case may be viewed from every possible aspect, and all contingencies, likely or unlikely, taken into account; but otherwise they are observations which I would gladly have omitted, because they refer to possibilities which I believe to be almost impossible, and to doubts and fears which I do not for a single instant entertain. I have long thought, and I think it as strongly as ever whilst I pen these lines, that the old jealous feelings which existed between Englishmen and Frenchmen in the earlier part of this century, and which I can remember as still existing in the days of my first youth, have been enormously modified, if they have not altogether passed away. It is so, I am confident, with regard to our upper and middle classes. And why? Because the increased facilities of communication afforded by steam, and the rapid development of the railway system, have brought these classes of the two countries together. Frenchmen have come to England, and Englishmen have gone to France; and the result has been that, having become better acquainted with each other, they have found out that there is no real law of Nature which obliges Frenchmen and Englishmen to be enemies, that the fancied antagonism of olden times has been not only a crime but a blunder, and that each nation can find much to esteem and to admire in the other. If this be the case—and I challenge contradiction—is it not a thing to be beyond all others desired that this improvement of international feeling

should extend and permeate through the masses of the people on either side of the Channel? This is emphatically a People's question. God be thanked, we have a dynasty upon the throne of England whose sympathies—as well as their interests—are on the side of peace, who are ever foremost in the promotion of peaceful projects, and who are little likely to desire or to encourage the nation in a war of ambition or conquest. But, in times past, the wars which have estranged the two countries have been wars which, not the people, but their rulers have initiated. True, in our own country, popular feeling has generally, for a time at least, sustained and encouraged the Governments which have engaged in war, and without such encouragement war is barely possible in the present day. For, as education has improved and knowledge marched forward with gigantic strides, the masses of the people understand these things better than their forefathers, they know that peace is the true interest of the people, and that to “seek peace and ensue it” are words blessed both in their utterance and their application. But is peace to be sought and obtained only by means of forts and armour-plated ships, heights crowded with cannon and ramparts bristling with bayonets? A thousand times no! These things may doubtless be necessary for protection against an unscrupulous enemy, and no sensible nation will neglect to take due precautions for its safety. But the best, the truest, the safest security for peace is to be found elsewhere—namely, in the constant intercourse of the people of adjoining nations, and their consequent knowledge of each other. The closer, the more frequent and the more intimate this intercourse and knowledge between the peoples of France and England, the greater the probability of a permanent peace between the two countries. For the People are not alarmists. The alarm always comes from above, and that which is now sounded with regard to the Channel Tunnel will find no echo in the heart of the masses when once the question is fairly before them. Space will not permit me to expatiate upon the commercial advantages which will follow this great work, which has well been called “the corollary of Free Trade,” and which cannot fail to confer enormous benefit upon the trading communities of the world. I have been dealing with it, so far, in the aspect in which it presented itself to Mr. Cobden, who, speaking of a submarine tunnel long before its feasibility had been proved, called it “the true arch of alliance between the two countries;” and from this point of view I have endeavoured to show that, so far from bringing upon us war, invasion, and disaster, as prognosticated by Lord Dunsany and his brother prophet, it is far more likely to secure to us the blessings of peace in a surer and more permanent manner than they could be secured by a policy the reverse of that by which its promoters are actuated. I do not for a moment suppose that I have succeeded, or that anyone else will succeed, in calming the minds of those whose views I oppose. No great scheme has ever been projected, no new principle brought into play, without exciting the apprehensions of those to whom its novelty is unwelcome,

and who see therein dangers of the gravest character. Time and experience are required to satisfy these antagonists. And yet there is a reflection with which they might console themselves, and which at all events consoles me in the regret which I feel in having to encounter their opposition. Prophecies of a similar character have from time to time been uttered with regard to other undertakings, which the prophets of the present day would deride as having been foolish and shortsighted. The introduction of steamers in the place of sailing vessels was held by the alarmists of the day to have increased the danger of French invasion to a frightful extent, as soon as they had got rid of their first crumb of comfort—namely, that any long passage of a steamer, or a passage through a rough sea, was as impossible as to tunnel beneath the Channel! Would any one wish to-day to abandon steam power, and return to the old sailing-vessels? Railways were regarded by a large class of persons with the greatest alarm. Would any one now wish to make the retrograde step to stage-coach travelling? And so, when this Channel Tunnel shall have become an accomplished fact, when its value has been realized and understood, and it has become—as it will become—the main highway between Great Britain and the Continent, our children will be as unwilling to return to the sole method of crossing the Channel which previously existed, as we of the present day should be to abandon our railways and our steamers for more primitive methods of conveyance.

Of the personal discomfort of the present Channel passage I have thought it needless to say anything. Of course, its removal could not be allowed to weigh for one instant in the balance, if that removal were to occasion the national danger which Lord Dunsany apprehends. If, however, that danger exists only in the imagination of honest, but mistaken, critics of the Tunnel, something may be said in favour of the latter by those who know the misery and prostration which the sea passage often inflicts upon delicate frames, and the immense advantage to the numerous invalids annually driven from our northern climate to warmer shores, if those effects of crossing the Channel can be happily avoided.

Without doubt, the criticisms and objections suggested by the *Times*, and elaborated in Lord Dunsany's article, are such as will operate upon certain minds, and may, for a time, enlist a certain amount of opinion in opposition to the Channel Tunnel. Its advocates, however, court the closest criticism and invite the fullest investigation. They are confident that the more the matter is considered, and the better it is understood, the more it will be made clear that the apprehensions entertained are really groundless, and that the advantages to be derived from uniting our people more closely with their Continental neighbours are such as should induce a general and a national support to be given to the scheme now under discussion.

Thus far I have attempted to deal with the political and military objec-

tions which are equally opposed to any scheme for a submarine tunnel between Great Britain and France. With these objections our Government and Parliament will have to deal, and no doubt they will receive due attention. But if, as I hope and anticipate, these objections should not be found sufficient to interpose an obstacle to the prosecution of the enterprise, there remains, as I stated at the outset, a chance of delay arising from the fact of the existence of two rival claimants for the honour of constructing the Channel Tunnel.

In dealing with this part of the question I desire to be as clear and concise as is compatible with a fair statement of the case. My connection with one of the two rival companies will, of course, lead my readers to the conclusion that I cannot be an impartial witness. I will, therefore, preface what I have to say by this statement—that there is nothing I desire so much as to see both the schemes for a Channel Tunnel submitted to a Parliamentary Committee—the stronger the better—for the fullest and closest examination. I am sure that every one of my colleagues upon the Board of the “Submarine Continental Railway Company” will agree with me upon this point. Those who wish to see a Channel Tunnel constructed, because they believe that it will be a great international benefit, must also desire that it should be constructed in the best possible manner. Men who are actuated by sordid or selfish motives might desire to exclude a rival’s plan from fair consideration. Such an idea I at once repudiate, and I cannot doubt that it will likewise be repudiated by our opponents—if opponents they must be called, though I would infinitely rather call them our allies—of the “Channel Tunnel Company.” There should be no attempt on either side to keep the other out. Let the whole truth be before the country, let the proposals of each Company be impartially considered, and let one or both be sanctioned and adopted by the Committee, in accordance with what may recommend itself to their judgment as most likely to advance the satisfactory solution of the question.

Having said this, I wish it to be understood that I do not consider it my province or my duty to enter into any minute comparison between the ideas so far as I know them—of the two Companies, or to attempt any such explanation of details as might be more properly undertaken by an engineer or geologist, according as the matter becomes one which concerns either engineering or geology. Indeed, I should have dismissed this part of the question with a very few words—so anxious am I that the public mind and the mind of Parliament should approach the whole subject of the Channel Tunnel without being in any way prejudiced on one side or the other—if it were not that it has been broadly stated in the public press that the Submarine Channel Company desires to create a monopoly for the South-Eastern Railway Company (whose offspring it certainly is), and that its Chairman (Sir Edward Watkin) is mainly actuated by a

desire to serve the constituency of Folkestone, which he represents, at the expense of the public interest. These seem small and petty matters when we are dealing with a great national question, but little things sometimes affect the minds and judgment of men, and I desire to place before the public such simple facts as will entirely disabuse the understandings of all reasonable men of any belief in these preposterous statements.

Probably the best way to effect my purpose will be to put forward three propositions, which will show clearly the truth of my statement, and which will also show how great is the right of the South-Eastern Company to be heard in the matter.

First, then, I say that it is the South-Eastern Railway Company which has first brought the Channel Tunnel into the range of practical operations.

Secondly, from first to last, the South-Eastern Company has not only sought no monopoly, but has declared, again and again, that this Channel Tunnel can never be allowed to be the property of one single railway company, but that all the traffic of England must be forwarded through it, and that due and full access to it must be provided for the London, Chatham, and Dover, as well as for their own Company.

Thirdly, the South-Eastern Company has distinctly and earnestly pressed upon Her Majesty's Government that this great work should be a national undertaking, not left to mere private speculation, and has urged the Government to take it in hand, and agree with the Government of France for its construction under a convention between the two countries.

The truth of these three propositions cannot be denied by any one who knows the facts of the case; but in order that those facts may, so far as is necessary, be set forth, I think a narrative of events, so far as they are personally known to myself, may be useful and instructive. I believe that it is well known that the project of a tunnel between England and France originated, many years ago, upon the other side of the water. Since that time various engineers, French and English, have (if I may use the expression) dabbled with the question, the first who made any suggestions which experience has shown to be practical having apparently been Mr. Wm. Low, of Wrexham. This gentleman appears to have interested Lord Richard Grosvenor in his scheme, and from that time—if not before—Lord Richard has always had an idea that a Channel Tunnel was a practicable thing, and has cherished hopes that it would be one day accomplished. In 1875 Lord Richard was good enough to speak to me upon the subject. We had several conversations upon the subject at the House of Commons and elsewhere, at one at least of which Sir E. Watkin was present. I had not at that time gone deeply into the matter. But I certainly understood that the scheme which Lord Richard Grosvenor had then in view was one of which the starting-point was to be St. Margaret's Bay, and my recollection

is corroborated by reference to the Act of Parliament which Lord Richard's Company obtained in that same year. I mention this because I have lately read the report of a speech of Lord Richard's at a meeting of the Channel Tunnel Company, in which he is stated to have said that Sir Edward Watkin, having been for some time in communication with this Company, afterwards withdrew, "his main objection to their line being that Dover was the wrong place for it to start from, and that the right place was nearer Folkestone and Hythe." As these words are calculated (of course unintentionally on Lord Richard's part) to convey what I believe to be an entirely erroneous impression, I am desirous of stating what I know of the matter, because (as will be seen in a moment) it bears very much upon the question now under discussion. Some little time subsequent to our conversations in 1875, Sir Edward Watkin spoke to me about the Channel. He said, "I do not pretend to be a great geologist, nor do I want to contradict Hawkshaw, but in my opinion he and Lord Richard's Company are all wrong at St. Margaret's Bay. If the Channel Tunnel is ever made it will be by following the grey chalk (*craye de Rouen*)—the alternative would be to tunnel through the white chalk, which is full of water; and if you have to do a lot of pumping and a lot of timbering, the slowness and the costliness will beat you, and it can never pay anybody. The grey chalk is impervious to water: it can stand upon its own legs, and the question of a Channel Tunnel is practically the question of whether we can find a stratum of grey chalk running from one side of the Channel to the other." These words struck me very much, they prompted me to further examination and inquiries, and I believe they furnish the very valid reason why Sir Edward Watkin did not join Lord Richard Grosvenor's Company, as they will furnish the reason or part of the reason why a tunnel *via* St. Margaret's Bay will never be made. But, to carry the matter a little further, Sir E. Watkin subsequently proposed to his (the South-Eastern) Board to employ a limited sum of money in experimental borings, which were conducted under the supervision of Colonel Beaumont, a gentleman to whom the country will owe an enormous debt of gratitude for the intelligence, courage, and perseverance with which he has from first to last, and in spite of all obstacles and discouragements, devoted himself to this great undertaking.

The result of these borings was eminently satisfactory. We found that the engineer of the South-Eastern Railway, Mr. Brady, to whom great credit is due and the soundness of whose views has been proved beyond doubt, had been right from the first: that the proper place to test the chalk was where it cropped out above the sea level, and that the proper—probably the only—place to come out on this side was at some spot between Folkestone and Dover. Of course, those who cannot rise above the level of personal controversy will allege that this is a "South-Eastern

contention;" but the fact remains unchanged, and if it be a fact, it is hardly a reason why, if it be the best spot, it should not be selected, because it happens to be on the Folkestone side of Dover instead of the other, and close to the line of the South-Eastern Railway instead of at some neutral spot which, like St. Margaret's Bay, has never yet been reached by a line of railway. The point, however, with which I am now dealing, is the influence which the South-Eastern experiments have exercised upon the question. Lord Richard Grosvenor's Company had been unable to raise their capital in 1875. They were generally believed to have died a natural death, but suddenly, after the successful experiments of the South-Eastern, they sprang into life again, and now appear with another Bill, prepared by Sir John Hawkshaw and Mr. Brunel, whose instructions, says Lord Richard, were "first to find out from geological explorations the best line for the proposed Tunnel." This the "South-Eastern Company" and the "Submarine Continental Railway Company" claim to have already discovered whilst these gentlemen were inactive; and there can be no reasonable doubt that it is the success of our experiments—the construction of some two miles of experimental gallery—and the reports of French as well as English engineers upon the excellence of our work and the moral certainty of its completion in a safe and satisfactory manner, which have brought the question of the Channel Tunnel into the position which it occupies to-day. The "Channel Tunnel Company" has at this moment, I believe, neither land nor works. Unless I am misinformed as to their plans, these involve an amount of pumping—the sea on one side and the land on the other—which will dry every well in Dover, cut the town in two—and tunnel underneath the fortifications of the Castle, a proceeding which would drive Lord Dunsany and his "highest military authority" out of their senses, if it were not that this, indeed, would probably be considered by the British Government to be an inadmissible project. I do not doubt, however, that all these plans may be modified and altered. What I do say is this, that up to the present moment the Channel Company have produced no plan which is capable of being carried out, and have done nothing to earn the confidence of Parliament and the country. Their sole claim to be heard rests upon the allegation that they—or some of their body—were first in the field. Certainly it may be admitted that they—and others before them—talked about a Channel Tunnel some years before the South-Eastern Company commenced its experimental borings; it must also be owned that they started a Company which failed to raise its capital, but apart from this exploit, *what have they done?* It is the South-Eastern Company which, when the project of the Channel Tunnel had absolutely fallen into abeyance, came forward, spent its money, and proved the practicability of the scheme, and it would be a little hard if it were now to be pushed aside by those who have lacked either the will or the power to bring the

question within that range of "practical politics" which has been reached by our exertions alone.

Upon my second proposition, I can afford to be very short. It never entered the head of the South-Eastern or Submarine Railway Companies to claim a monopoly. Such a claim would at once contradict their profession of a national object, and could not be for a moment admitted. This is no mere assertion of mine, but is borne out by the agreement between the two Companies by which the South-Eastern hand over their property to the Submarine Company. Herein they expressly bind themselves to make land connections so as to make a continuous line for traffic to and from the metropolis, and beyond, with the Continent. They are willing to agree to any arrangement that may be imposed by Government or agreed upon with other Companies, so as to secure that traffic from all parts of Great Britain shall be duly forwarded to the Continent, and that the Tunnel shall thus in reality be made the great Continental highway. Moreover, nothing has been further from their thoughts than to exclude the other great route to London, namely the London, Chatham, and Dover Company, from their fair share of the traffic. True, Mr. Forbes took credit to himself the other day for having spent no money in experimental borings, to the expense of which it is even possible he may yet have the grace to offer a contribution, since he knows that his Company is intended by the South-Eastern to enjoy a full share of all the benefits to be derived from the Tunnel. But no one can doubt that, in any case, there must be good and fair access between the Tunnel and *both* railways, although this by no means implies that, in order to start fair, the Tunnel should be made to crop out at the wrong place, on the other side of Dover, at a distance from the terminus of each Company. It is needless to discuss at this moment the best manner in which the communication with the London, Chatham and Dover could be established. It might be by means of a large joint station at Dover; it might be by the completion of the line from Canterbury to Folkestone, down the Elham Valley, and its junction with the London, Chatham and Dover Company at the former place. All these matters can be fairly and fully considered hereafter, and all that is needful to be done here is absolutely and entirely to disclaim any desire or intention on the part of the Submarine Continental Railway Company to seek any monopoly for the South-Eastern, or to do anything else than to obtain the greatest possible amount of traffic from all quarters and from every railway in Great Britain. It was hardly necessary, indeed, to say even as much as this, for it must be evident to every well-informed person that Parliament would never sanction a Tunnel scheme without inserting in the Act which should authorize it, provisions which should guard against any possible monopoly, and secure free and fair access to the Tunnel from all the great railways of the kingdom.

My third proposition is one which admits of no dispute. I say, and I say it from my own knowledge, that the South-Eastern Company and the Submarine Company have only taken this matter up when the Government has declined to take it into its own hands. It has long been the opinion of many men that it would have been a great benefit to the travelling public of Great Britain if Government had originally taken into its hands the construction of the main arteries of English railways, and that all our great lines had been under the direction and supervision of a Government department. But the reasons for such a course in the case of the international undertaking now under discussion appear tenfold stronger. With the full concurrence of his colleagues, Sir Edward Watkin urged this view warmly upon the present President of the Board of Trade, it being his and their opinion, to use his own words, that "we ought to take care that national interests should not be sacrificed to private monopoly. I would recommend that what is the key of the whole work—viz., the under sea-portion of ten English miles—should be made the Queen's highway, the property of the nation." The President of the Board of Trade replied that the Government thought the matter should be left to "private enterprise." Sir Edward Watkin aptly pointed out the Thames Embankment, as an instance of a great public work, made by a Government guarantee, and, not being satisfied with the answer of the President of the Board of Trade, pressed for and obtained the decision of the Cabinet, which confirmed that answer, and left the matter to be dealt with by private enterprise. Nothing, therefore, can be clearer or more straightforward than the action of the Companies. We offered to stand aside and let Government do the work, in correspondence and agreement, doubtless, with the Government of France, and we said we were ready to go on if they refused to do so. They have deemed it their duty to refuse, and we now ask to be permitted to continue and carry to a successful conclusion the work which we have commenced, the practicability of which we and we only have proved, and which, by whomsoever carried out, must, we confidently assert, be carried out upon our lines. We disclaim all jealousy of those who have endeavoured to thwart or oppose us. We would gladly have them join us and fight side by side in the good and great work of national progress and improvement; but we appeal to Parliament and the public not to let our efforts be counted as nothing, and the fruit of our exertions be given to others, because our success may disappoint those who have failed themselves to achieve it, or damage the reputation of eminent engineers, too hastily pledged to a delusive and impossible scheme. We wish to disappoint or damage nobody. We only desire to carry out a great international object, and in that, with God's help, we will succeed. I must leave to other and abler hands the more detailed description of the work which has been really done. I have only endeavoured to point out whence may come delay, and to deprecate that delay as unnecessary and unwise.

It remains but to summarize in a few words the present position of affairs. It had been confidently stated by men whose eminence should have secured their accuracy, that the grey chalk could only be reached through the white chalk, and upon that supposition estimates have been made which took into account the immense expense and labour of pumping the porous chalk in order to get rid of the water. The South-Eastern Railway experiments have proved to demonstration that this was a mistake, and that where the grey chalk crops out is the place, and the only place, for the commencement of the Tunnel. The foresight of Sir Edward Watkin, and his confidence in the South-Eastern engineer, Mr. Brady, have thus been justified beyond a doubt. And although persons, writing apparently in the interests of the rival scheme, have accused Sir E. Watkin of various sins of commission and omission in this business, it is but justice to say that, from first to last, to his colleagues as well as to the public, he has held the same language and expressed the same views:—"The Tunnel can be made—it is a world's work—let it be made by the best men and in the best manner, and I am ready to give place to others at any moment when the interest of the undertaking seems to require it." Men who in any great work, by their own foresight and ability, get the start of others, never fail to excite petty jealousies and envious spite in the minds of those who have had an equal desire, but not an equal capacity, to succeed in the same track. Sir Edward Watkin can expect nothing more nor less; but after the heat and turmoil of the battle are over, he will have the satisfaction of knowing that these small carplings of little people will be obliterated and forgotten, and his name will be not only for ever associated with this great historical work, but his exertions will be remembered with gratitude by the nations who will reap the benefit thereof in time to come. At this moment, all that he and his friends want is "fair play" in Parliament, and that will doubtless be secured to them by those who have to decide, first, whether any scheme is to be permitted, and, next, which are the hands most competent to carry out this stupendous undertaking.

One consideration remains, and that of no small importance. The legislative authorization of a Channel Tunnel Scheme in 1875 was not given in the English Parliament only—the French Assembly acted in a similar manner; and this action was not taken until there had been many communications between the Governments of the two countries; and, at the suggestion of our own Government, a joint Commission, composed of eminent men, had been appointed "to draw up a provisional code of regulations" under which the Tunnel should be constructed. The two Governments certainly agreed as to the utility and desirability of the Tunnel; and, upon the faith of that agreement, considerable expenditure has been incurred in France. What position shall we occupy in the eyes of France and of the world if we now turn

round at the eleventh hour and draw back from our previous agreement? What excuse are we to make? Are we to own that we coquetted with the matter so long as we were doubtful as to its practicability, and shrink back from it now that the latter has been assured? Or, are we to say openly to France: "We decline to proceed because we cannot trust you, and because certain of our admirals and generals have convinced us that we, the inhabitants of Britain, have neither courage, skill, nor vigilance sufficient to guard our shores, if you terrible Frenchmen should have opened to you this additional means of attacking us." Surely the reasons upon which the opponents of the Tunnel scheme base their opposition are such as, if admitted to be sound, would not only give great and just offence to our neighbours and allies, but affix a grave stigma upon our own national character.

A few weeks at furthest must decide the question, though whatever that decision may be, the ultimate result can be but one.

The truth is that in this dear old England of ours there have ever been two parties, of opinions widely divergent. The one, which of late years had seemed to have practically disappeared, but which the *Times* and Lord Dunsany have shown to be still endued with vitality, may be fairly called the Party of Isolation. Based, doubtless, upon a laudable feeling of patriotism, its doctrines, if logically carried out, would surround England with impenetrable barriers, restore the old passport system, exclude all but the "selected few" from the Continent of Europe, regard with ceaseless suspicion and distrust every person or thing not of British origin, and encircle our country with a cloud of selfishness and jealousy as thick and disagreeable as one of our own London fogs. The other party, call it by what name you will, whilst in no respect less patriotic than the first, appeals to a larger spirit and rests upon broader principles. Its disciples believe, not only that cosmopolitan sympathies may exist side by side with the truest patriotism, but that the latter will be purified and elevated by their existence and development. Believing, moreover, in the free institutions of Great Britain, in the vigour and energy of her people, and in that progress of international civilization which creates and develops a community of interest, binding nation to nation by ties stronger and more durable than treaty obligations, they contemplate a nearer contact with Continental Europe not only without apprehension, but with a confident expectation of great and mutual benefit to those who are to share it. For my part, it is as a forward step in the world's progress that I hail the present attempt to bring us nearer to our neighbours: it may indeed be opposed, it may even be delayed by opposition; but the ultimate result is certain. In the history of nations, thrones have fallen, and institutions have disappeared in a fatuous resistance to progress, but its march goes steadily and surely forward. In spite of all opposition, science ever

advances ; in such an issue as the present, civilization and Christianity are marching hand in hand ; the obstacles suggested, and perhaps for a time sustained, by insular prejudice and professional pedantry, will pale and fade away before the spirit of the age ; and, in the triumph of the Channel Tunnel, one more step will be accomplished in the uniting and knitting together the hearts of nations, and in the nearer approach to the full and blessed recognition of the universal brotherhood of mankind !

BRABOURNE.

EGYPT AND CONSTITUTIONAL RULE.

THE portent of a province of the Ottoman Empire developing within a space of not longer than six months a taste for Constitutional Government and Representative Institutions might well fix the attention of Europe, even if that province were not Egypt. But the scene of this portent happens to be Egypt—where for eight years past all the resources of European diplomacy and the best administrative skill known to France and England, propped up by the support of Germany, Austria, and Italy, have been exerted for the purpose of preventing national bankruptcy and restricting irresponsible rule. These objects have been, up to the present moment, slowly but surely in course of accomplishment. The bankruptcy has been prevented, the credit of the State has been more than re-established, and the first essential steps have been taken to hem the ostensible ruler of Egypt round with the limitations well known to every constitutional monarch. It has been hard and up-hill work. Again and again the weight of abuses, after being partly raised, has rolled down the hill and demanded renewed patience and energetic invention to lift it afresh. Nevertheless, the work has been constantly advancing, and up to September last, indeed up to the present moment, the progress made in reducing debt, replenishing the treasury, re-establishing credit, and, above all, in getting rid of cruel and capricious taxation and a host of other despotic abuses, can scarcely be contested.

Yet now it is contended that the Egyptian people, or a considerable and influential section of it, called the "National Party," are now for the first time obtruding a claim for Constitutional Government, and devising means for securing it.

The people, or the party which is held to represent them, are said to be seeking these constitutional privileges by ostentatiously arming them-

selves against all those persons and influences which alone have promoted the resurrection of the country during the last eight years. They regard (it is alleged by their English advocates) these persons and influences as their main and natural antagonists in the path of freedom and self-government. Like the Assyrians at one period and the Greeks at a later one, the English and French are abhorred as symbolizing the iron rule of unsympathetic strangers. It is the instinct of intelligent patriotism (says Sir W. Gregory) to shake off such a rule. The religiously enlightened conscience of the Moslem (says the Rev. Wilfrid Blunt) is concerned in repelling the alien tyranny. "Egypt for the Egyptians" is to the ordinary liberal Englishman almost as inflammatory a war-cry as "Poland for the Poles,"—not to say, as in some quarters, "Ireland for the Irish."

Of course, if it be true that the current superintendence of Egyptian affairs, as exercised on behalf of the Powers of Europe by France and England, is an obstacle and not a furtherance to the acquisition of true Constitutional Government by Egypt, no honest Englishman would wish that superintendence and intervention continued for a day. But if, on the other hand, the only possible avenue which appears to be open to the future acquisition of really free and representative institutions is that of the English and French supervision as now exercised, then it may be well to pause before abandoning or relaxing that supervision, simply because an occasional winter traveller up the Nile, or visitor at Shepheard's Hotel at Cairo, having left all his ponderous Blue Books behind him, allows a generous sympathy with a strange creed and a fascinating race to get the better of his judgment, and to obliterate eight years of history from his memory. The great Mohammed Ali, the founder of modern Egypt, was wiser than these hasty and enthusiastic correspondents of the daily papers. He did not learn to read or write till after he was forty-seven years of age; and yet Sir John Bowring relates a conversation with him in which he said*—

"You must compare me with the ignorance which is about me. We cannot apply the same rules to Egypt as to England. Centuries have been required to bring you to the present state; I have had only a few years. . . . We cannot go as fast as we wish, nor do everything we desire to do. If I were to put on Colonel Campbell's trousers" (looking at the Consul-General, who was six feet three inches high) "that would not make me as tall as Colonel Campbell."

The question then is whether what is sometimes called the *status quo*—that is, the existing intervention of France and England in the Government of Egypt, exercised in the name of the Great Powers of Europe—is or is not the best or only instrument for securing Constitutional Government in Egypt, and whether an attempt, from whatever quarter proceeding, to disturb that intervention, is a virtue or a crime?

The first principle to be laid down in treating this subject, is that

* Paton's "History of the Egyptian Revolution," p. 33.

Constitutional Government does not consist merely or chiefly in having an Elective Assembly, whether called a "Chamber of Notables" or anything else. Representative Assemblies are far too popular and common nowadays for an Oriental statesman to afford to dispense with the show of one; and, in fact, even in Constantinople the conception of a representative body has been well sketched out in one and another paper Constitution. In England, long before Simon de Montfort had recognized the electoral claims of boroughs, and while the mode of election and of representation, through the rough agency of the Sheriff and the County Court, was of the most primitive kind, the essential principles of the English constitution were firmly established. Local Government, fixed and equal taxation, personal freedom, trial by jury, and responsibility of the King to the people, were lessons taught by feudalism of either Norman or Saxon parentage, or were otherwise anciently and deeply rooted in the instincts of the amalgamated English race.

The Assembly of Notables is a body of less than eighty persons, nominated by local officers and chosen, after a certain show of an electoral process, from the pashas, landed proprietors, and influential or moneyed natives generally. There is no reason to disparage it. There is the greatest use and constitutional hopefulness in the fact of its being summoned, and encouraged to be vigilant and independent. It is not a new invention, nor this its first appearance in Egypt. But it is mere playing with great names to confound it with a constitutional Representative Assembly of Western Europe. It lacks the first requirement of such a Representative Assembly—that it should be voluntarily chosen by the persons it purports to represent. The mass of the agricultural population of Egypt (and Egypt is an agricultural country above all else) are politically, if not always morally, indefinitely below the standard of knowledge and intelligence of the average English agricultural labourer. The Arab newspapers circulate little in the provinces. The schools are of the worst description, or non-existent. The falsities taught as a necessary accompaniment of Mahomedan instruction absorb and paralyse the thinking faculty. The habitual and brutal abuses, up to four years ago, of the forced-labour system, and of the military conscription, have prevented the growth of any sentiment of personal freedom and self-respect. The universal abuse of taxation, in respect of quantity, certainty, times of collection, and grounds of exemption, or of double exaction, have impeded the growth of any attachment to the Government, and of intelligent appreciation of its aims. Lastly, the habitual denial, delay, and corruption of justice in the native Courts have robbed the people of the last chance of a political education, through practically knowing and feeling the distinction between legal right and wrong. All these evils are only now in the course of removal. It is evident, then, that the first condition of Representative Government—that the electors should be capable of voluntarily choosing their re-

representatives, and shall actually do so—is excluded by the necessity of the case. The people of Egypt have only just, by the aid of foreigners, escaped out of slavery, and they cannot spring in a few days to be free and intelligent electors, simply because it serves somebody's whim or purpose to call them so.

The second condition for the existence of a Representative Assembly, in the political sense of the term, is that it should have a certain measure of independent and effective political power. Thus the Convocation of the English Church—though it is, in an imperfect sense, a representative body—is without the political force needed to make it an element in the Constitution. It may have influence, but it has no power. In the same way, the Chamber of Notables can only exercise power indirectly, through the pressure it can bring to bear on the really effective authorities. These authorities are presumably the Khedive and his Council of Ministers, restricted by special arrangements made with certain European Powers. Another actual authority, of a revolutionary kind indeed, is the army. It may be that the Chamber of Notables will, sooner or later, acquire a new and distinct authority of its own, and it is aspiring to acquire it. But it has not this authority yet, and a Constitutional Assembly can only be said to be a symbol and sign of true Constitutional Government when it exerts independent power as against the army, or any other quasi-political organization, no less than as against the Khedive and his Ministers. What is the true constitutional position of this Chamber of Notables, as estimated in this way, is a question of fact; and considering that each revolutionary move during the last year has either proceeded directly from the army, directed by Colonel Arabi Bey, or has resulted in his promotion to be first Under-Secretary, and then Minister of War, the greatest suspicion must attach to the free action of this *soi-disant* Constitutional Assembly. On the face of the facts, then, there is no reason for premature gratification at the constitutional aspirations of the Egyptian people. The Assembly of Notables is an old friend with scarcely so much as a new face. It was summoned by the late Khedive Ismail on the 2nd of January, 1879, just before his fall, and when he seemed bent on reverting to the irresponsible despotism from which, through European intervention, the country was being slowly freed. That such a Chamber may be an instrument of merely indifferent fiscal arrangement with the special classes of persons really represented, just as much as of popular freedom, appears from the statement of Mr. Vivian (the English Consul-General), in his letter to Lord Salisbury on January 3rd,* that he believed the principal object of this special convocation of the Chamber was to propose the increase of the land-tax, by which the richer class of proprietors were assessed at rates below the present value of their lands, which had been much improved under cultivation. Such an institution has its value and use, but it must not be confounded with a popular

* Blue Book, Egypt, No. 5 (1879), p. 5.

Representative Assembly. How far the new development it has experienced, through being made a tool of by the army, may be expected really to help forward the acquisition of genuine popular institutions, will appear further on.

It is often loosely supposed in England that the energetic efforts which have been made since the year 1876 by the French and English Governments to superintend and reconstruct the financial administration of Egypt, have had mainly, if not exclusively, for their object and result the payment to bondholders of the interest of their debt. It little matters to disentangle all the various and complicated considerations which may have entered into the plans of all the English and French statesmen who have been called to take part in the regeneration of Egypt. It is undeniable, however, that the imminent bankruptcy with which Egypt was threatened in 1876, was the accumulated result of a course of administration beginning in 1863, which was fatal alike to every kind of interest both of Egypt and of her people. Inheriting the practical political independence of Mohammed Ali, improving it by judicious engagements with the Porte, and conceiving a passion for European arts, like that of his great predecessor for European arms, the Khedive Ismail combined the tastes of a cultured and enterprising European with the licentious prodigality and the unquestioned tyranny of an Oriental despot. The result was, as every one knows, a load of about ninety million pounds sterling of debt, heaped up in thirteen years, without a foreign war, a domestic revolution, or even (with the exception of the Suez Canal) leaving the fruit of lasting and remunerative public works. Palaces, pensions, idle agricultural experiments, and personal extravagance, accounted for all the money which ever came into the Khedive's hands, and no doubt that was very far short of the amount of the debt.

The worst was that the Khedive in Egypt was supreme and irresponsible. No matter how the people were taxed, how the army was replenished, how the public service was conducted, neither the Khedive nor his Ministers could be called to any account. There were all the possibilities of social and industrial disorganization which only modern European civilization could disclose, and yet none of the practical checks, direct or indirect, on personal rule which abound in even the most despotically governed country of modern Europe. It happened, however, not only that the Khedive's creditors were French and English citizens who were far too keenly interested in the issue not to make their perils known, and to inform themselves and their countrymen as to the state of the political facts, but that the security of the British route to India was bound up with the good order of Egypt; and the concern which England and France had both had in the original settlement of the family of Mohammed Ali on the throne of Egypt, imposed upon them traditional obligations, not honourably to be evaded, towards that

country, towards the Ottoman Empire, and towards the other Powers of Europe. The opening was thus forcibly presented for active and decided intervention, though it was shrouded at first under the polite and limited form of aiding the Khedive to meet his financial obligations, and to re-establish his credit. It was only when Ismail proved finally recalcitrant that Lord Salisbury—following upon a decided hint from Count Beust—gave Ismail the *coup de grâce* in the following letter of the 18th of June, 1879, addressed to the acting English Consul-General:—

"Mr. Lascelles,—I have to-day instructed you by telegraph to represent officially to the Khedive that he will do wisely to abdicate in favour of his son Tewfik Pasha. In support of this advice you will state that the Khedive, if he takes the course in question, will secure for himself a suitable civil list, and will also retain the succession for his son; whereas, in the event of England and France finding it necessary to address themselves to the Porte for the purpose of procuring his deposition, both of these advantages may be lost to him."

That Lord Salisbury regarded the unconstitutional assumption of the Khedive Ismail, and his incessant relapses into despotic methods, as the unpardonable offences for which he stood condemned, is clear from a letter written to Mr. Lascelles nearly two months before, dated April 25th. His lordship quotes the words of Ismail himself in a letter to Nubar Pasha, written soon after the Decree of August 28th, 1878, by which the reforms inaugurated by the Commission of Inquiry (to be referred to immediately) were sanctioned. "Instead," said Ismail, "of a personal power, which is now the principle of the Egyptian Government, I wish for a power which impresses, it is true, a general direction on affairs, but which finds its equilibrium in a Council of Ministers. In a word, I wish hereafter to govern with and by my Council of Ministers." Lord Salisbury, after commenting on the way in which Ismail had failed to comply with these assurances, adds: "If he continues to ignore the obligations imposed upon him by his past acts and assurances, and persists in declining the assistance of European Ministers whom the two Powers may place at his disposal, we must conclude that the disregard of engagements which has marked his recent action was the result of a settled plan, and that he deliberately renounces all pretension to their friendship."

Looking then at the external circumstances at the close of Ismail's reign, it appears that his deposition was due to his "ignoring obligations" and "disregarding engagements," and that these obligations and engagements had reference to the circumscription of his "personal power," and to the chances of his governing in the future not according to his unrestricted and absolute will, but "with and by his Council of Ministers." In the letter of Lord Salisbury just quoted, and which may be considered as the judicial sentence passed by England on Ismail, Lord Salisbury takes as the criterion by which Ismail was to be weighed in the balance "the attitude which his Highness had bound

himself to maintain towards his Ministers as defined by himself at the time of the issue of the Decree of 28th of August, 1878. The words in which Ismail so bound himself have been already cited, and they amount in the broadest and clearest terms to a profession to govern not as an absolute but as a constitutional sovereign. It is thus incontestable that if Egypt had been left to itself at this crisis, the Government would have relapsed into the uncontrolled absolutism which it had suffered from during the first thirteen years of Ismail's reign, and from which nothing but the determined action of all the Powers, led by France and England, had partially rescued it. The urgent need there had been for coming to the rescue, and the steps by which the rescue was effected, will be made clear by reverting to the history of the "Commission of Inquiry,"* of its recommendations, and of their result.

In the beginning of the year 1878 the Khedive Ismail had been almost persuaded to appoint a thorough representative Commission of Inquiry to investigate and report upon all the facts of the financial situation, including those relating to the general state of the country, so far as these could have any bearing on its present or future solvency. It is obvious that so comprehensive an inquiry opened the way to any amount of political advice, because it would be hard to find any department of the administration that did not affect, or was not affected by, the state of the revenue. Naturally, therefore, the Khedive tried to evade at the last moment compliance with his professed intention to appoint a Commission, without limitation as to the area of its inquiries. The Khedive first positively refused to let the Commission push their inquiries further than into the state of the revenue. He claimed (in a letter to Prince Hussein) to exclude all inquiry into expenses, the budgets, and unfunded debt; and on the 27th of January he issued a decree appointing a Commission with these united functions. The Commission was to do no more than verify deficiencies in the revenue, to discover abuses and irregularities in its collection, to estimate the probable revenue for the coming year, and to suggest methods for facilitating and securing the collection of the revenue, saving the vested rights of taxpayers. No doubt some good might have come out of the work of such a Commission; but inasmuch as the real indebtedness of the country would have been still buried in obscurity, its report could have produced no real impulse in the way of constitutional reform. Nothing but the fullest exposure of the deplorable condition of the financial administration could have rendered it possible to make Ismail disgorge his private landed property, amounting to about a fifth of the whole cultivated soil of the country, and enforced, in the face of the necessity of putting an end to his irresponsible

Thus the first battle of constitutionalism in Egypt was fought in the terms of this Commission of Inquiry of 1878.

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* Blue Book, Egypt,

Public Debt—English, French, Austrian, and Italian—remonstrated. The merchants of Alexandria, representing the leading nations of Europe, in public meeting assembled, remonstrated in the loudest, even the most violent tones. Simultaneously, though on its own special grounds, the Court of Appeal of the International Tribunals remonstrated. The Austrian Government (March 5) in clear and strong terms, conveyed through Count Beust, remonstrated. The Italian Government, through Count Tornielli, took up the decided position "that they could be no parties to any kind of Commission of Inquiry, the functions of which were to be dependent upon and limited to the good pleasure of the Khedive." Finally the Khedive gave way, and for the time the battle of the Constitution was won—not by a fictitious National Party, or by an army-led and aristocratic Chamber of Notables—but by the determination of the Powers of Europe, with England and France to give it effect. The English Consul-General, writing on March 23rd to Lord Derby, could announce that all difficulties had been happily settled, and that the Commission of Inquiry was to consist of M. de Lesseps, President; Riaz Pasha, first Vice-president; Mr. Rivers Wilson, second Vice-president; M. Baravelli, Italian Commissioner; Mr. Baring, English Commissioner; M. de Blignières, French Commissioner; M. de Kremer, Austrian Commissioner. The Commission could hardly be more thoroughly representative. Its powers, as defined by the decree, were to be "of the most extended sort." They were to "extend to all the elements of the financial situation." Ministers and Government functionaries were to furnish, at their request, directly to the Commission, and with as little delay as possible, all the information asked for.

The results of this Commission have been, throughout all the period which has intervened since its first report and are now, of supreme importance. The whole misgovernment of the country was laid bare on evidence which admitted of no appeal. The incessant work of the Government since, as assisted and stimulated by European vigilance, has been that of redressing, one by one, the evils first brought to light by this Commission, and of gradually bringing about good and orderly administration. But the first and indispensable step was that of curtailing the personal power of the Khedive. In other words, the Commission discovered how much the country was suffering from absolutism. It represented the evils as so gross and conspicuous, and so closely implicated with the indebtedness of the country, that no loophole of escape was left for Ismail to avoid surrendering his personal irresponsibility. A financial control, indeed, had been initiated in 1876, but henceforward it was seen—in a way it had never been before—that no remedies addressed exclusively to the financial situation could restore the credit of the country, and prepare the way for liberation from its indebtedness. A rigid financial administration must henceforward be conducted in internal harmony with a rigid administration of every other department of Government; and such an administration

excluded altogether the continuance of an irresponsible Khedive. Thus the final fruits of this inquiry were—first, the importation into the material constitution of the Egyptian Ministry of either European Ministers or of consulting (so-called) “controllers;” and, secondly, the insistence on the Khedive’s doing no personal acts of administration except under the advice of, or in concert with, his Ministry. These requirements went no doubt a very little way towards the establishment of true Constitutional Government. The people were still unrepresented, and local and personal constitutional rights were still hardly existent. But a first step, and not the least important one, was taken. Absolutism was abolished. Principles of just administration for the good of the country were for the first time recognised and converted into practice. Government was henceforth to be for the people, if not yet by the people. A deep constitutional line was drawn between the Khedive as a private person, and the Khedive as a Government official. It was the fusion, or rather confusion, of these two aspects, which enabled the Khedive to borrow money in the name of the country, to charge the country with the obligation to pay the principal and interest, and yet to spend his loans on himself and his capricious tastes. So long as this system existed, and there was a money-lender in Europe, there could be no end to the growth of national burdens. Egypt has such unfailing resources of independent wealth, and her character for solvency is so precious to the European Powers, that it would have been years before even Ismail could have quite exhausted his powers of borrowing and of sinking his country deeper and deeper. Nothing but peremptorily cutting away the capacity of the Sovereign to injure his country in this way could have prevented such accumulated disaster. This has been done, and the doing of it implied a revolution, which, though conducted quietly and by means of statements, commissions, accounts, liquidators, and innumerable monetary transactions, rather than by barricades and shelledaghs, may well vie with less bloodless revolutions of which England, America, and France are justly proud.

That this language is not exaggerated will appear from an examination of the sort of facts which the Commission of Inquiry of 1878 brought to light, and upon which it based its recommendations. The Preliminary Report itself will be found in the Blue-book to which reference has already more than once been made. A summary of the most pertinent facts contained in this report will be found in the Consul-General’s (Mr. Vivian’s) letter to Lord Salisbury, dated August 19, 1878 (p. 230). As to taxation, the Commissioners point out that any such fixed laws and regulations as exist have never been published, and that in many cases new taxes have been levied, old taxes increased, and changes introduced without any formal authority. As regards the taxes themselves, the Commissioners say that valid criticisms may be made in respect to almost all of them. In some cases, it is impossible to justify the tax

on any rational grounds; in others, its burden is unequally and unjustly distributed; in others, the cost of collection exceeds the proceeds, or the process of collection involves vexatious proceedings, which hinder any development of commerce. No dates (say the Commissioners) are fixed for the payment of the taxes; and the result of the arbitrary and uncertain demands of the Government, made at seasons which do not coincide with the harvest, is that the cultivator is often driven to borrow money at usurious rates of interest, ranging up to seven per cent. per month, or even to sell his cattle and land. The Commissioners sum up their remarks on this branch of the Administration by saying, "In a word we affirm that arbitrariness of the most absolute sort prevails both in the assessment and the collection of the taxes."

The Commissioners go on to complain of the abuses of the *corvée* or forced labour system. They assert that there can be no doubt that many of the Khedive's private estates are cultivated by means of forced labour. They point out the obvious evils of this system, and the probability that if labour were regularly and honestly paid, there would be no difficulty in finding sufficient hands to till the private estates of the Khedive without having recourse to compulsion. The Commissioners doubt whether the *corvée* system can be entirely abolished in Egypt, in consequence of the dependence of the country on an elaborate system of irrigation at stated times; but they recommend that it should be strictly limited to works of unquestionable public necessity, and that the burden should be fairly adjusted by equitable regulations. This, under the new régime, has been done.

As to the recruitment for the army, the Commissioners report that it is managed in the most irregular and arbitrary manner, there being no regulations to control the arbitrary and capricious selection of recruits by the authorities.

After describing the abuses arising from the arbitrary system of distributing water for irrigation purposes, by which the poorer cultivators are entirely sacrificed to the rich proprietors, the Commissioners comment on the denial of justice in the native courts. They consider that all these proposed reforms will be worthless, until the taxpayers are efficiently protected, by law and justice, both in their persons and properties, against despotic and uncontrolled authority. The exact words of the Report on this topic are, that "the Commission does not think it will be exceeding its power to declare that an indispensable complement of all the reforms it recommends is a judicial organization, which should secure efficient protection to the natives who are at present submitted, in their persons and property, to the discretionary power of an authority exempt from control."

The Report of the Commission thus dwells upon the four evils of extortionate taxation—slavery, under the name of forced labour, a tyrannical system of military conscription, and the denial and corruption of justice. These are the four characteristic evils which have been found

rampan in every Turkish province, on the dark recesses of which the eye of civilized Europe, at once a microscope and a burning-glass, has for the first time been turned. They sum up, in the tersest practical language, the invariable results of irresponsible despotism. It is to remove them that revolutions take place and monarchies are limited. It is to prevent the possibility of their recurrence that constitutions are founded, and their sound and healthy operation jealously watched. If these evils have within the last four years been decisively and actively grappled with in Egypt, it is in consequence of their first being brought to light by this International Commission, and afterwards being singly and step by step assaulted by the Powers of Europe, acting mostly (though not exclusively) through France and England. The work is not accomplished yet, and the Constitutional Government, as yet introduced, is only in its infancy. It is in the negative and primitive stage of checked absolutism, not in the positive and more advanced phase of substituted popular rule. The danger—a most imminent one—is, that through a precipitate and ignorant aspiration, whether in Europe or in Egypt, after that for which the time is not yet come, what has been accomplished already may be undone, instead of the work of constitutional enfranchisement going on to its completion. It would be no triumph of a would-be popular movement to subject Egypt again to a second Ismail, or to drive it back into the condition of a misgoverned Turkish province, or to leave its administration to the chance caprices of the military chief of the day, or to purchase anarchy in the name of the supremacy of a "National Party."

It is worth while noticing with some exactness the unpretentious steps by which the first essential elements of a true Constitution have been attained in Egypt, under the supervision of the Powers of Europe.

The Commission of Inquiry of 1878, after calling attention to all the evils above described, and summing up the results of their researches into the whole financial circumstances of the country, made a long series of recommendations, of which the following are especially worthy of notice.

No tax should be collected except in virtue of a law officially published. The collectors of taxes should be really, as they were nominally, under the orders and control of the Finance Minister, and their acts subject to the inspection and control of officers dependent entirely on that Minister. Financial measures should be adopted for enabling the Government to meet its obligations as they fall due, without demanding advances on the taxes. There should be established an independent jurisdiction in revenue matters, and a judicial system should be organised which would protect the natives against abuses of authority. Small taxes which were difficult, expensive, and vexatious in collection, should be suppressed, and new and less objectionable taxes should be substituted for them. Proper regulation should be made for the

distribution of water for irrigation, for the execution of public works, and for the strict limitation of the system of forced labour to works of public utility.

Towards the close of the Report the Commission insert the following clause* which should be thoroughly and deeply pondered by those who suppose that nominal institutions of a constitutional type are any guarantee whatever for the existence of even a germ of a true Constitution :—

"If there is a fact" (say the Commissioners) "which all our investigations establish with incontrovertible evidence, it is that in financial matters the authority of the chief of the Government is absolute. There is, it is true, a Chamber of Notables and a Privy Council; but if one is led to suppose that these two institutions limit in any way whatever the power of the Khedive, it is sufficient to cast the eye over the decrees which organize them and define their functions, in order to understand that their intervention in financial affairs is nothing but a pure and empty formality."

The immediate practical recommendation of a financial kind, though having important administrative and constitutional bearings in the future, was that the Khedive and his family should be held personally liable for the payment of the debts which he had contracted. The Commissioners referred to the economical evils arising from so large an accumulation of private property in the hands of the Khedive and his family; and they demanded the surrender of all the remaining lands and houses (not previously given up under other recent arrangements) of the Khedive or his family, in exchange for a Civil List suitable to his position, to be charged on the annual budgets.

This last recommendation, as is well known to every student of constitutional history, is closely related to constitutional progress. The separation of the finances of the State from the private finances of the Sovereign is a necessary step in the abolition of personal Government. It was only in the later and debased Roman Empire that the *fiscus*, or private purse of the Empire, became synonymous with the *ararium*, which originally meant the public treasury, as opposed to the private property of the Head of the State; and this was an unmistakable mark of constitutional decline.

The property thus set free, not only for the payment of debt, but for good and regular management, such as was soon introduced by the co-operation of French and English Commissioners, amounted, it is calculated, to not less than a fifth part of the cultivable Egyptian soil. One purpose to which this property was instantly turned, was that of affording to Messrs. Rothschild a security for a loan of £8,500,000, which was negotiated as part of a series of arrangements recommended by the Commissioners for the purpose of paying arrears of interest, and gradually reducing the principal of existing debt. Some recent controversialists have objected to this policy, and have boldly said that, inasmuch as such a sum could only be borrowed, in the existing circumstances of Egyptian credit, on

* Blue Book, Egypt, No. 2 (1872), p. 269.

very unfavourable terms, therefore the analogy of the case of an ordinary bankrupt should have been followed, and Ismail's creditors made to suffer for the overreaching, not to say fraudulent, services rendered to him in the matter of loans. The analogy, however, between a bankrupt man and a bankrupt State is not just. When Ismail contracted these loans he really represented the State; and there was no one else who did represent it. He was absolute, and there was not a shadow of a constitution. The loans were public and not private obligations. But, furthermore, bankruptcy is, at the most, but a legal artifice to secure for creditors limitation and an equal distribution of loss in a case in which a debtor has exhausted both his means and his credit. So long as a State has any vitality in it, it cannot be in this position. It may have to pledge its future in order to discharge its obligations, and it ought to do so. It is a mere matter of economical invention to prescribe the most efficient and least burdensome means of doing so. But no Court of Bankruptcy can discharge it from its obligations. The State is presumably immortal, and the debt always continues due till it is paid. In the case of Egypt, the inexhaustible resources of the country ought to have made—and, fortunately, in the view of France and England, did make—even the pretence of bankruptcy, or of acts of bankruptcy, insupportable. If the country was to be started in a new career of honourable constitutional life, it must turn its productivity and resources to account by satisfying its creditors. When once personal government was abolished in Egypt, the honour of every Egyptian was personally involved in paying the interest and principal of the State debts, and on any other basis it would have been impossible to launch the country on its new constitutional career. So unjust and absurd is it to insinuate that the intervention of England and France in Egypt has had no other aim or result than the payment of coupons to bondholders—though even if it had, the intervention, considering all the circumstances of the case, and the political relationships of the countries, might have been justifiable.

It will be a natural comment on the recommendations of the Commissioners, to recur to the Annual Report of the European controllers, issued last year, before the recent political events could have led to the Report being unconsciously coloured. The Report was published in February, 1881, and relates to the year 1880.

With respect to taxation, and referring to the above-cited recommendation of the Commission, that the smaller taxes, which are unremunerative, and imposed a disproportionate burden on the taxpayers, should be abolished, the Controllers say (p. 21) that a decree of January 17, 1880, abolished twenty-eight of these taxes. It also abolished the personal tax which the Commissioners had cited as being more inequitable than any other in its incidence. The same decree further abolished octroi duties in villages, where the cost of collection is out of all proportion to the proceeds. Various regulations have been made for

restricting and defining the forced labour system. The payment of land revenues in kind has been abolished. A cadastral survey of the land is proceeding, and will do much to regulate taxation and improve the value of land. The system of conscription has been improved and deprived of its most unjust and unequal features.

It is impossible even for a casual traveller to go into a country village or to talk to a countryman without finding how vast has been the improvement during the last three years, brought about by mere administrative changes. Order, security, regularity of taxation, have been making themselves felt and truly appreciated everywhere. There is yet wanting a sound system of the administration of justice among the natives. There is an infinite opening for good schools. But the climate and general physical conditions of life are so favourable, and both the religious and the race habits of the people so dispose them to tranquil contentment, that security against cruel and tyrannical abuses is almost all that is wanted to produce both happiness and wealth.

It is, then, with some alarm for the immediate future that one reads the late protest of the Controllers against the surrender of the Budget to other hands than those which have recently alone prepared it. It is well known that Cherif Pasha's Ministry, which was the offspring of the revolution of September, 1881, succumbed to another revolutionary movement in February of this year, owing to its insistence on the principle of retaining the Budget wholly in the hands of the Ministry. It will have been seen from the report of the Commission of Inquiry, and from the measures which have since been taken in different directions to carry out its recommendations, that, not less in Egypt than in all other Oriental countries, financial disorder and collapse were inextricably implicated with misgovernment and irresponsible absolutism. The remedies both for the financial and for the administrative diseases were the same. They were, primarily, the rendering of the Khedive responsible to, and dependent on, his Ministers. They were, secondarily, the subjecting of the Ministry to effective and continuous European influence. The time might indeed come when an Egyptian Constitution would be fully fledged, and a truly representative and national assembly substituted for alien intervention. Everything was prepared for the advent of such a time. But the initial work not only of depriving the Khedive of absolute power, but of delivering him from possible or actual pressure on the part of his army, of fanatical co-religionists, and of Turkey, or of plotters against his throne among his own family acting under Turkish influence, was so arduous that the secondary work of organizing true representative institutions must needs wait. The worst event of all to be apprehended was that the constitutional task of imposing restraints on the absolutism of the Khedive and delivering him from military or mob pressure should be undone, and the clock of Egypt's development be put years backwards. It was for these reasons that Cherif Pasha made so gallant and legal a fight against handing over the Budget to an

assembly, not only prematurely and insufficiently organized for such a responsible function, but having no pretensions to a genuine representative character. The impossibility of creating representative institutions all at once in Egypt, only just arisen out of the degraded and servile tyranny of Ismail's reign, has been already dwelt upon. The Chamber of Notables, so far from being a popular representative body, is identically the same body that Ismail resorted to in his worst moments of misrule, when he needed the practical co-operation of the leading landholders for the imposition of a new tax which mainly fell upon them. The baseless notion of a "National Party" was happily conceived by some who, starting from the presumption that Colonel Arabi Bey must be a patriot because the movement he led was said to oppose itself to all foreign intervention, went on to hold that Egypt might now be left to itself, and might be taught by home politicians to run before it had hardly learned to walk.

In England, indeed, it has always been recognized as a constitutional truism that a popular representative assembly and an independent standing army are incompatible. It is an historical truism that it is bad security for public liberty to put the command of the army directly in the hands of the legislative authority. It has, in fact, been the main fruit of the most beneficial revolutions in England to make the existence and discipline of a standing army dependent on the will of Parliament from year to year, while at the same time delegating the actual government of the army to the executive authority responsible to Parliament. In this way it is axiomatically believed that the army may best be retained as the servant of Parliament, but can never become its master. In the German Empire, and even in Republican France, examples abound of the danger to constitutional freedom which accrues again and again from the highly developed and permanent organization which their vast standing armies demand.

Yet in the so-called Egyptian constitutional movement, it is the army and its favourite leaders in whose name and for whose behoof every revolutionary step forward has hitherto been taken. There can be no mistake about this, whatever mistake there may be about the existence of a "National Party." There have been three distinct movements between February, 1881, and February, 1882, which must be called revolutionary, because of the terrorism or violent moral pressure to which on each occasion the Khedive was subjected and completely succumbed. The first, in February, 1881, took the form of a military demonstration, and resulted in the liberation of three popular colonels (including Arabi Bey) from apprehended arrest and submission to disciplinary control, and also in the dismissal from office of the Minister of War. The second movement, in September, 1881, also took the form of a military demonstration, and resulted in a change of ministry, and the admission of Colonel Arabi Bey into the Government as Under-Secretary of War. The third movement, in February

of this year, took the form of an imperious demand on the Khedive again to change his Ministry, and the result was the promotion of Colonel Arabi Bey to be Minister of War, and the formation of a new Government with the late Minister of War as Prime Minister. Throughout all these proceedings there has been an incessant demand on the part of the army for an increase of their numbers, though the only legitimate calls on the Egyptian army are the preservation of order and the suppression of the slave trade in the Southern Provinces of the Upper Nile. During the sittings of an Army Commission last summer, an English general of the highest repute and experience retired from the Commission, because he could not allow the anarchical or demagogical proposal to be entertained, that in future officers should be appointed to regiments on the nomination of the Colonel, and that Colonels should be selected by the regiments.

It is a useful comment on this intrusion of the army into *soi-disant* constitutional movements in Egypt to recall the event of the military revolt in Cairo, in the closing month of Ismail's reign. The Consul-General, Mr. Vivian,* writing to Lord Salisbury on February 19, 1879, said that, in consequence of reductions in the army having been recently made on a large scale, by which about 2,500 officers were put on half pay without receiving the heavy arrears due to them, "a serious military revolt broke out in Cairo. It was directed against the Government, but more especially against Nubar Pasha and Mr. Rivers Wilson. These two ministers, when driving near their offices, were stopped by about 400 armed officers, demanding their arrears of pay, and, with very rough treatment, were forced into the Ministry of Finance, of which the rioters took complete possession, cutting the telegraph wires, and refusing admission to any one. There were also cries, I am told, of 'Death to the Christians.'" The connection of this revolt with the fact of arrears being due to the soldiers, itself shows how closely good government in Egypt is bound up with the budget.

Now with all these military phenomena staring one in the face, it argues a brute ignorance or culpable sentimentality to see in the pretensions of the new Egyptian reformers nothing but innocent aspirations after Home-rule and popular liberty, outraged of late years by foreign aggression. The present Khedive is the first Egyptian ruler who has mounted the throne on the condition of complying with the first requirements of a true constitution—that his personal will is not to be supreme. The Powers of Europe, acting through France and England, have established, for the first time in Egypt, the foundations of a true constitution, and, by helping forward the liquidation of the debt, prepared the way for future complete national independence. It is one of those blunders which amount to a crime, to arrest with feverish and ignorant impetuosity this regular course of improvement, which is making way with steady and increasing success. It is worse than a

* Blue Book, Egypt, No. 5 (1879), p. 24.

common crime—it is an act of treason against human liberty and true national independence, to show the slightest indulgence for military insubordination and assumption, which can only end in the worst form of tyranny, in destructive anarchy, and, as a consequence, in this special case, in such an armed intervention as might delay the acquisition of true Constitutional Government for another half century.

The protest of the Controllers, MM. de Blignières and Colvin, which appeared in the leading English and French newspapers, and is dated Cairo, February 6th, sums up the above observations. It is as follows:—

"When the decrees regulating the powers of the Controllers were promulgated the real power belonged to the Khedive, and by delegation to his Ministers. If the Controllers-General were confined to the right of giving advice, it was to be presumed that their advice would receive just appreciation. This expectation has been realized, and the financial situation of the country, which was so grave two years ago, is now as prosperous. But since then the power has shifted. It now belongs to the Chamber of Delegates and to several military chiefs whose influence the Chamber submits to. This profound alteration in the institutions of the country has been effected gradually. The authority of the Khedive and his Ministers, shaken by the military riot of February 1, 1880, has been getting daily weaker. Things have come to such a pass that a Chamber of Delegates which under the reign of the ex-Khedive gave many proofs of servility, adhering to the most iniquitous and fatal financial measures, does not hesitate now to demand rights incompatible with the social condition of the country. It has gone the length of obliging the Khedive to change the Ministry which enjoyed his confidence, and, under the pressure of several officers, of forcing on him as Premier the Minister of War. The Khedive's power no longer exists. In these new conditions it little matters whether the intention is affirmed or not of not interfering with the powers of the Controllers. By the very force of things they become inefficient when confronted, not with the Khedive and Ministers freely appointed by him, but with a Chamber and an army. The Khedive and the Ministers he appointed could not assume towards public opinion and foreign Governments the responsibility of measures to which the Controllers-General objected in the reports they had a right to publish. This was the sole sanction of our powers. It has thus far sufficed; but it becomes perfectly illusory, confronted with the Ministers of the Chamber and the army, who will only be accessible to the influence of the officers and delegates from whom they derive their powers. In fact, it has come to this already, for the Ministry which has just been formed is about, notwithstanding the formal opposition of the Controllers-General, to give the Chamber the right of voting the Budget. It must, moreover, not be forgotten that Sherif Pasha's Ministry only fell because it would not disregard the opposition offered by the English and French Governments to the claim put forward by the Chamber to vote the Budget. To accept accomplished facts is, therefore, to accept the most serious outrage which has been committed against the influence of England and France; positively to annihilate the influence of the Controllers, who have no authority but that which they derive from their Governments. It would be a profound illusion not herein to see the prelude of a series of measures which will not leave standing any of the reforms introduced in the course of late years. The days may already be foreseen when the financial disorders which were remedied by the Commission of Inquiry and Commission of Liquidation will reappear."

Instead, then, of there being any cause for jubilation among Englishmen at the advent of representative institutions in Egypt, and the growth of a "National Party" (if elsewhere to be found than in the brains of English

tourists), there is ground to apprehend the loss of the real constitutional advantages, in the way of secured good government, which Egypt has been at last enjoining, and the adjournment to an indefinite distance of time of the real emancipation of Egypt and its inhabitants. Nevertheless, the actual facts must be faced, and, however lamentable is the manifest retrogression towards absolutism, yet the English statesman must now take it as his point of departure. The inherent political weakness of the situation all through has been that, whereas there are in Egypt a number of discordant influences all drawing different ways, yet the Powers of Europe are so loosely organized for joint action in Egypt that those influences can be always, for the moment, brought into union sufficient to separate, to weaken, and to embarrass action from without. Thus, no doubt, there is in Egypt—especially in Cairo, though scarcely at all in the provinces—some religious enthusiasm which resents the obtrusion of Christian authority and the presence of Christian administrators. It was partly to this sentiment that the Prime Minister, Nubar Pasha, an Armenian Christian, succumbed; and this sentiment easily allies itself with Turkish assumptions, always hostile to Western intervention in Ottoman provinces, and also with the undoubted piety of the present Khedive, who has no reason to prefer a machinery one of the main objects of which is to reduce him, as apart from his Ministry, to a cipher. To call this enthusiasm "Pan-Islamism," or to believe that underneath the calm and punctual devotion of the Mussulman Egyptian there are fermenting schemes and passionate longings for a Mohammedan revival, is no doubt fine and impressive writing, calculated duly to stir the imaginations of those who have the memories of the Indian Mutiny burnt into them, but it can serve no other purpose, least of all that of telling the truth. In the provinces, the Mussulman population, only just awaked from the opiate sleep of slavery and oppression, is steeped in ignorance, and never sees an Arab newspaper, nor comes into contact with central religious organs of any sort. They are honest, steady, trustworthy, patient, hardworking, and faithful. The better side of the Mohammedan religion has kept them free from some of the worst vices and the spiritual degradation of the slave. But, on the other hand, they have neither the knowledge nor the spiritual strength needed for a fanatical agitation; and they have no thought of one. Their condition, physical and moral, is thoroughly well known to Europeans in Egypt, inasmuch as the Daira estates, amounting to a vast portion of the soil, and agricultural and industrial enterprises of a variety of kinds in every part of the country, are conducted by Europeans either resident on the spot, or (in the case of the Daira estate) in daily correspondence with managers on the spot, and the habitual temperament of the people is thus constantly being gauged.

In Cairo indeed, and especially in the Arab University of the Mosque of El-Azhar, there is some fanaticism or natural enthusiasm of an intolerant kind. But it is the universal remark that there are scarcely ever any

symptoms of dislike to Europeans—even at times, such as in February this year (just after the last change of Ministry), when so solemn a ceremony as the return of the pilgrims to Cairo in the presence of the Khedive might be supposed to create a passing and infectious sentiment of zeal and religious antipathy. In Alexandria so many of the Arabs are employed by the large European population that the diminution of the latter would be seriously felt, and the best relations exist between the natives and the foreigners. The only exception to this friendly intercourse has been in the case of soldiers, and (so far as insults from soldiers have not been exaggerated) this again points to the exclusively military character of the whole revolution.

It is quite possible that the talk that has taken place about a "National Party," and the idea which, by the mere accident of controversy, has been propounded to the Chamber of Notables of making that the organ of the national voice, may, in default of a better office, really help forward constitutional ideas in Egypt. But nothing will be gained if the country is again plunged in debt through trying wild fiscal experiments, or rendering the revenue subservient to military appetites and excesses. Even the arrest of the existing methods for the payment of the interest and principal of debt would be a lamentable disaster, which no indulgence in outside constitutional forms could compensate. If, on the other hand, this semblance of a constitution is only used as a specious tool for military aggrandisement, then the next scene witnessed in Egyptian history will be a despotism such as that of Mohammed Ali, or of Napoleon I., but happening at a period long after the people had been once triumphantly freed from the one sort of despotism, and yet long before it has acquired the independent energy needed to shake off the other.

AN ENGLISH RESIDENT IN EGYPT.

AUTUMN JOTTINGS IN FRANCE.

PEASANT PROPRIETORS.

II.

THE vintage was just beginning, but the old festive arrangements have in general died out, and the gathering is neither curious nor picturesque at present. The joint authorities of a district fix a common day, to avoid the picking and stealing which, in the extraordinary mixture of tiny plots, might otherwise take place; and, however over-ripe the fruit may be, no man dares pick a grape (except to eat) until that morning under a penalty. Then all the vines are stripped together, though loiterers, of course, may take their own time. That such a system is needful hardly speaks well for the inter-household morality, and an English labourer would resent such interference with his free-will in harvest time. But here no one complains.

It is a mistake to suppose that in the excessive subdivision of the soil in France and Belgium each owner cultivates his own little bit. A great deal of land is let by one to another. A farm of fifty acres, mentioned by Mr. Jenkins,* was hired from nineteen different proprietors, and in much smaller instances three and four landlords are not uncommon. These small owners are by necessity very stringent in their demands for rent; they cannot afford to wait for their money; and the rents which we heard of were very high. If the Irish ideal could by any possibility be carried out, and the whole of Ireland cut into small morsels for separate owners, so that rent was abolished, it would be found to revive again on the succeeding day;—the experience of France and Belgium showing that the cottar landlords often find it better worth their while to let, and that they exact their rents with a severity unknown to large proprietors, as is the case at present with the small owners of houses and corners of land in England, where it is well known that the worst cottages belong to little absentee owners, or have been run up on the waste.

* On the Duke of Richmond's Agricultural Commission.

It is so difficult to obtain accurate particulars concerning peasant properties, as the owners are naturally very reticent, that I give the details of one with which we happen to have become well acquainted, although it is over the French border. It is a peculiarly favourable instance, as the family to whom it belongs are exceptionally respectable, intelligent, and thrifty, come of French Protestants who took refuge in Switzerland in one of the great persecutions about 200 years ago, —while the habit of seeking service abroad and of emigrating, ingrained among the Swiss, forms a great contrast to the way in which each member of a French family sticks to the land, and greatly eases the working of the system.

Yet this is the result :—

The property consists of about six and a quarter acres, and this is divided into sixteen little morsels, no two of which touch at any one point. It is not in any way at all peculiar in this respect. The father inherited from his father half a house, but about thirty-five years ago he quarrelled with the brother who held the other half (a result which often happens), and sold his share to him, going to live in a hired house, where he died, leaving a widow and eight children grown up. It is clear that, if the land had been divided, each would have had his three-quarters of an acre, and there would have been an end of the estate; but here the Swiss custom came in aid. One brother went with Lesseps to the Suez Canal, where he died. Another became a soldier, and died also. A third settled in the Argentine Republic, where he was killed in an attack by the Indians. One sister married at home and died, leaving three little boys unprovided for. Three other sisters took service in England, and one brother devoted himself to the care of the little *bien*, which was heavily mortgaged, and of his mother, who had a *droit de jouissance* in the inheritance for her lifetime. In 1854 he borrowed money to buy a dilapidated house, which had been sold because the owner could not pay the interest of a mortgage upon it. Here he lived with his mother and the three nephews (whom they took in for a time), declaring that he should never marry, for "the property could not afford it." The mother is dead, the brother-father of the family died a year or two back, in great part of hard work, and a sister who had returned from England to keep his house has married at fifty and now lives at the place with her husband. The other sisters have a right to return and a common share in the property, which cannot be sold because the death of the brother in Egypt was not certified officially. They have never taken the little interest which was due to them, but left it at first for the benefit of their mother, and afterwards to keep up the "estate." They have therefore hitherto benefited by it in no way, but in the very ideal satisfaction of having a property belonging to the family. The interest on the two mortgages, which are at 5 per cent., amount to 175 and 28 francs a year, i.e. £8, and the value sunk in the rest of the property,

taken at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., amounts to £12 more, in fact £20 in all, which would be considered a high rent in England for $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land, only half an acre of it vineyard, and a house.

In what respect are they better off than they would have been by hiring land in England? As an Irish tenant, who was lately asked to buy his holding, replied, "Sure, and shouldn't I have to pay the poor-rate and the taxes? How'll that better me?" These people have, of course, to bear all the burdens on the land, and having, for instance, lately dug a well, the rating value of their house has been increased by 600 francs in consequence. They are not even more secure, for if they do not pay the interest on the mortgages, the house would be sold over their heads, as was the case with their predecessors in it. The amount of sacrifices made by the family, the time, thrift, labour, and thought expended in buying and keeping together these little scraps of land, would in England have enabled them to do well in trade, and to advance in the world; each might have married, and had a home of his or her own, and, among such extremely intelligent and respectable people, probably some one of them, instead of continuing on the same level as two hundred years ago, might have been helping to govern his country, as Mr. Mundella and other architects of their own fortunes have done here. The fixed idea of keeping and increasing the peasant property has dwarfed their ideal and narrowed the field of their energies, and prevented, instead of helping, their thriving in the world.

We found everywhere that the waste of time, labour, and money in tilling these small morsels was excessive, when each has to be cultivated, manured, weeded, and ploughed separately. It will be asked why the plots are not consolidated by exchanges. In the first place, the fluctuating ownership brought about by the *partage forcé* is so great that it seems often considered hardly worth while to knit up to-day the Penelope's web which may be scattered again to-morrow. And next, that the quarrels and ill-blood engendered by the extraordinary mixing up of the plots often renders any amicable arrangement impossible -- e.g., one of the sixteen morsels just mentioned is a scrap of ground in the middle of an orchard, inherited from some old ancestress. (It is what would be called a "Quillet" in Wales, where there is something of the same custom.) It is only a few yards square, and is of the smallest value to the possessors. The owner of the orchard is very anxious to get it, as the necessary passing to and fro greatly damages his property. He offers land close to the house of the Quillet possessors, but they say their land is better than the price proposed; he will not give more. It has become a point of honour on both sides not to yield; the quarrel has been going on for years, and will probably not be settled while either party is alive.

"L'échange des parcelles s'accomplit rarement," writes Le Play. He remarks that the dislike to accommodate *le voisin*, and the hope to make a little money out of him, almost always prevent any hope of

accommodation in such matters. He goes on to say that in the minute patches, isolated and scattered, to which the *partage force* reduces peasant properties, the proper employment of water for irrigation, any works for drainage, all improvements in the cultivation of cereals, green crops, or the breeds of cattle, become impossible. In some places the width of the plot is from four to five furrows, the length being about fifty metres, so as just to allow the plough to be used.

We crossed the French frontier into Switzerland in a black *bisc*. It is now perilously near the town of Geneva on both sides, indeed the little canton is pinched in as between the heads of a pair of pincers, and whensoever it shall suit France to "go to war for an idea," or that "the interests of civilization" shall require her to take her neighbour's goods, as she has done in the case of Savoy and Tunis, there seems to be little chance of its safety, while Europe is very apt to condone the high-handed acts of the strong, as she has done in the case of Prussia and Schleswig-Holstein, though she falls heavily on weaker offenders.

The old Puritan town has nearly doubled in extent during the last fifty years, and a great rich "quarter" of houses has grown up beyond the bridge across the "arrowy Rhone,"—but her real importance can hardly be said to have risen since the days when she was the home of a knot of scientific and literary men, many of them exiles, like Sismondi and Rossi, of European reputation, and she was called (although it is true in derision of her pretensions) the "*cinquième partie du monde*."

The new monument to the Duke of Brunswick was opposite our windows. Exceedingly ugly, heavy, almost vulgar, it is an interesting lesson in the history of art. It has a puzzling echo in it of something beautiful, like the unpleasant likeness of a vulgar man to a beautiful mother, and at last it dawned on us that it is a copy of the tomb of Can Grande della Scala at Verona, with all the proportions altered and all the details "improved," as we were told by the *custode* with pride on the next day. The slender pinnacles of the original were intended for a group of tombs in the midst of a narrow Italian piazza, they have been pulled out in every direction as if they had been made of india-rubber, and set upon a platform in a garden. The gambling nineteenth-century Duke rests (or is supposed to do so) in a mediæval sarcophagus in the centre, while his ancestors, many of them in frock-coats and trousers, or "shorts," stand round in the mediæval niches, in place of the mail-clad "warrior saints" of the Scaligers' tomb. That we cannot originate in art is evident, but here is seen how great is the difficulty of even copying intelligently. The whole is a most useful warning as to the value of proportion, in giving its nameless charm to a building, and a lesson on the very bald truism that the external form of a tomb should have some (at least slight) reference to the person in whose honour it is erected. But whether this humble if useful result is likely to be satisfactory to the worthy Genevèse who have put it up, may be doubtful. At all events, the juxtaposition is so exceedingly droll, that

it almost comes under the definition of humour, if, as was once said, its office is to show the likeness of incongruous ideas.

Another curious fact is that there is no statue of Calvin in the town. That the graceless wretched Duke of Brunswick should be commemorated in the once stern old religious city, while her most famous citizen (if not the most agreeable) is left out, speaks strangely for her present rulers. "Thrift, thrift, Horatio!" Calvin left no money to the town to build a monument to himself.

Commerce was said to be flourishing, and the watch trade is holding its own against the Americans, who use pinchbeck instead of gold in unseen places and scamp the work. "Very smart, but not very honest, and such conduct does not answer in the long run," said the chief of the works, proudly. The coarser parts of the watches are very generally made at Le Locle and Chaudesfond in Neuchâtel, and the Jura, but the finer work is done chiefly in Geneva, and a great deal of it by women. The daughters of respectable tradesmen have very often an *établi*—i.e., a working bench with wheels and staples—set up in the ordinary house-room, where they make the hinges, the hands of the watches, enamel, paint, and engrave the backs and faces, and mark the hour figures. They often earn their own livelihood, and are not dependent on their parents, instead of leading the useless, aimless lives of so many tradesmen's daughters in England, striving after gentility by practising bad music, ugly drawing, and useless wool-work. The polishing of the watch-cases is done at the great shops in a separate room by women, where the work is handed to them through a wicket. It is dirty work; the water in which their clothes and their hands are washed is all passed through a sieve, for the amount of gold dust found in the sediment is of very appreciable value.

The division of property in the canton is exceedingly great, but the Swiss emigrate to so large an extent, and are besides so industrial and commercial a people, that, unlike French peasants, they do not call on the land exclusively to support them. One kind of manufacture, however, which has lately sprung up is a little too akin to fraud—wine made from imported raisins: 90 per cent. of water, 5 or 6 of alcohol, and tannin from the dried grape, make a mixture which is underselling the natural wine under a false name, and is besides very unwholesome.

The entire exclusion of the educated and capable men of the old aristocratic class from all share in the government of the canton makes their position a very trying one. The democratic majority is absolute, so that no man of the opposite party is allowed to hold office of any kind, and the influence of the few who enter the Grand Conseil is so small, that there was at one time talk of their resigning, from their utter inability to influence or carry any measures which they think right.

The *bière* was sharp on the lake, and the weather grey, but it lightened as we drove up to G——, an interesting old castle, standing high up among the vineyards in the Pays de Vaud; the towers are full of bullet marks, for they had stood more than one siege against the people of Berne, during

the struggles between the cantons, and the final conquest of the country. Republics have been as much addicted to wars of aggrandizement as their neighbours in the days of old. The walls are fifteen feet thick, and the interior was so dark that windows had to be broken through by the present owners, to make it habitable. A Rothschild had offered 80,000 francs for some of the old carved furniture, one cabinet with heads of Mary Queen of Scots, her husband Francis II., the Constable de Montmorenci, &c. The family is an extremely ancient one, and the pedigree was headed (more modestly than in the Welsh descents from Noah and Adam) by Melchior, one of the Wise Men of the East, "les trois Rois," whose picture—a black Moor in a turban—hung in the gallery, an authentic relic of A.D. One!

The wooded slopes of the Jura rose close behind the house, and had once belonged to the family, but the forest had been "annexed" by the commune during the Revolution, and the trees cut down; only brushwood remains, but wolves are still heard of higher up the mountains. The family had taken much pains to improve the vineyards by planting a species of vine which should ripen early, a great desideratum in that rather high land; but they could only pick their own grapes before the rest of the slow-going district was ready, by paying a fine, a sort of premium upon non-improvement.

We steamed up the lake in a bright sun and a bitter wind, with the long line of what are now French mountains fringing the southern side, and Mont Blanc to be seen, if the clouds are propitious; but his neighbourhood is feared rather than loved, as from him are supposed to come the dreaded frosts and hail in spring, which have spoiled the vineyards during many years. "How can you admire *ces beautés de la Nature* when they do us all this harm?" said a little owner. Suddenly, we came under the shelter of the mountains above Clarens and Montreux, and entered into summer again, with a most southern vegetation. Here the vineyards are the most valuable in the district 20,000 francs a hectare, i.e. £160 an acre, is often paid. An old man in a wretched cottage, smoky and dilapidated, perched on a sort of rocky horn on the steep mountain side under Glyn, with a splendid outlook, paid £12 a year for house, a garden, and two small plots.

The whole eastern shore of the lake is bordered by a continued line of boarding-houses, villas, hotels, and little shops, and a strange confusion of tongues and types, collected from all parts of the world in one common search after health, is to be found walking, driving, dining at the *tables d'hôte*—Russians, Poles, Spanish, French and English, Greek, German, American, curiously mixed together.

Nothing can be more lovely than the end of this lake, and what would be called in music the "contrary motion" of the lines which formed the picture. The opposing steep mountain slopes, craggy and bare, of the French and Swiss sides of the valleys in lovely shades of lilac, a perpendicular rock in front with a group of poplars, and the tall, dark tower

of Villeneuve guarding the passage into the town, contrasted with the perfectly horizontal lines, not only of the lake, but of the alluvial ground of the pass to the Valais and Martigny, the snowy peaks of the Pic du Midi in the distance, made an almost perfect composition; a long line of cows was coming home from the mountain pastures, with a pretty *sonnerie* from their enormous bells. I was trying to draw, and as we had just passed the English cemetery, with its sad record of young occupants of many nationalities, I said to our driver, "How many deaths there are here!" "On meurt partout, Madame," replied he, sententiously, anxious for the honour of his country. "Yes, but these are sent here to die." "Ah! moi, je ne voudrais pas tâcher de tromper la mort comme ça. Doctors are the same everywhere; quand ils ne veulent pas qu'un malade leur meure sous les mains ils l'envoient promener pour s'en débarrasser!"

Peasant properties in Switzerland require more time or opportunity to examine than we could give at that moment; in the Pays de Vaud, however, it is clear that the ripening of the grape makes it possible for a larger number of persons to live on the produce of the land than in the neighbouring cantons. The change on crossing the dividing line of hills into Fribourg and the country round Berne is exceedingly striking. It has the grey, cold look of a northern climate compared to the sunny exposures of the hills striped with vineyards round Lausanne and Vevey. Berne itself has a large, and not very thriving population, crowded into the picturesque streets on the steep banks of the river. There are no manufactures carried on in the town, and we heard that the drain into it from the country of the small cultivators, who cannot live on their plots, and come in to try and better themselves, but find no work, is so large as to cause some difficulty. The begging is very great, and the demands on the charity of the town very trying.

It was sad to see the injuries which two severe winters had inflicted on the lines of pear, apple, and plum trees which border the little fields in Baden Baden. Thousands of them had been destroyed, and as the peasant proprietors greatly depend upon their produce, they have had of late a hard struggle to live. The debts and mortgages are extremely heavy on the small plots in these parts. We heard in the neighbourhood of Heidelberg of 5 per cent. being often paid for three months, to enable the owners to tide over the time till the potatoes were ready, or the grapes ripe. "There is not a peasant about here out of debt," said one authority. "The money-lenders much like this kind of security," said another, meaning that it is easy for them to foreclose the mortgages.

We re-entered what had been France at Strasburg; there is much stir of business about the place, and a prosperous look, although the streets were full of German soldiers. It was after all essentially a German town, in its modes of life as well as its language, and retained its characteristics even under the long French occupation. "*Salé comme un Français*" was one of the proverbs which survived among the people, and they were proud of being German; now their patriotism of course

takes the reverse line. The country people in Alsace have been dealt with very gently by their new masters, but the higher class have been forced either to give up their old nationality or to migrate, in a way which seems unnecessarily harsh, and has created a very bitter feeling amongst them against the conqueror.

The cathedral looked empty and cold; except on Sunday and with a crowd of worshippers, the long bare nave of many a Catholic church is even more unfurnished than some of our English cathedrals, cut short, as some people think objectionably, by the organ and the choir seats, but at all events occupied.

The line of railroad to Metz runs for some distance through the pretty valleys of the Vosges, with much wild land on both sides, and through one of the two most important forests of France, which supply the country with timber and firewood; the villages are very scattered, and there is little cultivation to be seen.

During a long dark journey in company with several German officers, they gave a very interesting account of the *Etappen* system to H—, and of the perfection of their military training. The captain of a company is responsible for everything connected with it; he is their musketry instructor, on him devolves all care for their intellectual training, that their accoutrements, arms, and clothes are properly made, and of course for their drill. He does all which the major, adjutant, and sergeant-major do in our service, and a great deal more. The effect is admirable; it establishes a bond between the officer commanding a company and his men which is too often wanting with us, and renders the whole a perfectly homogeneous body of men, able to rely on each other, and having entire confidence in their officers—a most powerful weapon of offence and defence. The staff consists entirely of highly educated officers, who have shown ability for its duties; and are selected entirely by merit.

Metz is a considerable town, with narrow streets and high houses, among which are many old *hôtels, entre cour et jardin*, inhabited before the war by old French families, who have now all migrated. A French country town is always a very dead-alive place, unless where some special manufacture is carried on. But although it may hardly have been more lively of old, yet the constant feeling of being under the iron heel of the conqueror must now be extremely trying. It has become a garrison pure and simple; troops of soldiers in full uniform, with their arms by their sides, were passing in every street, soldiers were drilling on the esplanade, exercising on the ground just outside the town, practising at targets, fifty or more of which at different ranges stand against the hill. The triple girdle of earthworks and ditches makes it one of the most impregnable of fortresses, and the utmost military precautions are always enforced. No one is allowed to see the fortifications on the hills, except with an order from the Minister of War at Berlin.

M. Mohl once told us that he had heard from Count Moltke how, many years before, as a young man, he had gone to Metz in order to make plans and sketches of the forts for practice. The General Commandant was warned what he was doing, and answered, "*Laissez-le faire : je le connais, c'est seulement le petit Moltke.*" When the siege took place in 1870 these very plans were used, and were found to be correct in every point, except that the range of heavy ordnance had increased in the proportion of two to five or six miles during the interval, which had to be allowed for. The low hills round the town are now all covered by forts, one of which, in the direction of Gravelotte, dominates not only the city, but the country on every side, and is garrisoned by several thousand men. This position the French, strangely enough, had omitted to fortify. The town is entirely commanded from it, and could not now hold out a day. Looking from hence over the wide bare country, H—— was shown a valley to the west, where a large body of the enemy could have been concealed; the hill above had accordingly been scarped, and the low ground filled up, which renders that windy fortress now secure on the only side where it could have been attacked. The Germans do not do their work by halves.

H—— then drove with his military companion over the battle-fields. The country is covered with crosses and little monuments of dead soldiers, who were buried where they fell. The amount of fighting to the west and south was tremendous; every inch had been contested, and the value of hedges, banks, and ditches to the fields was evidently most important for the defence. The Germans acknowledged that their difficulties were greatly increased wherever these existed. They passed through Gravelotte, a wretched village, where the great battle took place in '70. Here H—— saw the quarries in which the French had invented a victory to comfort themselves for the dismal realities of defeat. Sixty thousand Prussians, a whole *corps d'armée*, they declared, had been decoyed into the quarries, where they were massacred by the French troops firing in on them, and the peasants throwing down stones! There had not been even a pebble of truth at the centre of the great lie, but the scene had been painted for a broadside in red, blue, and yellow, and gave so much satisfaction that General Cox saw a copy of it still stuck up at Amiens when the German troops marched through the town eight months after, on their way to the siege of Paris.

G—— declared that he did not believe in Bazaine's treachery; it was certainly not true that he had been bought by Germany, or that he was acting in the Prussian interest. He probably believed it to be better for the Emperor Napoleon that a great army should be preserved intact, to act later in favour of the dynasty, little dreaming of such a possibility as the capitulation of Sedan. At one moment, no doubt, the fortunes of the war lay in his hands; he had 120,000 men in Metz, and might have left half to guard the town, while with 60,000 more he could have taken the Germans in flank as they were marching on Sedan, the

consequences of which might have been most serious to them. H—— drove down a wide *chaussée*, with a space of a couple of hundred yards on each side cleared of wood, along which Bazaine might have marched with no sort of danger, until he came up with the enemy. That the French on the whole fought well, but that the manner in which they were commanded could only be called dismal, was the general German verdict. We heard how a young aide-de-camp had ridden out with another *Uhlán* to reconnoitre not far from Metz in the direction of the French army. Suddenly he came upon an empty camp, out of which the troops had evidently only just marched. He returned in haste with his news to Count Moltke. The old General would not at first believe the account. It was quite impossible, he said, that any commander could make such a gross blunder as was this move under the circumstances. When at last he had satisfied himself that the report was correct, "Then we have them," he said quietly, and a crushing defeat ensued.

We walked through the narrow streets of the town, which were almost empty. A block between two women pushing hand-barrows and an artillery tumbril, or army provision cart, was pretty nearly all the motion to be seen. There was some beautiful modern carving in the windows of a shop into which we went; the owner told us that the *bonnes familles* were all gone, and the Germans were birds of passage who bought nothing, while the country-houses outside the town were all shut up or sold. "Peasant proprietors" and shopkeepers do not buy works of art, and he would be starved but that in the Luxembourg there were still some rich people, and he had a trade *avec l'étranger*.

In another shop the master told us that he had considered the question of going away, but the people who had migrated were not *bien reçus* at all in the rest of France. Nobody wanted them! and this would not suit him. How could he get up a new trade in a new place? It was hard enough in the old one. So he had made up his mind to stop where he was.

Barbarous old customs linger in such out-of-the-way towns. A military surgeon had died that morning of heart complaint, and it was necessary for the poor wife to "sit up" in state to receive all the friends and acquaintances who chose to come and see the body; the number was in proportion to the popularity of the dead man, and a crowd was therefore honourable. In this instance the house was overflowing, and our friends told us that the family looked quite stupefied with the crush and buzz in the midst of their grief.

A great *fouction* was about to take place for the opening of a Protestant Church with a spire and bells, neither of which had ever been allowed in France by the priests to a "Temple," and were therefore a matter of much pride. The building had been long in hand, for the Prussian Minister grudged the funds necessary to finish it. At last the Emperor was appealed to, and, said the legend, "he replied, 'Ich will es,' and so it was done directly;" the idea of paternal government certainly in perfection!

The peasant proprietors of the district, we were told by the Germans, are extremely poor. French Lorraine indeed, within five miles, is one of the districts where land is extremely subdivided, and has gone down in value 40 per cent, according to the report of the *Société des Agriculteurs de France*, lately published. In the rest of the corn-growing districts of France it has sunk from 20 to 33 per cent. during the last few years.

W—— had been extremely struck during the war by the conduct of the lower-class French women. They were quite as patriotic as their husbands, and much more capable and intelligent. The sense and dignity of their conduct in the many difficult questions that naturally arose between the Germans and the conquered people was very remarkable. "The grey mare" is very decidedly "the better horse" in north-eastern France.

There is a change for the better in the French railroad arrangements; travellers are no longer boxed up in the wretched pens where we used to be suffocated, but still the doors are only open at a certain moment, and an *ordonnance* was posted up at all the stations, saying that "vu les grands dangers" that are run by getting in and out of carriages, now that travellers are allowed to go on the platforms, they are ordered to take "*les plus grandes précautions*" not to be killed! The sort of admonition that would be addressed to an English boy of ten years old travelling for the first time by rail. There is a curious union in France of the utmost license in some matters, and an intolerance of any Government that does not suit their humour at the moment, combined with a patient submission to its paternal interference in matters with which we think that it has nothing whatever to do.

The railway passes through low pleasant hills, with many vineyards bristling over them, crosses the Moselle, and up an extremely pretty valley, with wild picturesque forest land on both sides. This is the second of the *deux nobles forêts*, which supply the chief part of the timber of France, and are still possessed by great proprietors. M. Le Play, in his "*Réforme Sociale*," shows how it is only by their means, or by the state, that forests can be preserved at all. The time that is required to grow large trees—*la révolution de la forêt*, as it is called—is beyond the life of a single man; it is calculated at 120 years both in Germany and France.* A proprietor who has an interest in future generations and can afford to wait, is content with the smaller revenue to be obtained from forests treated in the systematic manner necessary, each portion being set aside to be cut in its turn as it becomes ready for the axe. Peasant proprietors, of course, strip the land and attempt to cultivate it, even when only fit for trees; they cannot live except by produce which brings in a yearly income. What Le Play calls a *famille instable*, who, although rich, treat the question only commercially, will buy and cut down a whole forest, by

* The custom of forest culture is rather different in England. Here such large trees as have reached their full growth are cut with the underwood every fifteen or twenty years.

which a large immediate profit is realized; but the hill-sides on which the trees here grow, produce when cleared only a very poor pasturage, at a very low rent, often $2\frac{1}{2}$ francs per hectare, in the place of nearly 20, which is calculated for the receipts on wood, after all expenses are paid. "While the destruction of the mountain forests is a *vrai desastre* for the nation; the loss of the supply of timber, the deterioration of the climate, which alternates between too great dryness and devastating torrents after heavy rains, the stripping of soil which leaves bare rocks and dry ravines in the place of the sheltered meadows with streams and fountains, has done incalculable harm to society, both in France and Italy."

The question of the supply of timber for the future is all over the world becoming very serious; the sources are gradually exhausted, while scarcely anything is done to repair the waste, except by England and in parts of Germany. In India, the small cultivators cut down the trees wherever they can, and of course never plant; and the destruction of the forests has greatly injured the rainfall, dew moisture, and supply of wood in the country, while the peasants are burning the manure of their cattle for lack of better fuel, instead of putting it on the land. Government has now been obliged to interfere both for the protection of the forests and to plant fresh trees. In America, along the whole line where cultivation encroaches on the backwoods, the trees are recklessly destroyed, even burnt down, and no steps are taken to ensure future supplies of timber in place of that which is so rapidly disappearing. What is sent to Europe comes every year from a greater distance inland.

It has lately been proposed to utilize the enormous tracts of waste mountain and bog in Ireland, which will not pay for ordinary cultivation, by planting it. It seems to be forgotten that this is a most expensive process; about £8 per acre is a low estimate, while no profit can be obtained for fifteen or twenty years. Peasant proprietors cannot and will not plant; it cannot be expected of them; it can be done only by men with money, who are interested personally through their heirs in the future produce of the country.

The line presently passed into the ugly Champagne country, with a large district of marshy copse intermixed with wet pasture land, and here and there an occasional herd of cattle, made up, we were told, of cows belonging to separate owners. The soil is exceedingly poor and the population very scanty. The villages lay far apart, and little pieces of corn and vegetable gardens in their immediate vicinity were the only cultivation to be seen. Much of the undrained country—half scrubby wood, half covered with wretched grass—belonged to the communes, who cut every year, and cannot afford the time necessary to let any large trees grow.

At last low chalk hills began to appear on each side the valley, scored and seamed with lines of vineyard, where the champagne which supplies the universe at large is produced. Though how little that is called by that magical name really comes from its legitimate home may

be guessed, when we were told that the finest "river wines" only occupy an extent of six leagues, and the "mountain wines" not very much more than double.

When we were at Marienbad a few years since we were shown the place where the sour wine of the country was, with great mystery, doctored with an effervescing water, and dubbed champagne, to the great advantage of the mixers; and there appears to be every variety of manufacture going on, both in France and out of it, of a product whose name brings in so large a harvest to the fabricators of the compound.

Paris was beginning to fill again, and the people were full of anxiety at the change of Ministry. The unpopularity of Gambetta underneath his apparent success was growing. He was often ill received at meetings, and the denunciations of Mlle. Louise Michel, the returned Communist—who decreed that his crimes required him to be guillotined!—showed that he was losing ground with the ultra-Reds, while he was not gaining with the party of order. His fall was not expected to be as sudden as it proved, or that it would be utterly "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung;" but it was evident that his imperious, absolute, personal policy was not likely to last. The *Scrutin de Liste* would have added the last straw to the tyranny he exercised over France. He could have then influenced every election from his bureau in Paris, and the particular opinion of each district, which in England is considered of the utmost importance, would have been stifled under the weight of the orders to elect the candidate on the government list. The moment of a man's triumph in France is the first step, indeed, in his downward progress. There are no buffers for the Chief of the State, which Gambetta virtually was, as in a constitutional sovereignty. Grévy desired to have him at the head of the Ministry, believing that "it would use him up," and that there would then be an end of his influence in France. Barthélemy St. Hilaire refused to serve with him,—a singular change from the opinion he held in 1879, when he admired and trusted him with all his heart, and looked forward to his command of the State as a boon to the country. There is an extraordinary dearth of great men at present in France, or even of men of second-class ability. Gambetta stood alone for the moment, and no one disputed his supremacy. It was not his own greatness, however, but the smallness of the rest, that gave him his position; and he endured no rival, but surrounded himself with mere clerks.

The petty bribery with petty places, the dependence on Government, the intimidation by the heads of Departments, go on exactly as under the Empire. Votes are lost because the post of *garde champêtre*, or *adjoint to the maire*, was to be given away, and a brother or a son, or even *le cousin* wanted it. Political arguments availed nothing against such a plea. Influence was as unscrupulously used now as under the

There is no doubt that Thiers for some time after the fall of Louis Napoleon, considered that a monarchy was the best chance of a stable government for France. He called Gambetta *ce fou furieux*, and spoke seriously of the return of the Orleans family as what he desired; but his head was turned by his own position as a virtual sovereign. "*Ce petit saute-ruissseau!*" as he was called derisively when first he came to Paris from Marseilles, as a newspaper hack, soon dropped the idea; for though so good and clever a family is hardly to be met with in or out of France, they have "no initiative," and France requires more dash, and does not care for such quiet respectable folk. Moreover, they have put themselves into a cleft stick by the acceptance of the *fusion*, and the religious question is against them. France now insists on education being free from the priests. The Comte de Paris and his brother are sincere Catholics, and it is feared that they might try to restore the supremacy of the Church, to which France will not submit.

Religion is just now used as a stalking-horse by all sides; but there is good work going on quietly in many places—not in the direction of conversion to Protestantism, of which there is very little chance, but in greater thoughtfulness on religious matters, as opposed to unbelief on one side and clericalism on the other.

At Paris, however, "it must not be ignored that irreligion makes increasing progress among the people." M. d'Haussonville's striking words must be given in French: "*Peu à peu la religion catholique a perdu l'influence qu'elle exerçait sur la masse et . . . le peuple parisien a passé vis-à-vis d'elle de l'attachement à l'indifférence, et de l'indifférence à l'hostilité déclarée, dont nous sommes aujourd'hui témoins.*" He goes on to say, that what remains is a vague belief in "*la religion du progrès*," a confused hope in a general improvement of mankind, physical and mental, a sort of mystic idea of a millennium in fact, such as existed in the early centuries. And their orators talk of Evolution and Revolution, meaning thereby either a slow progress, or the employment of violent means to bring about this dim future.

The instability of everything social and political—"le provisoire perpétuel" it has been called—is a terror to quiet folk. "So you have another change of Ministry," said H—— to the owner of a shop in the Palais Royal. "Yes," he answered, ruefully, "*personne ne sait où nous allons, uno up, the other down; none can say what will become of us next.*" It reminded one of De Tocqueville's melancholy letters to De Beaumont concerning "*les institutions constitutionnelles*:" "*ce pays les verra-t-il durer, elles ou tout autres? c'est du sable, et il ne faut pas demander s'il restera fixe, mais quels vents le remueront.*"

A discussion was going on in the French papers as to the great increase of suicides in the last fifty years. "While the population is stationary, if not diminishing in France, the proportion has risen from 1 in 9,833 in 1827, to 1 in 5,161 in 1879." "Is it the uncertainty of the political future, the sudden gains and losses of industrial life, or the alternations of poverty and wealth, brought on by revolutions, wars,

and sieges, which is answerable for this increase?" As with French newspapers in general, the question was regarded only as concerned their own country, and their statistics were not compared with those of other nations. A list, however, lately published in England, shows the average of suicides in all the great towns of Europe during the last few years. London, where it is the popular opinion that the fogs make us cut our throats, drown and hang ourselves to a fearful extent, stands far the best; the proportion, indeed, is extraordinarily below the rest—85 per million; Paris, 200; Berlin, 289; Vienna, 285; and Leipsic, 450. (Why is the publishing of books so productive of mischief?)

That the situation of the artisan at Paris is most unsatisfactory at present, is evident from the numerous papers on the subject given of late in the *Revue des deux Mondes*. The misery and overcrowding and drunkenness of the workmen, the wretched *cafés* or rather *cabarets-concerts*, where every species of abomination is sung and listened to with "des trepignemens" of applause, the general state of "les mœurs" described in the articles upon "La misère à Paris," by M. O. d'Haussonville, are dismal. With regard to drink he gives an account of a curious book written by an *ancien ouvrier* on "les mœurs des travailleurs Parisiens," particularly those of the railroads, to which class the author himself belonged. He divides them into two categories—the workmen and the *Sublimes*. The first work more than they drink—these he puts at 40 per cent. The second drink oftener than they work—these are 60 per cent. But as there are only about 10 per cent. of the first class who are really quite sober, *la clientèle du cabaret* must be taken at 90 per cent.

M. O. d'Haussonville describes the *cabinet meublé*, where a man, his wife, and two or three children, live in ten or twelve cubic feet of air, often underground, and with only a borrowed light through the door—the *chambrée*, a filthy lodging, where fifteen or twenty beds are crowded without the commonest sanitary precautions. Those technically called *les misérables*, have generally only one shirt, and in order not to wear it out, they sleep summer and winter *complètement nus*.

The Parisian philanthropists speak of London, indeed, as far ahead of them in decency and in sanitary respects. It is supposed that the want of freeholds, of power over the land, is the great cause of the bad accommodation for the poor in London. But it is clear that the subdivision of property, the *partage forcé*, the interference with *liberté testamentaire* (which Le Play and many French economists consider most prejudicial to the welfare of France) is no cure for a state of things still worse among the French working class. It is evidently a far deeper question than can be reached by any mere legal arrangements, and requires a moral solution to raise the standard of civilization, to create the demand for better quarters among the people and enforce the supply of them.

The effect of the *partage forcé*, says Le Play, is bad all round; it prevents the improvement of the land, as the large proprietor is afraid to spend on what may be sold at his death; "*il détruit les petits domaines agglomérés à familles fécondes, il les remplace par domaines*

morecélés, où la fécondité conduit fatalement au paupérisme, et où le bien-être des individus se fonde sur la stérilité du mariage et sur l'égoïsme." He declares that "the disorganization in France of manufacturing industry is owing, in great part, to the breaking up of establishments by our laws of succession—a father cannot leave his mill to a son capable of continuing his work. France has not taken the place in commerce to which her geographical position entitles her because our law of division entirely prevents the foundation of those powerful houses of commerce which are one of the essential elements of the prosperity of a nation." "Une réunion de 130 notables appartenant à toutes les branches du haut commerce et des manufactures de Paris a réclaté la liberté testamentaire" in a petition presented to the Senate in 1866. But this is too great a subject to enter upon at the end of a paper.

We walked up the arcades of the Rue de Rivoli to look for a wedding present. The enormous number of shops for the sale of *brimborions*, absurdities of all kinds, bad photographs and toys, utterly useless, and not even pretty, is more remarkable than ever. Are they put together for foreigners, or to satisfy the native burdensome tax exacted for New Year and fête-day gifts? Money is more absolutely wasted in buying them than if it were buried; for to be broken and thrown away would be the best destination of most of the *objets* that fill the long rows of shop windows in that quarter.

The hotel was very full, and we were put in what had been a private house opening out of it, which gave a curious little glimpse into popular taste. A pretty little well furnished *salon*, with a dark ante-chamber, opened into two bedrooms, or rather closets. They were as utterly bare as could possibly be, containing only a bed, a chair, a chest of drawers at which to dress, and a tiny washing-stand; but on the chimney-piece was a large mirror, a clock, and a pair of great vases with artificial flowers: true, the clock did not go, and the vases were broken and hideous, but the *superflu* was evidently more important than the *nécessaire*, and at least we had the whole *décoration complète*. A prosaic Englishman would have preferred a bigger basin and jug, even at the expense of the soundless clock and the frightful flowers, but evidently the normal Frenchman did not consider the matter in the same light. Unlike the thrifty country workman his Parisian fellow will save in his meat and clothing, to keep a few *sous* at least for the theatres and the *guinguettes*. After all, there is perhaps something to be said for his choice, if only the quality were better. "Man does not live by bread alone," in many senses; and we are beginning to find out that the dismal lives spent in the hideous streets of our great northern hives require some interest, if not excitement, to carry them through the hard work of existence, and that we must take heed that it be of a good kind. It is told how, during the siege of Sebastopol, Lord Raglan, from the kindest of motives, sent the bandsmen of the regiments to serve their turn in the trenches, saying that it was not right to spend men's strength in music when the soldiers were dying of overwork. "It was the last straw that broke us

down," said a poor private afterwards. "When we didn't hear the music any more, it seemed as if all things were gone to the bad and it was all over with us." While the French rather increased than diminished their bands, which went playing up and down before their regiments with even redoubled vigour. It certainly showed a deeper knowledge of human nature to find out that the arms of the cornet players might be doing better service to their country than even by handling spades in the trenches.

My neighbour at the *table d'hôte* told me that she had just been to "the Louvre, and it was so hot." "Yes, it is odd they do not ventilate the Long Gallery better." "Oh, I didn't mean the Gallery!" she replied with some scorn; "I meant the Magasin du Louvre! We saw the pictures ages ago, when we were here before! Are there any new ones to go for?" "Not that I know of; but then I am satisfied with the old ones," I answered, humbly. Then, to show that *she* at least was up to the newest novelties, however behindhand I might be, she went on: "Have you seen 'Korke's Drift,' painted by a Frenchman? There is a fine picture! Why don't the Government buy *that*? It's first-rate! Only, Lieutenant So-and-so always wears a bit of his pocket-handkerchief hanging out of his breast-pocket, and that's left out; else it's *quite* perfect!" Shade of Titian!

We went to look at the despised Musée, although there was no new "assortment" of Raphaels. It is difficult to realize one's own recollections, and to believe in the Vandalism which even up to 1848 hid all the treasures of this magnificent collection every year under a rude scaffolding on which were hung the modern pictures of the "Salon." It was not only that the old masters were invisible for months together, but their safety was seriously endangered, the dust was abominable, and a splinter from an awkward carpenter might have flown through the face of the Gioconda, or irretrievably ruined the Virgin of the Giardini, or the Francia portrait.

M—— and I wandered afterwards through the labyrinths of lower galleries to reach the shrine where the Venus de Milo holds her State. It is hard to put into words the quality that makes the finest Greek sculpture so utterly unlike any other "stone-cutting" done by human hands. It may perhaps be said to be the absolute mastery of technical skill over the material, with the vivid reality with which the ideal is bodied forth of the goddess who lives within the marble. She is hacked about and armless; she has been broken across, and the half of one foot is gone; but the divinity is in her so absolutely that one scarcely desires her presentment to be more perfect. How could she tell us what she had to say more plainly than she does at present? In general the process of hewing out the thought of the artist has been so hard and uncertain that the spectator is occupied by the conquered difficulty. Here the goddess apparently stepped out of the marble, requiring no mortal hands to fashion her; and we no more inquire how or of what she was made than if she herself had floated on a cloud into the Palace of Art.

Then, what is omitted is as telling as what is finished. When seen closely the hair is merely blocked out, but at a little distance it is clear that a stroke more of the chisel would have marred the broad effect. It is relatively right, which is the last perfection of art; the true science of proportion in selecting that which is to be made interesting is as necessary as for the correct size of the limbs and head. The profile too reveals quite a different side of her character, more sensitive, with more thought and more feeling. And this piece of perfection was found in the shrine of a village church, as one must call it, on a tiny rocky islet set in the stormy Egean sea, where scarcely any spectators could ever come near it. What a wealth of artistic power there must have been in Greece thus to sow her masterpieces, as does Nature, on some barren rock!

She has undergone strange vicissitudes after her misfortunes at home and her perilous journey to France. During the siege of Paris she was taken down for safety against cannon-shot, and buried in the cellars, when she came apart, and had to be joined afresh.

Then we walked through the endless lower galleries, full of interest and with many "statues of merit," but none worthy to stand near the throne of the goddess; nothing that even approaches to the pediment of the Parthenon in the British Museum—the noble simplicity and dignity, the easy grace and glorious strength combined of Greek art of the Age of Pericles. It is not only the mighty grasp of genius which has thus imprisoned for ever in stone the vision of an inspired artist, but the presence of individual life is there—not a symbol, or a generalization, or a type, however ideal. There is no realism, but strong personality, here; it is no abstract goddess, she is the Venus de Milo, she has a character of her own, quite different from that of any other Venus; whereas "most goddesses have no character at all," to parody Pope, but are merely an assemblage of what Gibson, or Canova, or even greater men, consider the most beautiful features and forms they can put together, with nothing inside. Some statues of Michelangelo, the San Giorgio of Donatello, and one or two of John of Bologna, with, curiously enough, a few of the alto-relievos of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries which we have been seeing of late in France, possess the charm. It is found even in the little procession in the old Bourget church, broken and defaced as it is, while the mass of statues in a modern exhibition at Paris or in London is almost always without this touch of what alone is valuable in art.

The spectators of all classes were few, but as many as would be seen in the British Museum. Sculpture is not a popular art. On Sunday, however, it is said that the numbers looking at the pictures are sometimes large. "*Le peuple de Paris n'est pas un musicien, en revanche il a un goût prononcé pour la peinture;*" and on the free days the modern exhibition is crowded in the Champs Elysées. There was, however, no love of art of any kind to be seen in the cottages we visited, not so much as the rudest print affixed to the walls of any one of them.

It is strange that while in England the question of peasant properties is coming to the front as the solution of agricultural difficulties, in France it is declared that "of all the changes in our financial habits the greatest, and certainly the most unexpected, is, if not perhaps yet the indifference, the cooling of the public passion for the possession of land. The desire of it has hitherto brought about most of our social crises, but the excessive division which is the inevitable result of our laws of succession is no longer pursued with the same fury." Again, it is said that "the succession duties paid to the State by the constant changes of property have become so high as almost to absorb the total value of individual property by the community." The consequence of the fear of this, and that other investments for money are gradually becoming popular with the peasants, has not only made land much less valuable than it was, but has encouraged the rush on great cities. "In other countries the surplus labourer emigrates; in France, he flies, not to towns in general, but to Paris, Lyons, &c. The rush into Paris, especially, which is supposed to be the Eldorado of high wages and constant pleasure, is the source of great misery. He often finds no work there, and sinks to the lowest level of distress.

"The disease in the vines, the mulberry, and the olive, and the impossibility of finding a fruitful use for the devastated fields has brought down rents, and forced proprietors to cultivate at a loss the land which has been abandoned. "In the centre and south of France," says another authority, "*la petite culture est impraticable*" at present.

The state of the peasants in the different Departments of course varies greatly. In Touraine a number of large estates still remain, and many of the old families reside in the châteaux for a great part of the year. There is, therefore, work for pay to be obtained, which is not possible where each plot is cultivated solely by a family, and no labourer is ever hired. The vine cultivation is successful, and here the report of the condition of the people was more favourable.

The importance of a *dot* or, better still, a piece of land if possible for a wife, to take the place of what is given up or mortgaged when the head of a family dies, is so great that mercenary marriages are now almost universal among the peasants. "*De mon vieux temps on demandait si une jeune fille était jolie, si elle avait un joli caractère [disposition]. A présent elle peut être bossue, louche, méchante, vilaine. All that is asked is, What has she got?*" said an old man of the ancient type near Tours.

"Then hey for a lass wi' a tocher!
The nice yellow guineas for me,"

as in the refrain of the song by Burns.

In the Provinces of the North-west, Normandy and Brittany, the small owners appear to be the best off, where they have the command of the London market for eggs and fowls, butter, meat, &c. The climate there is favourable for the rearing of cattle and pigs and the ripening of fruit and early vegetables, and the value of land continues high.

' In the Department of the Hautes Alpes we heard of a Protestant village where the subdivision had been so great, and the cutting of the forests by the peasants so injurious, that the snows had come down on the place, and the soil had been carried away. The poverty of the people had increased in consequence to a degree amounting almost to starvation, and their English friends have subscribed, with the Protestant Committee of Lyons, to send the greater part of the inhabitants to form a little colony near Oran in Algiers.

In the neighbourhood of Vichy a friend of our own intended to take a walking tour, but he found that at the village inns the only food to be had was a *potage* made of cabbage, some slices of bread, an onion or two, and a piece of lard. The cauldron was filled up with water three, and sometimes four, times in the day, without anything else being added.* This was the habitual food of the peasants, and there was nothing else but black bread to be had. He was a man of very simple habits, but he was obliged to give up his little travel.

No one who has watched the peasant women undergoing the most severe labour in all weathers and in all states of health, ploughing, harrowing, breaking up clods with heavy hoes, lifting great weights of hay and corn up on the carts at harvest time, carrying manure on their backs, or toiling up steep hills (as we saw them constantly at Aix), with great weights of green maize, wheat, or grass on their heads from plots a mile or so from their homes, for the daily food of the stall-fed cattle, will wonder that the infant mortality under a year old among French peasants is estimated by Jules Simon at 50 per cent., in consequence of the want of necessary care by the mothers. A friend of ours, a French doctor, was extremely struck by the superior appearance and manner of the women whom he saw in our English cottages, their clean, tidy looks and, what he called, their refined ways, as compared with those of his own countrywomen, and the general comfort under their home-keeping of the extremely ordinary houses which he entered.

"Follow the peasant before daylight, you will find him at work with his children—his wife, who has just been confined, dragging over the wet soil. At mid-day, when the sun is hot enough to crack the rocks, and the planter lets his negro rest, the voluntary negro works on. Look at his food; the labourer has better food every day than the peasant on Sunday. No wonder he is *sombre farouche*; the earth brings him in two per cent., and the usurer demands eight," declares Michelet. "To escape from the proprietor, who generally would wait, and allowed himself to be put off with words, he has taken for master the man of money, who will only hear of his due interest."

Our journey was nearly ended. Passing from Paris to Boulogne, the great melancholy marshes which lie for forty or fifty miles on each side of the railroad, where the rivers, the Somme and the Oise, have

* Mr. Hamerton, in "Round my House," confirms what is here said concerning the food and clothing, the ignorance of all kinds, and the meagre thrift of the French peasants, who will hardly allow themselves proper food, even where it can be easily afforded.

been allowed to wander at their "own" by no means "sweet will," and little can be grown but reeds and willows, the small owners have evidently been utterly unable to carry out any general system of drainage, which indeed could only be undertaken on this scale by the common action of great proprietors, who have intelligence, patience, and, above all, money enough to wait for the results of the great expenditure it would entail—as was done in the fen reclamations, the Bedford levels, &c., or by Government, which can hardly be expected to spend the large sums required on what is private property. The harvest in these parts had been poor, and four bad years had put the peasants in low spirits and great straits.

La petite culture is scarcely to be found all along the road, except in the immediate vicinity of the poor, one-storied houses in the ill-built villages, and in the market gardens round the towns—i.e., the limit where the boundary is reached, at which manure can be carried with little expense either in hods or wheelbarrows. It is often forgotten that in fields distant from the cottages the cost to those who have no horse and cart, and must hire to convey the manure and bring back the produce, besides paying for the ploughing of the land, eats up any possible profit. In England, allotments, even at the distance of half a mile from a village, are exceedingly unpopular. In one such case a field containing them has earned the expressive name of "Wearisome."

The sterile sandy hills in the Département du Pas de Calais lie uncultivated, and could apparently only be utilized by large flocks of sheep, such as are seen on the other side the Channel; but this would require a capital which the small owners cannot command. Probably the reason of the extremely bad quality of the mutton (and there is no other to be found in France), is the stall-feeding by twos and threes of the sheep, which are gregarious animals, to be kept in perfect health only by a life of constant motion in the fresh air.

In the comparison between peasant proprietors and the English labourers among whom we have lived all our lives, the superior comfort of these last is very striking—the higher scale of food, clothing, amusement, and knowledge, above all the chances for their children of rising in the world, which a fairly good labourer, in constant work, with a good cottage and allotment and a solvent benefit club, can command, and there are hundreds and hundreds of thousands of such men amongst us.

The French and German peasant, with his miserable, dirty, comfortless home, his wretched little plot of ground, above which he never lifts his thoughts, his wife ground down and prematurely aged by hard work in the fields, and sickly half-fed children, eating bad black bread, drinking buttermilk and sour wine, and with not enough of any of these—above all, without even the wish, much less the hope, of bettering their condition—is in every respect in an inferior position.

Take even the matter of amusements, where we are supposed to be deficient: there is hardly a village in England where the squire and parson, the farmers, artisans, and labourers (that useful admixture of classes) do not get up a cricket club, with play on Saturday afternoons.

Everywhere there are school feasts, matches, little concerts, lectures, and penny readings. There are no athletic sports whatever in France, and the only "diversion" that we saw was a procession or two, headed by a priest and his acolytes, followed by girls and children, who were watched by the men of the place with a scowl and a scornful jeer; even these are becoming rare. There is no one in the dead level of common French village life who can afford the time or the money to originate anything among his fellows, either of instruction or recreation. The ignorance and superstition are startling, not only as to book matters, but concerning health and cookery, as much as of geography and politics. It is quite a mistake to suppose that good cooking is found, except among the *bourgeois* class and in towns, as Mr. Hamerton bears witness, while we are speaking of purely rural life.

When the extraordinary advantage of climate and soil in the south of France is considered, that trellises of vines can be grown every thirty yards or so, with crops of maize, roots, and haricots between, that grass can be cut three and four times in the year, that fruit of all kinds ripens, season after season, and has a good sale, and the extraordinary saving of fuel where a fire during the chief part of the year is only lighted for an hour or two to serve for the tiny cooking, it is only marvellous that the owners are not prosperous with all their hard work and thrift. It would seem as if the only explanation was that, *adscripti glebe*, their land system induces them to try and get a subsistence out of small patches which are utterly incapable of affording it. "No one can expect to live on a holding of five acres," as even Mr. Sub-Commissioner Kane remarked the other day in Ireland.

The French holdings are, on an average, little more, and the cultivation of them is so bad, that, as Mr. Caird tells us, production is nearly as two to one in favour of the English system; while it takes eight peasant farmers and their families to work the same extent of land in France as is done here by a farmer and five or six labourers.* M. de Lavergne, a most impartial witness, and the greatest French writer on agricultural affairs, moreover declares these last to be far better off than the French small proprietor. The advocates of the system have lately brought forward this large surplus of producers as one of its advantages. There is nothing new under the sun, and it is curious to hear once again the arguments used by the labourers who destroyed machines at the time of the Swing riots in 1830. "It's wicked," said the rioters. "Here's a wheat field would employ twenty men for a fortnight to cut and carry, and these rascally machines will finish it off in four days with seven! Let's burn 'em all!"

The state of the French peasant is going down, that of the English labourer is in the ascendant; his wages have risen and are rising; the use of the dreaded machines is giving him the pay due to the skilled

* To increase production without increasing the number of hands employed, and so add to the general comfort, is the ultimate object of economical science, the solution of the greatest social difficulties.—*De Lavergne*.

workman ; and while it cost him five days' work to pay for a bushel of wheat in 1770, he can earn it now in less than half the time. He indeed benefits more than any one by all the agricultural improvements introduced, while in France, intense conservatism and ignorance combined prevent any such novelties ; so that, when the "fields of wheat in California of 3,000 acres" are considered, with every advantage of machinery, it is no wonder that French agriculturists are in fear for the future.

As to holding up the system as a panacea for the evils of the poor of England, still less of Ireland, this is often done by those who have had little experience of the land or the people. It requires, even for the bare existence of the owners, in the first place, the small families of the French race, and next an amount of thrift which no English, much less Irish,^o labourer is capable of, the grudging of every morsel of food which is put into their own and their children's mouths, saving on every article of clothing (rather rags), which they are forced to use, the spending of every hour, even of Sunday, in hard work, the giving up everything which makes life valuable for an object which, regarded only as such, is valueless. To esteem a bit of land as a means of comfortable livelihood is intelligible, but to treat its possession as an end, a sort of Moloch to which the well-being of the whole family is to be sacrificed, is an ideal which, even if it were possible here, can hardly be esteemed desirable. The small amount of land in England compared to the population will always make it a luxury which a poor man cannot afford. And it will answer his purpose better therefore to hire, and employ his capital in working the land, than to sink his money in buying it. That all legal obstacles to the freest transmission of land should be removed is undoubtedly right ; but, except in the neighbourhood of towns, the thrifty workman will not invest in it wisely. "His capital will go six times further in hiring land than in buying it, because he has the advantage of working with the landowner's capital, which he has at the low rate of 3 per cent., while the proportion of comparatively unproductive fixed capital in buildings is much larger on small farms than large," according to Mr. Caird.

With regard to the moral effects of the system, of which we hear so much, let any one take the trouble of reading the powerfully realistic picture of "*Les Paysans*,"[†] and see what Balzac, with no theories to carry out or political conclusions to serve, considers as its result—the sordid aims, the mean ways of attaining them, the dismal level of poverty and ignorance which is brought about by it, and then inquire carefully before helping to put pressure on Government to interfere artificially in trying to produce a state of society such as is there depicted.

F. P. VERNEY.

* " 'Tis the finest diversion that's under the sun
To set by the fire till the prairie is done."

will hardly make a peasant property answer.

† The book was given us by a Frenchman, well acquainted with country life, as the truest possible account of the state of the peasantry in the parts of France that he knew.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION :

A HISTORY AND A CRITICISM.

I.

THE scientific study of the religions of man has raised, and will continue to raise, new problems alike in the philosophy of mind and of history. It has not only increased immensely the phenomena to be explained, but it has, while making the radical problem vaster, made it also more complex. It is impossible any longer to discuss the ancient and immemorial questions as to the genesis and validity, the truth and the proof of religious ideas in the fashion simply of the older metaphysics; they must now be discussed in relation to the still profounder and larger questions as to the origin and development, the nature and significance of religion as at once a fact and factor in history. Instead of simply asking whether it is possible to know God, to conceive Him, to prove or disprove His being,—content to return a theistic, pantheistic, or agnostic answer—Philosophy must now confront Religion as it has lived in the rich and complex life of the race and acted on the immense arena of history; and must inquire, What it is? Why it is? Whence it has come? and Whither it tends? It is impossible to inquire concerning the origin of religion without also attempting to determine its nature, and without speculating concerning its end, its worth or its worthlessness for man, collective and individual. And these questions as to origin, nature, and end, are the questions every philosophy of religion must seek to discuss and to determine.

It is necessary, indeed, to distinguish the question as to the origin of Religion from the question as to the origin of Religions. The former is a philosophical question, raised by every faith, peculiar to none; but the latter is historical, must be discussed as regards each faith singly, by the methods and within the limits proper to history. It is with religion and the religions as with language and the languages. The question as to the origin of speech underlies all languages equally,

the lowest as well as the highest, though it cannot be well or scientifically discussed from the standpoint of a single tongue; but the question as to the origin of a specific language is proper to it alone, and can be discussed only by those who have studied its structure and history. Thus, the origin of the Romance tongues, or of the various Indo-European languages, is a question for the scientific philologist, and he can discuss it only by proving their radical affinities, similarities of structure and form, words and idiom, and by showing how there branched out from a common speech so many dissimilar yet related tongues. But the origin of language is a question for the philosopher, not, indeed, to be discussed without the help of the philologist; yet by the philologist only so far as he is a philosopher, seeking to discover the origin that he may determine the nature of language, whether it be a congeries of transformed and interlaced interjections, or the spontaneous and hardly conscious creation of a faculty peculiar to man, or a miracle, a revelation, or immediate gift of God. So, as regards the origin of religion, history may help to define the terms and determine the conditions of the problem, but the final solution must be with philosophy; while, as regards the origin of religions, though psychology may discover the motives and mental forces that occasion their existence, yet history alone can show what they were, when and why they began to be. And the former is the logical antecedent of the latter question. We construe history according to our philosophy; as we conceive religion we shall interpret and represent the religions, they being but specific and concrete, and more or less complex and perfect expressions of our abstract idea. If religion is to us in nature and origin more or less illusory, the religions must be more or less rationalized illusions; but if it be, as regards both, veracious, then they, too, will have a veracity of their own, so far, at least, as their concrete or real being does express truths or realities of Nature, does embody ideals of mind or spirit. And the degree in which a religion expresses these truths or embodies these ideals, will be the measure of its beneficent or civilizing action in history.

But it is not the design of this paper, and the one that is to follow, to discuss the problems proper to the philosophy of religion; the purpose is rather to exhibit the struggle towards one made by the transcendental movement which began in Germany with Kant and ended with Hegel. This may be a useful piece of work, especially as it may help to familiarize us with a series of speculations very unlike those that meanwhile hold possession of the English mind.

But our inquiries ought to have some value for science as well as for philosophy. For the Empiricism that meanwhile reigns in England, threatens, among other things, to make an end of the scientific study of religions. It is, on the one hand, so curiously without historical sense, and so indifferent to historical method, that it seems unable either to conceive or to represent any one religion either in its organic growth and completeness or in its historical significance; and, on the other

hand, its attitude to the phenomena to be studied is what we may term so purely pathological, that it deals with a fact as old and universal as man as a product of disease rather than of health. Its universal solvent is "animism," a characteristic of "primitive man," which makes him regard everything as alive and able to work him good or ill; but this "animism" is a pure *deus ex machina*, called on the stage without any too curious inquiries as to whence it has come or what right it has to be there. Then, too, the search of our ethnographic Empiricism is after "affinities," "resemblances," "survivals," but the search proceeds in ways so little like those of critical and historical science that the similarities when found lose their significance, and the "survivals" stand isolated from their actual source or origin. Indeed, it is not too much to say, that the various forms of Empiricism—agnostic, sceptic, positivist—now active in England, are, as concerns our subject, marked by the same fundamental inabilities, and can as little explain the origin and development of the religious as of religion. Their method is, in spite of the multitude of ethnographic detail, arbitrary and abstract, and deals with religion according to an *à priori* scheme, and not in its concrete reality, as presented and unfolded by the historical religions. Their Fetishism, Polytheism, Monotheism, are not religions, but phases or modes of religious thought that have often co-existed, and often still co-exist in the same religion. Empiricism, indeed, though one of its passions is to find and formulate a science of history, has hitherto been blind to the meaning of the great historical faiths, and has been unable to tell how they became, to say why they were or are, what purpose they served for their own or all times, for their own or all peoples. To ask these questions is to recognise an ideal significance in religion and an ideal purpose in history that were fatal to any system whose first principle is to dispense with an ideal Cause and Presence in the universe.

Let us turn then from English Empiricism to German Transcendentalism, and see how and with what success it assailed the rich and complex problems presented for its solution by religion. Their fundamental principles indeed are so antithetical that their relations to the problems could not be otherwise than opposite. Empiricism where it has become consistent, and so either agnostic or sceptical, cannot allow any real knowledge of God and the soul, and hence any real relation between them, any absolute and immutable morality, or any relations essentially and permanently regulated by it. But Transcendentalism must, in the degree it makes the constitutive elements in knowledge subjective, affirm the existence of realities that transcend sense, and these, as given in his own nature, man can escape from only by escaping from himself. While, then, Empiricism dissolves our beliefs by resolving them into impressions of sense, or mistaken inferences from them, Transcendentalism vindicates our primary beliefs by tracing them to the forms or necessary laws or essential nature of thought. But whatever is concerned with our primary beliefs is con-

religion ; their justification is its. There may be controversy as to what they mean or how they ought to be formulated, but there is none as to their right to be.

It is here and in this connection that we may see the relations of religion and philosophy. They interpenetrate, and nothing is less possible—nothing, were it possible, were more to be dreaded—than their severance and mutual isolation. Their fundamental truths are the same; the highest ideas and relations of the one are also the highest ideas and relations of the other. What in religion is felt and believed is in philosophy reasoned and known. Religion is intuitional and anticipatory philosophy; philosophy is reasoned and rationalized religion. There are, indeed, elements in religion that do not exist in philosophy—elements of emotion, awe, joy, trust, love, reverence; but while philosophy may be unable to create these, it is needed to justify and explain them. Yet, as similar truths similarly affect the mind from whatever standpoint approached, the one ever tends to pass into the other: religion in its highest moments to become philosophical; philosophy in its loftiest flights to become religious. The prologue to the Fourth Gospel is as full of daring and exalted speculation as of devout and rapturous faith. Kant's splendid confession of the awe created in him by the two infinities, the starry heaven above and the moral law within, has as much of religious emotion as of philosophic meditation. The Evangelist finds the secret and source of the divinest history in the very heart, as it were, of the divine nature: God must be known if Christ is to be understood. The Philosopher finds himself subdued into a most sublime humility, yet lifted into an inspired and most worshipful mood as the heaven perceived by sense widens into the universe represented to the imagination, and as the law declared by the conscience unfolds and broadens to the reason into the order that governs the world, the righteous will we call God. John's history were not divine without his philosophy; Kant's philosophy were not rational without his religion. The religion that does not rise into philosophy is but blind emotion, is piety without God; the philosophy that does not end in religion is but a withered rationalism, its reason is like an eyeless cyc-socket turned towards the sun.

Transcendental philosophy stands thus essentially related to religion, and it has ever and everywhere been conscious of the relation. For ages they were accustomed to meet on the field of speculation, where philosophy struggled to know the truths religion is content to believe. But towards the end of last century there came a change, contemporaneous in Germany with the rise of its distinctive transcendental speculation. Its struggle and goal was not simply to find and formulate a philosophy of religious ideas, but a philosophy of religion. The causes of the change we cannot discuss here and now. They were many, partly due to the character of the philosophic movement itself, and partly to the spirit and tendencies of the time. These, indeed, com-

bined to create a new order of ideas, to make men more conscious of the solidarity of the race, the connection of the present with the past, the action of a will above and within the heart of time, the reign of a purpose or law in history. But if man's past had not been a tremendous chapter of accidents, what of the greatest factor of its greatest events, Religion? Whence had it come, and why? What was its function in the life of the individual and of the race? What were its essential, what its accidental, qualities? The mere asking of these questions was to thought like the discovery of a new world; and in its presence the little theories that had delighted the French illumination simply melted away. The *Illuminati* said with Diderot, "all positive religions are only the heresies of natural;" and though the saying was void enough of sense, yet it seemed to them the last word of wisdom on a matter made important mainly by the marvels of superstition and the sick fancies of disappointed women. But the new spirit inquired, What is natural religion, and what positive? What is the relation between them? How does the one become the other? and what is their action in man and history? How and with what success philosophy wrestled with these questions through one of the most splendid chapters in its history, is what we must now attempt to understand.

We begin with Lessing: with him, as inspired partly by Spinoza and partly by Leibnitz, the new ideas, with the problems they suggest, struggle into speech. There are three points significant for us—his ideas of religion, of revelation, and of their relation to man and history. He conceived religion as in its nature essentially one with morality; revelation did not create it, but was created by and for it. Religion does not consist of historical facts, or books, or miraculous events, but of eternal and spiritual truth, believed and obeyed. Revelation is the communication by the action of God of new and higher truths to the human spirit. The truths communicated develop the mind, hasten and perfect its growth. Humanity is a colossal man, needing education and educated by revelation. What we receive from another is revealed to us; all education is revelation. In a measure suited to his capacity and in an order rising from the more simple and sensuous to the more exalted and spiritual, God has communicated truth to man, in order that He might quicken the movement of Nature, at once hasten and regulate its development. The truths thus communicated are not opposed to reason, or above it. Education gives to man nothing which he could not have evolved from himself, but it gives it to him earlier than he could have found it. Revelation thus anticipates, as it were, and guides the action of Nature; a revealed or positive is only the anticipation of an evolved or perfected natural religion. And this defines their relation to each other. Once revelation has educated man, he can dispense with it; the best positive religion is the one that stands nearest to or most agrees with natural. And at this point we can see the relation between Lessing's two most characteristic works in our department, "The

"Education of the Human Race," and "Nathan the Wise." The former shows the work of revelation in history, the function and office of positive religions in the education of man; the latter shows what man as educated has become through them and may now be without them, the more excellent the less dependent on an authoritative word. The best religion is the least positive; the best man is the one least dependent on any religion purely positive, most inspired by the religion purely natural, and, as such, perfect.

Lessing's doctrine is open to many criticisms. His notion of revelation was not very clear or consistent, and of his notion of Nature the same can be said. Revelation in anticipating Nature had helped to make it; the force that had quickened its growth had penetrated its substance and pervaded its structure. In other words, his natural was but his positive religion transfigured. If he had followed out either idea, Revelation or Nature, to its last consequences, he would have found that what he termed Revelation was everywhere active in what he termed Nature; and that the elements he most loved in Nature were elements that came of what he believed to be Revelation. Then, too, if, as Fischer says, it was Lessing's aim to give a theodicy of history as Leibnitz had given a theodicy of Nature, his field and his materials were far too limited. Mosaism and Christianity are not the only religions of history. Providence has not been confined to Judea and Christendom; and he who writes as if it had been so confined, can write no theodicy of history. But with all its deficiencies Lessing's was a real and great work. He placed thought at new points of view for the study of religion. He showed that it needed revelation to do its work; that both had achieved great things for man, had been necessary to his culture and civilization. He did not create a philosophy of religion, but he prepared the way for one. After him man could not speak as if religion were a thing for the individual alone, or as if it had been an impotent or mischievous force in history.

Kant followed Lessing. Their notions of religion were alike, but were reached by different processes and for very different reasons. Kant's speculative philosophy was critical; his practical constructive. They faced each other in unreconciled antithesis; what the one had declared inaccessible to thought, the other affirmed to be a postulate, a truth or principle necessary to its very being. The critical philosophy seemed to have reconciled the truth in Empiricism with the truth in Transcendentalism; it affirmed the equal necessity to knowledge of thought and experience, spirit and sense, the one supplying its form, the other its matter. But by a fatal mistake Kant denied reality to our knowledge of the latter. He said mind could not know the real thing, the *Ding an sich*, all that we knew was the phenomenal. There was thus a disastrous subjectivity in his speculative system; reality was made to belong to the subject, which was confronted by a real world known only as appearance. As a logical consequence, thought could

ascent to Him was impossible. For if the thing in itself could not be known, it could say nothing of itself; a world of appearances could never conduct to the ultimate reality or ground of real being. The utmost speculation could do was to free the idea of God from every empirical or anthropomorphic element, and to show that proof alike of his existence and his non-existence was impossible to human reason. But what the speculative philosophy could not do the practical accomplished. Morality requires freedom; freedom and morality prove us citizens of a higher world. The moral law that is in all men is of absolute authority; its "Thou shalt" is unconditioned, a categorical imperative. But where the obligation is absolute the will must be free, above the control of any natural or external cause. Only where "Thou canst" can be said is "Thou oughtest" possible. But though the will be free it is not blind; its choices are not arbitrary. Every moral act must have an object or end, the highest good. This good consists of two elements, virtue and felicity or happiness; where either is absent, the good is not reached. But neither is possible without the other; virtue is the necessary condition of felicity, felicity the necessary result of virtue. These cannot be realized within the terms and under the conditions of our empirical existence. The moral law demands perfect virtue, holiness; but this is beyond the reach of a mortal being, and so cannot be attained within a limited time. If, then, there is to be perfect virtue there must be immortality; the law that demands the one guarantees the other. But, again, if there is to be happiness, there must be the conditions necessary to it. Nature and will must work in harmony, the moral law, which is independent of Nature and above it, Nature must serve. But man cannot compel its service, God alone can. Man is not its master; God alone is. He, then, is necessary to the felicity that, springing from virtue, constitutes man's highest good. These, therefore, are the postulates of the practical reason—Freedom, Immortality, God. They are no objects of rational knowledge, but they are objects of rational faith, grounded, as it were, on the categorical imperative. Its absolute being guarantees theirs.

From this point we may now apprehend Kant's notion of religion. He bases it on morality rather than morality on it. Freedom demands the highest good as its end; perfection is impossible without immortal being, and happiness cannot be attained without God, the reign of a righteous Providence. The great objects of faith are postulates of the practical reason, are conditions necessary to the realization of the highest good, the union of perfect virtue with perfect happiness. But how, then, do morality and religion differ? They are, in a sense, identical. Each is a knowledge of duty, but in the one it is known as a categorical imperative, in the other as a divine command. Religion conceives God as a moral law-giver, and our duties as His commands. But while this is its essential character it may exist in two forms, as positive or as natural. If the commands appear to us as moral and

obligatory because the expressions of the divine will, the religion is positive or revealed; but if we must know a given thing as a duty, the expression of the moral reason, before it can appear to us as a divine command, then the religion is natural. Revelation, then, has a function in religion. Their relations may be conceived from three standpoints. Either revelation may be pronounced impossible—naturalism; or unnecessary—rationalism; or necessary—supernaturalism. Man cannot prove either its impossibility or necessity, but he can prove it to be possible. Granting it possible, then, what function has it in religion? It cannot be a basis for it, it can only be a means to further its ends—the creation of moral excellencies. As religion is moral, revelation must be the same; its essential matter or contents, the duties we apprehend as divine commands. Hence revealed and natural religion do not materially differ. The former brings no truth to man which man could not have discovered—only it shortens his way and quickens his progress to perfection. From this point of view Kant criticised and construed Christianity. Christ was to him “the Son of God” descended from heaven to earth—i.e., the ideal, as it exists in the Eternal reason, of a humanity well-pleasing to God, become incarnate. In this consists the enormous value of the historical person of Jesus; in Him was realized a perfect moral ideal, through Him was revealed a perfect moral faith. It owed its diffusion—but no part of its validity—to the revelation. What Christ said finds an echo in every heart, and is thus recognised as the voice of our own conscience, the command of our own reason. What is moral is eternal and universal. What is historical is only its vehicle, necessary to its early recognition and diffusion, no ground of its reality or truth.

It is impossible to show here how Kant applied his theory of religion to the doctrines, institutions, and history of Christianity. Nor for our purpose is it in any degree necessary to do so. His notion of religion, his idea of revelation, his conception of the function and mission of the greatest religious personality in history, are before us. We have seen where religion stands in his system, why he placed it there, how he conceived it in relation to God and man, to truth and life. Now, have we here a theory that can be called a philosophy of religion? Kant did one great service—he showed that religion must be moral, that our great moral ideas are religious ideas, that a vigorous religious faith cannot live in the presence of a system that conceives the will or power that rules the world to be indifferent or hostile to morality. And it was a great thing to prove this to the eighteenth century, with its frigid Deism and shallow contempt for things deeper than it could understand. But it is one thing to prove religion essentially moral, another to resolve it into disguised morality. This latter was possible only by the bisection of the Kantian philosophy, its division into two independent and unconnected hemispheres. As the pure reason could not reach God, God could not be an object of rational knowledge; as He became a real object to the moral reason alone, it alone could stand to Him in

any real or living relation. But a philosophy that creates so hopeless a dualism in the domain of knowledge, that makes reason and conscience opposites, the uncertainty of the one the absolute certainty of the other, is no real philosophy of man. Man's nature is a unity, and a true philosophy must unify his knowledge, place alike the pure and the practical reason in harmony with each other and with their objects, especially when these objects are one and the same; must not pronounce it an inaccessible mystery to the one, while an absolute certainty to the other. Religion, too, is a system of truth as well as of duty; its right to be obeyed rests on its right to be believed. If religion is not truth, it cannot be conduct; if it does not on the intellectual side represent the order and reason of the universe, it need not on the moral attempt to rule and regulate the life of the individual. A religion possesses moral power only as it satisfies the reason; where the intellect is unconvinced the conscience cannot be persuaded or coerced. And hence it is that the moral quality and worth of a religion depends upon the character of its highest conception. As men conceive God, or the supreme object of belief, they conceive duty. The moral law of *Mosaism* implied the God of *Moses*—only expressed a circle of duties springing necessarily from His nature and relation to man and men. Our Christian virtues flow from our idea of Christ. Find out the highest conception of any religion, *Karma*, or *Buddha*, or *Brahma*, or *Allah*, and you will also find out its moral ideals, its motives, the duties it regards as divine commands, the virtues it conceives as pleasing to God. Religion is essentially moral, but it is not primarily or essentially *moralty*. Its moral reposes on its intellectual power, which is also spiritual, because power to command the spirit. And this would have become evident to Kant had he attempted to deal with the religions historically. His notion was tenable only so long as he dealt with religion in the abstract, or handled in an arbitrary way the great historical faith that confronted him. If he had widened the problem, the inadequacy of his solution would have at once been seen. The beliefs of the world cannot be resolved into its moral codes, rather may its moral codes be resolved into its beliefs.

The speculations of Kant as to religion created two opposite tendencies, one antithetical, the other evolutionary. The antithetical was evoked by his Critical system, the evolutionary stood connected with his Practical. The name that best represents the first is *Jacobi*, the most eminent representative of the second is *Fichte*. *Jacobi* appealed from the pure reason to the heart, from speculation to immediate knowledge, to intuition, instinct, faith. To him, as to Kant, the being of God was incapable of proof, but then it did not need it; the moment man found himself he found God. His being was conditioned by two externals, "the Nature beneath him and the God above;" and his knowledge of the one as of the other was immediate. In no outer way, by argument, evidence, or testimony, could this knowledge come; it must be inner.

direct, intuitive. "God must be born in the man himself, if he is to have a living God and no mere idol." Now, a theory of this kind makes a philosophy of religion impossible; it is simply a dogmatism too strong, or rather too weak, to condescend to reason. Men who get their idea of God so easily have seldom any idea of God at all. Then, this arrogant intuitionism stands in too radical antagonism with the history of religions to be able to explain them. It has a show of reason only so long as it remains the speech of an individual attempting to tell the genesis and grounds of his own beliefs; it becomes richly absurd the moment it is applied to the beliefs of man. If God had been reached by intuition, man's way had been less circuitous, less perplexed by doubt, and marked by a uniformity of faith strangely unlike the variety that everywhere meets us and is so much richer and truer than any invariable order had been.

With Fichte the philosophy of religion assumes three distinct forms, though the third, while the deepest and worthiest, hardly concerns us here. The first is purely Kantian, and is represented by his "Critique of all Revelation." Here religion is duty apprehended as a divine command. Revelation is necessary simply because of human weakness, man become too sensuous to listen to conscience or obey it. The second form is at once the outgrowth and antithesis of the first, and finds its scientific basis in the *Wissenschaftslehre*. Fichte developed Kant's practical into a theoretical system, found in the reality it gave to freedom in man and moral law in Nature the Archimedean point of his philosophy. To him the moral or supersensuous in man was alone real, the moral order in the universe the only God. The essence of religion was faith in this moral order, the absolutely certain and invincible conviction that we could promote its ends, that our wills can and ought to serve its purposes. "Religion and morality are," he says, "absolutely one, inseparable from one another. Religion without morality is superstition, betraying the miserable with false hopes, and making him incapable of amelioration. And morality is impossible without religion, for man cannot act without a reason, without a rational motive or end. And this, religious faith alone can give, the faith in a principle by virtue of which every choice conformable to duty has as its certain result the furtherance of the rational ends of the moral order that rules the universe." While this is religion in its essence, the religions are needed on account of the radical evil in man, which prevents the consciousness and exercise of his freedom. This consciousness is created or awakened by exalted personalities, men of pre-eminent morality, founding institutions designed to develop in others the moral sense. These men may have ascribed their eminence and inspiration to a miracle, the action of a spiritual and supernatural person greater than themselves; and they were right if by themselves they meant only the empirical self. And theirs easily became the received faith, which descended to the later generations. Positive religions were

thus moral agencies, made man conscious of his freedom, of a moral order and end for the world, and of his ability and duty to serve it. And so Fichte says:—"The essential truth in every possible symbol is this—there is something supersensuous and exalted above Nature. Who does not believe this in all sincerity cannot be a member of any church; he is incapable of all morality and culture. What this supersensuous is, the true holy and sanctifying Spirit, the true moral Idea or Mind, will the church by mutual counsel and action ever more distinctly determine and harmoniously conceive." Fichte, in short, thinks that the element common to all religions is belief in an order "that makes for righteousness," and in the ability and obligation of the individual will to further its ends. He stands here in remarkable and instructive agreement with two remarkable and instructive thinkers, widely apart in time and place and culture, Buddha and Mr. Matthew Arnold.

Fichte's was a truer, nobler, more consistent theory of religion than Kant's. By simplifying his standpoint he escaped the dualism of the elder thinker, abolished the antithesis that had made the Critical and Practical philosophies live in hostile camps. For Fichte the moral reason was the maker and interpreter of the universe, the moral law the one immutable reality. And so he was consistent enough in making faith in it and obedience to it the very essence of religion. But this notion was too limited: faith in moral law and obedience to it are of the essence of religion, but do not constitute its essence. There have been religions conspicuously unmoral. Hellenism could hardly be called a moral faith, or Hinduism. The tendency of the latter is to abolish moral distinctions. The religion of ancient Phœnicia was notoriously immoral, and exercised on this account so disastrous an influence on the mind and manners of Greece. These are facts which a philosophy of religion must recognize and explain. Fichte's did not, and so, however much we may admire the moral energy and earnestness that live in it, we cannot accept it as a correct theory of the nature and origin of religion, of the facts and meaning of faith. Then, too, his notion as to how positive religions became is applicable to no single faith. It is, *à priori*, evolved from his theory of religion; not scientific, deduced from the study of the facts he would explain.

The next stage in the history of transcendental speculation as to the nature and origin of religion is marked by a name as creative and illustrious in theology as was Kant's in philosophy, Schleiermacher. He came to the subject as a theologian who believed in the divine right of religion to be, and affirmed it in the face of a scornful and sceptical generation. He was distinguished alike by devout feeling and high culture, had a spirit nimble, subtle, critical, a heart steeped in reverence, awed and inspired by love of the divine. His age had no opener or more susceptible soul, no mind that could so melt, mingle, and purify by a fine enthusiasm for the holy the tendencies then living in conflict and contradiction. He had studied Spinoza—the sainted, as he loved to

call him; and his idea of the unity of the universe, of the relation of the one to the all, of the joy that springing from true knowledge is true love of God, possessed the imagination of Schleiermacher, and helped him to conceive religion in a new spirit, and present it under new lights. Fichte, too, he had studied, and had derived from him a worthier idea of man, of the place and power and meaning of the Ego, and of the creative action of the person in Nature, and of great personalities in history. Jacobi and Schelling combined had helped to form his theory of knowledge, had enabled him to conceive and represent mind as in most intimate and immediate relation to God; to bring the conscious spirit, as it were, into the very presence of the Eternal. The Romanticists had for him transfigured Nature and history, had made the one the translucent and radiant vehicle of the Divine Spirit, everywhere penetrated and glorified by the presence of the immanent God; the other, the creation and revelation of the human spirit, bright with the visions that had gladdened, and the ideals that had inspired, and the faith that had guided, man in his days of chivalry and truth. And in Schleiermacher, behind and within all, lived the soul of the mystic, the heart of the devout Christian, unifying these varied elements, and weaving them into a wondrous web of thought and argument. If in an age of cultivated and scornful unbelief, religion is ever to shame the scorn, command the culture, and vanquish the unbelief, it must be by men as open of soul, as strong in reason, and as strenuous in faith as Schleiermacher.

Thus formed and equipped, Schleiermacher stood forward as the apologist of religion; his defence of it was a theory of its nature. The defence was demanded by the spirit and attitude of the time; the theory resulted from a subtle combining of elements derived from the sources just specified. In our attempt at interpretation both points must be borne in mind; yet, as placed in their proper relations. Schleiermacher was no official apologist; no man was ever less of a professional advocate. Official apologetics are seldom real, and do little to convince the persons who most need to be convinced. But Schleiermacher did not value his theory for its apologetic worth; its worth was its truth. It had come to him like a discovery; with the inspiration a great discovery ever brings. The best apologies for faith have been, not defensive arguments, but constructive speculations, the doctrines that have most bravely wrestled with the mysteries of the universe, the truth as to God and man. And it is to this class that Schleiermacher's theory of religion belongs. What, then, was his theory? Religion was not metaphysics or ethics; was neither knowledge nor conduct, but feeling; its test was not the intellect or the conscience, but the heart. Theologians had identified it with an intellectual system of the universe; philosophers, with morality, but it was neither; it was the feeling of absolute dependence on the Infinite. The relation of the Infinite to us consisted in an action on us that we were conscious of, that we felt.

Religion was the immediate consciousness of the being of everything finite in the Infinite, and through the Infinite, of everything temporal in the Eternal and through the Eternal; it was to seek and to find this in everything which lives and moves, in all becoming and change, in all action and suffering—to feel our very life only as life in and through God. With the nature of God religion had no concern; speculation might be philosophy, or theology, but was not religion. This feeling resulted from the action of the universe upon us, and was simply man's perception of his relation to the universe. The moment of its birth was the moment when the universal life met and mingled with the individual, the hour when the universe and the incarnate reason were united in holy wedlock and joined in a creative embrace. With the nature of the Infinite, religion had no concern; the one thing was to feel its action upon us and our relation to it. The universe is in ceaseless activity, revealing itself to us every moment. Every form which it brings forth, every being it produces, every event that happens, is an action of the universe upon us; and in the effects thus worked within us, to perceive every individual, not for itself, but as a part of the whole, everything limited, not in its antithesis towards another, but as a manifestation of the Infinite in our life, and to be moved by what we thus perceive, is religion. This feeling may be expressed in the most varied forms, may be elaborated into the most dissimilar religions; but, underlying all, it remains everywhere in its essence the same. Religion is too infinite a thing to be reduced to a single form; whatever it anywhere forms is good, because what it so forms expresses a common higher life. Hence the category of the true and the false is here inappropriate, and as inappropriate the struggle after a cold and hollow uniformity. All that religion desires is to open in those who are as yet insusceptible to religious emotions the sense for the unity of the original source of life, and it desires this because every one endowed with this open sense is a new priest, a mediator, a new organ of the Divine. In the immediate relations to the Infinite every original and inner element stands undisturbed beside every other—all is one and all true. Intolerance cannot, therefore, belong to religion, only to the systems the intellect creates concerning it. In itself it remains holy, consecrating the common and unclean, accompanying, like a divine music, our thoughts and acts, softening the dissonances of our lives into an echo of its own celestial harmonies.

But now, how did Schleiermacher conceive the origin of religions? How did he apply his theory to the great historical faiths? For one thing it enabled him to give the *coup de grâce* to the so-called natural religion. As he said, "its essence consisted in the denial of everything positive and characteristic in religion, and in the most merciless polemic against it." There was, in short, no such thing; what was so called was a metaphysical or ethical system perhaps, but no religion. Every natural religion was positive, every positive religion natural. As an infinite

thing it may be manifested in an infinite multiplicity of aspects and appearances. There might be as many religions as there are men. There was, indeed, a universal religion existing under and within all possible varieties, the totality of the possible relations of man to God; but while this is everywhere and always the same, it is by no means always conceived by all in the same way. Religions originate because one of the many relations of man to God is made a centre, and all the other relations made to radiate from it or crystallize round it. The man who embodies in a new form his distinctive consciousness of God, either does or does not secure disciples. If he does, an organized and historical religion is the result; if he does not, what was specific in his consciousness of God passes with himself. In any case his right to express it is unquestioned, and the mere existence of an historical religion is not to hinder a man creating another if he finds the one extant an unfit expression of his feeling. Later, Schleiermacher added to this fundamental and creative idea a fundamental and creative fact, the two standing indissolubly together. And so every religion represented a given consciousness of God, and was founded to develop and propagate it. And herein for him lay the significance of its founder. The aim of Christianity, *e.g.*, was to realize among men Christ's consciousness of God: His was an absolutely perfect consciousness expressive of an absolutely perfect relation, and so the more His became ours the more perfect would our religion be. In classifying the religions of history, Schleiermacher followed a double method, one of degree and one of kind. By the first, he divided religions into Fetishism, Polytheism, and Monotheism; which arose, the two former, from a confusion, the latter from a distinction, of our consciousness of God and of the world. By the second, he divided religions into the teleological, or those that subordinated the natural emotions or passions to the moral; and the æsthetic, or those that subordinated the moral and active emotions to the natural. To the former he reckoned Judaism and Christianity; to the latter, Hellenism and Islam. The division was not very exhaustive or comprehensive or characteristic, but is on this account only the more significant as to the quality and nature of his idea of religion.

Now, Schleiermacher did splendid service to the philosophy of religion by this theory of his, unphilosophical as it was. He carried religion back to Nature, made it natural, based it on the nature of man and his universe. He emphasized, over-emphasized, elements in the idea of it that had been forgotten or ignored. He made an effective end of the distinction, in its eighteenth-century sense, between natural and positive religion. Natural religion was organized irreligion; had been the religion of no human being, least of all of the man who invented and praised it. Every natural religion must be positive; the more natural the more positive; the truer to Nature the greater its reality. But while Schleiermacher set religion in its right place, he conceive it rightly. His notion of it will not bear criticism, or

application to fact and history. His distinction between thought and feeling is unreal. We do not feel the unity of the forces in Nature ; we think it. We do not perceive the universe ; we conceive it. If we feel dependence, we must have a notion of the thing or being on which we depend. Without the notion the feeling were impossible. It is not enough to know that we feel ; we must know why. Thought determines feeling. Our feeling of dependence on the Infinite is determined by our conception of the Infinite. The form under which we conceive it cannot be a matter of indifference. The feeling of dependence is common to the Brahman, the Buddhist, the Jew, the Mohammedan, and the Christian. But the forms under which they conceive the absolute, or God, creates and constitutes the difference between their respective feelings and religions. Then, religion resolved into feeling is deprived of objective truth and reality, becomes a fugitive and subjective state, ever dying and changing, real only to the individual, incapable of rational and collective being. Schleiermacher's theory of religion is the apotheosis of individualism, emotion glorified at the expense of knowledge, feeling made to satisfy a mind that despairs of truth. His theory is a sort of atomic theory in religion. He made a valiant endeavour to show how the atoms might crystallize into a homogeneous structure. But the endeavour was more valiant than successful. The historical faiths were to him a burden, an enigma ; and his splendid ingenuity was exhausted in the effort to reconcile his notion of religion with his belief in Christianity. An idea of the nature and origin of religion inapplicable to the religions of history is not one we can here accept.

A. M. FAIRBAIRN.

THE RELATION OF INSECTS TO FLOWERS.

"**T**HE general result is, that to insects, and especially to bees, we owe the beauty of our gardens, the sweetness of our fields. To their beneficent, though unconscious, action flowers owe their scent and colour, their honey—nay, in many cases, even their form. Their present shape and varied arrangements, their brilliant colours, their honey, and their sweet scent, are all due to the selection exercised by insects."

This is an extract from the very interesting and able presidential address pronounced by Sir John Lubbock at the semi-centennial meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, held at York at the end of August and beginning of September last. It is presented as the outcome of scientific investigation into the relation of insects to flowers, consequent upon the carrying by the former of pollen from one blossom to another of the same species.

I propose to consider in what sense, and to what extent, this summary conclusion is justified by the facts and by legitimate inference, taking it for granted that the statement is meant to be purely scientific. The extract is preceded in the address by a dozen or more lines, in which the history of our knowledge of the action of insects in transporting pollen, and of the structural adaptations in flowers which have reference to such transportation, are referred to, but necessarily in so brief and fragmentary a way, that the audience addressed could have obtained therefrom—and the general reader of the printed page will probably acquire—only a vague idea of the known facts, and the dimmest, if any, conception of the process by which the above-cited inferences have been drawn from them. Indeed, although not unfamiliar with the facts and the literature of the subject, I am not sure that I rightly apprehend the meaning intended in the announcement that to insects, and especially to

bees, flowers owe their scent, their brilliant colouring, their odorous secretions, and their present shapes, and we ourselves our enjoyment thereof. But, unless the statement is partly rhetorical, it may be taken to mean that the action of these insects has sufficed to produce the varied colouration, secretions, and actual shapes of blossoms—in other words, that this action scientifically accounts for these phenomena.

What, in the first place, are the facts and the nearer inferences from which these conclusions are drawn? Succinctly stated, they are these, or such as these:

Conspicuously coloured and scented and nectariferous flowers, or those which possess some of these qualities (which generally go together)—and the larger number of the flowers of the higher orders of plants are such—are habitually visited by insects in search of nectar or of pollen for their food or other use; and insects do in this way actually carry from blossom to blossom pollen, which adheres to or smears some part of their bodies or limbs. The structure and arrangement of these flowers, or of their parts, is commonly such that pollen is taken by some visiting insect from the anthers or pollen-bearing organs, and some of it actually comes to be deposited upon the stigma or pollen-receptive organ of the blossom, where only it can fulfil its function of impregnation; sometimes upon the stigma of the same flower, sometimes, and it may be more usually, upon the stigma of other flowers. This is the case in hermaphrodite flowers, and most conspicuously coloured and nectariferous flowers are hermaphrodite; while, as to those that are unisexual, bearing the pollen in one sort of flower and the stigmas in another,—often widely separated, even on different trees or herbs,—insect-agency is the sole or main dependence for impregnation, except when the pollen is wafted by winds, as in such cases is usual.

Moreover, very many hermaphrodite flowers are so constructed that they are not readily, and some of them not possibly, self-fertilizable,—i.e., capable of being impregnated with their own pollen; for the reason that this pollen will not habitually or readily, or even will not at all, reach the stigmas when left unvisited and unaided; and such flowers, which would otherwise fail of their end, are made productive by the unconsciously-rendered and habitual aid of insects. Then, again, there are flowers (chiefly hermaphrodite), of very various kinds, which appear to be specially constructed in reference to the visits of particular kinds of insects, and this in a variety of ways—some by one peculiarity of structure, or shape, or position of parts, some by another; and there is a diversity of modes in which the pollen is debarred from access to the stigma of its own flowers, and at the same time put in the way of being conveyed by some particular kind of visiting insect to the stigmas of other blossoms on other individual plants. And this through what all agree in calling “adaptations” and “contrivances” of the most wonderful and exquisite character. The adaptations concerned, and the actions of insects in relation to them, are of such variety that volumes are needed

to describe them. The literature of the subject—which, as Sir John Lubbock remarks, originated with the curious volume by Christian Conrad Sprengel (which appeared before its time, near the close of the last century, and was unappreciated), and which was begun anew by Darwin seventy years later—is now copious and accessible. Much of it is in a popular form, and is attractive reading. It irresistibly incites to personal observation, for which the materials are everywhere at hand. I suppose that no one who reads up the case, and who uses his own eyes a little in the way of verification, will doubt that insects largely act as pollen-carriers for flowers, that the structure of the majority of insect-visited blossoms is in reference to insect visitation, and that the fertility of such flowers is generally enhanced, and in many of them is absolutely secured, by it. So far, the conclusion is tantamount to demonstration.

Now comes the theoretical inference that all these various adaptations of flowers to insects are in view of intercrossing. Sprengel formulated this idea in the expression, "Nature seems to have wished that no flower should be fertilized by its own pollen." The proposition in this form will not hold good: for we now know of flowers which must always be self-fertilized, though no known plant bears such flowers only; and we know of many flowers which habitually cross-fertilize, though they may intercross. Darwin uses, instead, the metaphorically expressed aphorism, "Nature abhors perpetual self-fertilization." But for the present, adhering to the facts and to the direct inferences from them, the simple proposition is, that flowers are habitually intercrossed, some almost constantly and necessarily, some only occasionally, or, as it were, precariously; that in the higher-developed conspicuously-coloured and nectariferous flowers, insects (or in certain cases birds) are the agents for cross-impregnation; and that the peculiar structures or special adaptations of such flowers are in relation to insect agency.

This carries with it the proposition that bright colouring, odours, and the nectar of blossoms, are for the attraction of insects—allurements in reference to service. That they serve this purpose is a manifest fact, and we do not know that they serve any other; that is, we do not know, nor is there any probable conjecture, that these endowments are of any other use to the plant itself. It is accordingly inferred that this is their *raison d'être*. This inference, and the inference that the object, so to speak, is to secure or favour intercrossing between hermaphrodite blossoms, are inductions from a vast number of particular observations and considerations, some of which will further appear. And this conclusion finds confirmation in the fact that flowers which are neither brightly-coloured, nor odorous, nor nectariferous, and accordingly do not attract, or do not in such ways attract, insects, are generally adapted to be cross-fertilized through a different agency—
y. by the wind; and they are perhaps as obviously, if not as itely, constructed in reference to this, as more gifted and showy a are to being served by insects. Indeed, most of them are

dioecious or monoecious—i.e. the sexes are separated either to distinct plants, or to different branches of the same herb or tree. Now, for structurally hermaphrodite flowers to act, or tend to act, as if practically unisexual is, so far as it operates, to conform the vegetable kingdom to one rule, and to the rule which is almost universal in the animal kingdom. The meaning of it is, the contribution of elements from two individuals to progeny. In the light of this, the establishment of cross-fertilization as a general fact, gives a reason why plants should have sexes at all. Certainly not for mere increase in numbers; for many propagate with the utmost facility by offshoots, buds, or equivalent modes of simple segregation, and in the lower orders immense majorities of the individuals are so produced, and with the greatest rapidity.

But budding propagation is the extreme opposite of that which results from cross-fertilization, being in fact the closest kind of breeding in-and-in; and the advantage or *raison d'être* of the one must be quite different from that of the other.

This brings us to the question, Is cross-fertilization in plants for them a good, and, if a good, is it a necessity? The doctrine of the text at the head of this discourse assumes its necessity. So we have to inquire, how far and by what proof this is made out.

The good in general of intercrossing may be argued from its demonstrated necessity in certain cases. There are such cases beyond doubt, and of more than one class. There are cases, such as in Orchises and Irises, in which the structure and adjustment of parts is such that pollen cannot of itself reach the closely adjacent stigma, but is admirably well disposed to be carried away by a visiting bee or moth, while the stigma is exactly placed so as to receive this pollen from the incoming, but not from the departing insect. There are numerous and very diverse cases in which the stigma comes into condition at an incompatible time, either before the pollen matures or after it is shed, but never synchronously with the stamens, thus forbidding close-fertilization; and in these blossoms there are commonly special adjustments or timed movements of parts, which facilitate cross-fertilization under the aid of insects. There is, moreover, a distinct class of cases, in which individual plants of the same species, even from different seeds of the same pod, in about equal numbers, produce two kinds of hermaphrodite flowers, which are sterile or approximately so *per se*, but reciprocally fertilize each the other. The common Primrose and the crimson-flowered Flax of the gardens are examples. In the latter it has been found that the pollen is quite inert upon the stigma of the same flower, or upon other flowers of the same plant; while the same pollen promptly fertilizes the flowers of the other set, and so reciprocally. Not only are all such flowers insect-visited, but the differences which characterize the two sorts are wholly in relation to insect-visitation, and the consequent transportation of pollen from the stamens of the

one sort to the stigmas of the other; this being secured, or at least favoured, by particular adjustments as to the length or height of the parts concerned.

Thus it is pretty well made out that the cross-fertilization of some hermaphrodite blossoms is a necessity to the continuance of the species, either because the pollen is naturally prevented from reaching its own stigma, or because it is impotent when it may reach it. And there is reasonable presumption that what is a necessity to certain species is an advantage to the rest. As most species actually share in the process, so far at least as to be occasionally cross-fertilized, either by insects or by winds, it may be fairly supposed that they also share in the benefit. Indeed, it is difficult to think otherwise. But upon Darwinian principles, in view of the struggle for life, that which is an advantage to individuals inevitably comes to be *ceteris paribus* a necessity to the race. This leads up to Mr. Darwin's hypothetical conclusion, that Nature abhors self-fertilization, and that, accordingly, no continually self-fertilized species would continue to exist.

This would seem to be a question quite capable of being settled one way or the other by experiment—namely, by close-breeding and cross-breeding for several generations a series of species, chosen from such as are capable of both, and noting the effects. Mr. Darwin undertook this, and the results are mainly recorded in his volume "On the Effects of Cross- and Self-fertilization." Summarily stated, they are, that species with flowers particularly adapted in structure for natural cross-fertilization were generally infertile or not prolific under artificial self-fertilization—this is only what has been substantially stated already; also that in those which were naturally capable of own-pollenization as well as of natural intercrossing, the latter was commonly attended in the first instance, or for a few generations, with increased fertility or with augmented vigour or robustness of the offspring. Yet, indeed, with such exceptions or limitations that this sagacious investigator came to the conclusion "that the mere act of crossing by itself does no good: the good depends on the individuals which are crossed differing slightly in constitution, owing to their progenitors having been subjected during several generations to slightly different conditions." This is in analogy with the experience of breeders of domestic animals, and in accordance with the remarkable fact that hybrid plants tend to take on increased robustness or vegetative vigour. But the fact, if such it be, that the benefit of crossing is reduced to zero when the progenitors live under the same condition, militates somewhat against the universality of the Darwinian aphorism. Indeed, the whole case is complicated by a conflict of tendencies, each of which has its advantages. Close-fertilization and cross-fertilization co-exist in the ordinary run of flowers. And if many flowers are demonstrably adapted for cross-fertilization only, not a few are quite as exclusively adapted to self-fertilization. Between the two plans there is a balancing of benefits and risks; the recoude and

generally remote good of the one is offset by the risk of failure in the transportation of pollen (as from the lack of appropriate visiting insects, or from the bad habits some of them form of forcing a surreptitious side-access to the honey, and so shirking the service); the direct success of the other is offset by the liability to sterility or diminution of vigour. To adopt the metaphor of the modern school, the struggle between these two modes has been going on through past ages—each has prevailed over a part of the field, but a large portion of it is still in litigation. It is notable, however, that all plants which produce strictly and unavoidably self-fertilizable blossoms, and propagate mainly by these, produce also more or less of other blossoms cross-fertilizable by insects. So that if we must reduce our conception of the aim of Nature in the vegetable kingdom to unity, it should rather be expressed as cross-fertilization tempered by close-fertilization, than close-fertilization tempered by cross-fertilization.

So the necessity of cross-fertilization is an hypothesis, verifiable to a certain extent, and one which, on the whole, best correlates the facts. It will probably hold its ground. But it may still be said that the most convincing evidence we have of the *general* utility, and therefore of the necessity of cross-fertilization in hermaphrodite flowers, is that derived from the consideration not merely of its prevalence (for that is subject to many exceptions and limitations), but of what any one familiar with the facts can hardly avoid calling the vast pains that seem to have been taken, and the great diversity of particular instrumentalities employed, to secure this end. Note that this sort of inference holds equally good under whatever conception of the way in which these forms and adapted structures came to be what they are. It comports as well with Darwinian as with Paleyan teleology; indeed, the modern view absolutely requires us to infer essential good to the plants themselves from these adaptations and operations. Such scientific belief or faith must pass only for what it is worth; and the worth of it in the present case will be apprehended only by those who are widely familiar with the vast number and variety of facts which it correlates and explains.

After all, perhaps the most serious objection or limitation to the Darwinian aphorism, "No continuously self-fertilized species would continue to exist," is the long survival of certain bud-propagated races, and the absence of satisfactory proof that such races ever die out from debility or any inherent infirmity. Some seedless and bud-propagated races of the higher orders of plants appear to be of great antiquity, but still completely vigorous; and among animals which retain vegetative propagation, such as polyps, certain coral-structures are still building up solely in this way from an ancestor doubtless far older than history, and perhaps older than the human species. Yet, if sexual close-breeding induces deterioration or sterility and mortality of the race, all the more should non-sexual propagation, which is the extreme of close-breeding.

In fine, the Darwinian proposition, if to be taken universally, is by no means proven, probable though it be, and perhaps is not provable. It is an hypothesis on trial. Even if not unqualifiedly true, it is most likely to be true as respects all showy flowers visited by insects: for them at least its truth is taken for granted in the statement under examination, and from it "the general result, that to insects, and especially to bees, we owe the beauty of our gardens, the sweetness of our fields, and flowers owe their scent and colour, their honey—nay, in many cases even their form—all are due to the selection exercised by insects," is substantially derived.

What is here asserted is not the obvious truth that bright-coloured and odoriferous and nectariferous blossoms, being at least generally dependent upon insects for propagation, have thereby been continued in existence; nor that, blossom and insect being in adaptation to each other to such extent that the insect is essential to the blossom (as likewise is the blossom to the insect), either may be loosely said to be owing to the other. The meaning manifestly is, or will be understood to be, that the action of the insects concerned has produced the colours, scents, honied secretions, and even the special forms of all such flowers—that this action scientifically explains and accounts for their existence.

Now, according to an hypothesis which I freely accept, there is a sense in which "the selection exercised by insects"—"beneficent, though unconscious"—may be said to have *given rise* to these colours, forms, &c. Assuming, as is probable, that our plants with showy flower-leaves are the remote descendants of those destitute of such array; assuming that the colouration began with little, and increased by degrees through numberless generations; inferring that, in former times, as in ours, bright colouring in the flower was accompanied by, and was the visible sign of, sweet secretions or other products upon which certain insects liked to feed; assuming, as we may, a tendency to variation at least as great as now, yet that the tendency of progeny to inherit the traits of parents and grandparents has ever been the fundamental law of Nature—then the natural inference must be that even the incipiently and moderately more conspicuously coloured flowers would be better seen and more visited by insects than the less coloured, therefore more intercrossed with similar equally attractive individuals, and so preserved as the founders of an improved race, to be similarly improved and modified in succeeding generations. So likewise with flowers exhaling odours, of which insects are keenly perceptive. Scent is commonly associated with colour, but is also an endowment of many dull-coloured blossoms, where it wonderfully serves to attract insects from a distance. Some flowers are more fragrant than others of the same species. Wind-fertilized flowers are mostly scentless, as well as dull coloured—they were the predecessors and probable ancestors of the insect-fertilized; development of perfume, in flowers that have it, may be inferred to have gone on

pari passu with development in colour, through the same process of unconscious selection.

Then as to shapes. So very large a proportion of flowers are symmetrical and regular in form and arrangement of parts, that, for this and for other reasons, which need not here be specified, botanists take such to be the normal condition, and the irregularity which prevails in certain large families of the higher orders of plants, as something to be accounted for. The kind of irregularity or departure from geometrical symmetry referred to is exemplified in a pea-blossom, a snapdragon, a sage-blossom, and in every flower of the vast orchis family. Now all flowers of this class are brightly coloured and habitually insect-fertilized, or at least belong to families that are generally so. And observation irresistibly suggests the conclusion that all these numerous, wonderfully diversified, and sometimes most curious and strange alterations of shape are adaptations—often most exquisite adaptations—to insect-visitation, and mainly to cross-fertilization. They are so either by favouring access, or by obstructing a mode of access which would not subserve the end, or as pouches or other receptacles for nectar, rightly adjusted to secure service in return for food, or even, in certain cases, for the shutting out of an unserviceable kind of insect-visitor, &c. Volumes have been written, and many more are yet to be written, in illustration of this and related topics, for the field of observation is practically inexhaustible. The scientific conclusion we are now concerned with—the general result of mainly recent inquiry, conducted under the light of the doctrine of natural selection—is, that these adapted forms have arisen from simple and small beginnings, and have been led on by the selective action of visiting insects to the present diversity, complexity, and elaborate adjustment of parts. So that all this, and all that renders flowers such interesting objects of intellectual contemplation, as well as of sensuous delight, may in a certain sense be said to have been brought about through the action of insects in seeking their food. But the influence is reciprocal, and it is understood—although we need not stop to consider the other side of the case—that the mouth-organs of the visiting insects have been as much modified by the flowers as the flowers by them. So the showy flowers have given rise to the existing bees and moths, in the same sense and in the same way that these have given rise to the flowers.

Sharing the modern scientific belief in derivative adaptation and evolution, I conceive that the hypothesis of the diversification of flowers and insects through reciprocal influence is a legitimate one. But the belief that things have so come to pass, and the conclusion that the selection exercised by insects of itself affords scientific explanation of—i.e., accounts for—the actual shapes, arrangements, colours, and secretions of blossoms, are two quite different propositions. To be a scientific explanation, it should show, or enable us to conceive, how insect-visitation operates or in any way tends to develop colours, originate

apparatus of secretion, produce from the plane surface of a petal pouches or tubes for holding nectar, and in general to direct growth into new and special forms. Thus far it does not appear how the visits of bees to a blossom can make one hair white or black. For all that yet appears, we may be indebted to bees for the beauty of our gardens and the sweetness of our fields, much as we are indebted to the postman for our letters. Correspondence would flag and fail without him; but the instrument is not the author of the correspondence.

We do, however, obtain a scientific explanation of a part of the process of the evolution of flowers and of their adaptations. If blossoms have been undergoing change, even occasionally, from dull to brighter colouration, from simplicity to diversity and a certain complexity, from general to specialized forms; if they have added from time to time new organs; if these organs, at first rudimentary and of one simple pattern, tended to enlargement and diversification; then, under the inheritance of like by progeny from parent, and through the inevitable survival of only the fittest to the actual conditions at every stage, it is obvious that the visitation of insects preferentially to those flowers which, step by step, were becoming more attractive, would have picked out those for preservation and increase, or would even have provided opportunity for further development and new acquisitions. Thus the selection and preservation, and we may say the education, of the actual forms and adaptations, may be scientifically accounted for, but not their origination.

The origination is the essential thing. Differences of a certain sort between one flower and another do sometimes arise; they originate, quite beyond our observation, somehow and somewhere in the transition from parent to offspring. That which was not in the one appears in the other. This, when not monstrosity, is called by naturalists variation. Naturalists well know that certain forms spring from others in this way; on the ground of analogy they confidently affirm the same of a multitude of other forms; and, with Natural Selection to help them, they now infer—more or less confidently—that all the differences between one blossom and one plant and another have come about through successive variations.

Granting that it has been, or may have been so, how far does Natural Selection account for it, in any case? As we have seen, it will account for the survival of the forms that have survived; but only on the condition precedent that they have developed the very structure which was well suited both to the outward conditions and to their own particular exigencies. They might at the same time produce that which was less fitted, or was unfitted to the circumstances, as the hypothesis assumes they did—probably with more confidence than is altogether warranted. Such forms would be eliminated. Many must have perished by the way, which might have flourished under slightly different conditions. Thus far, it is seen that Natural Selection acts only as a destroyer, or,

if as a preserver, only because the annihilation of ninety-nine members of the flock betters the opportunities of the one remaining. But this metaphorical term is one of elastic meaning, and it has been used, even from the first, in a double sense. Primarily and strictly it is a personifying expression for the *ensemble* of the agencies and conditions to which plants and animals are subject, including, of course, their action on one another. In this—the sense in which we have been using it—Natural Selection is recognized as a *vera causa*, is wholly intelligible, undoubtedly operative, and is applicable as a scientific explanation of the diversification of species, furnishing as it may one factor of the requisite explanation. It accounts for the survival of certain adaptable forms; it does not pretend to account for the correlation of growth in which they originated. But the term has also been taken to include the internal response of the plant or animal to the action of the conditions, as well as the action of the latter upon the former. And there is a sense in which this may be quite proper, in which Natural Selection, strictly so called, may have much to do with variation. I do not here allude to the interdependence of the two—that, as Natural Selection could accomplish nothing of moment without a supply of variant forms to pick and choose from, so, on the other hand, the wheels of the machinery—whatever it be—which turns out variations, would soon be clogged and arrested unless Natural Selection continually took away the unadaptable, to give room and opportunity to the better-adapted. It appears to be thought—and it is probable, though by no means certain—that (however it be with organisms of higher grade) the plant's action is wholly called out by surrounding influences; and so these influences may be a cause of the variations which, selected and led on by the same, have produced the results we are considering. Mr. Darwin evidently takes this view, and has thrown no little light upon it. Although he speaks of our ignorance of the causes of variation, yet he has more and more in his later works looked to mechanical causes for explanation, and has in some cases shown how they may act. Yet no one appears to be more penetrated with the idea that the whole physiological action of the plant is a response of the living organism to the action of the surroundings. He would probably agree that, though the external conditions *induce* the actions and changes of the living plant to a certain extent—it may be wholly—they do not *produce* them, and are quite insufficient to explain them. I have no room for presenting the grounds of this opinion, nor is it necessary. Let the doubter attentively read three of Mr. Darwin's volumes—"The Movements and Habits of Climbing Plants," "Insectivorous Plants," "The Power of Movement in Plants,"—and be convinced.

We are not saying that variation—the appearance of offspring manifestly unlike parent—is scientifically inexplicable: for we expect much will yet be explained; but that here, as elsewhere, an inexplicable residuum will still remain. What we may say is, that

Natural Selection has not explained it, and that no good reason appears for believing that purely physical or mechanical principles will ever explain the incoming of the differences between one plant or animal and another. This one may say without prejudice against the applications of physics to physiology, in which so much fruitful work has recently been done and is doing.

The upshot is, that Natural Selection, taken in the sense of a *vera causa* whose working we really comprehend, explains only the selection of certain among other once existing forms to be selected from: in the largest legitimate sense, it indicates that physical influences in some recondite way induce living organisms to movement and change; while, if extended to comprehend the actions of plants and animals in adaptation to the surroundings, as well as the influence of these surroundings upon them, it becomes a *phrase*, which is so far forth emptied of real scientific meaning and explanatory value.

Add, however, to "Survival of the fittest," "Correlation of growth," which is always implied when not expressed by Darwin and Wallace, and the hypothesis is made complete. But what is "Correlation of growth?" A phrase denoting a fact, covering the really essential facts of the case, but not pretending to be a scientific explanation. Surely it is to this correlation of growth that "we owe the beauty of our gardens and the sweetness of our fields" more and in a juster sense than "to the beneficent though unconscious action" of the bees. Without it the result could not be at all, although without the bees of course it would not have been as it is. The text upon which I have so long and perhaps needlessly discoursed exhibits one face of the shield, and, when understood as we probably may all understand it, appears to have not only plausibility but real scientific value.

A word, in closing, upon the character of Variation—that is, upon that upspringing of the differences between individual forms which may amount to such large results,—a word which need hardly, if at all, surpass the narrowest bounds of purely scientific inquiry. Variation is commonly said to be *accidental*. Some take this to mean that, as anything may chance to happen, while only the lucky can survive, all that is needed for the scientific explanation of the actual adaptations of the organic world, under Natural Selection, is time enough for the happening. And, indeed, it either comes to this—the old fortuity which the human mind declines to accept—or it comes to something quite different. This fortuity, however, is not Darwinism, although that has needlessly been left open to such implication. Mr. Darwin over and over explains that by "accidental" variation he means merely that which comes to pass from unrecognized or unassignable causes. Yet it clearly appears that Darwin does regard variation as accidental in the sense of its being inherently likely (heredity abstracted) to occur all conceivable directions, or in any one direction as much as in any other: and from this it has been inferred—though not by Mr. Darwin—

that it is essentially lawless. From observation one would rather infer that variation actually tends, and really occurs, in some directions only, but in various degrees. Lawless, or really random variation, would be a strange anomaly in this world of law, and a singular conclusion to be reached by those who insist upon the universality of natural law. But if variation proceeds according to law, the exquisitely adapted results to which our attention has been directed are its fulfilment.

This purely scientific discussion has been carried on wholly without reference to what has been called "metaphysical teleology" (as if one sort of recognition of purpose were not as metaphysical as another); and there is no special need to enter upon that debatable ground. Some suppose, and many fear, that the progress of science is doing away with the idea of purpose in Nature, under a crude notion that Purpose and Evolution are essentially contradictory. Others, who clearly perceive that Man inevitably will and must read Purpose in or into Nature, conceive of Unconscious Purpose. This to most minds seems like conceiving of white blackness. To most minds Purpose will imply Intelligence. And, with the alternative presented to them, "either Nature is the outcome of Intelligence, or Intelligence is the outcome of Nature," they will not deem it wholly unscientific or super-scientific to inquire which hypothesis may afford the more reasonable explanation of the phenomena.

ASA GRAY.

VIVISECTION AND ITS TWO-FACED ADVOCATES.

THE position in which we, the opponents of Vivisection, find ourselves at present is this:—

We seek to stop certain practices which appear to us to involve gross cruelty, and to be contrary to the spirit of English law. Our knowledge of them is derived almost exclusively from the published reports and treatises prepared and issued by the actual individuals who carry out those practices; and our arguments are grounded upon *verbatim* citations from those published and accessible reports and treatises.*

The persons whose practices we desire to stop, and their immediate associates, now meet our charges of cruelty by articles in the leading periodicals, wherein the proceedings in question are invested with a character not only diverse from, but opposite to, that which they wear in the scientific treatises and reports containing the original accounts.

I shall, in this paper, endeavour to indicate the outlines of these diversities and contradictions, premising that, from the nature of the case, the argument is a cumulative one, of which the full force can only be felt by those who have first perused the treatises and experienced the impression which they are calculated to produce. Afterwards, I shall deal with some subordinate matters respecting which my statements in a previous article (in the *Fortnightly Review*) have been called in question.

1. In the first place, the *purpose* of the great majority of experiments

* *E.g.*, the "Handbook of the Physiological Laboratory," by Drs. Burdon Sanderson, Lauder Brunton, Klein, and Foster. London, 1873; Béclard's "Traité Élémentaire," Paris, 1860; Claude Bernard's "Physiologie Opératoire," "Traité sur le Diabète," "Sur la Chaleur Animale"; Cuyon's "Methodik," Gießen; Paul Bert, "La Pression Barométrique," Paris, 1878; Mantegazza, "Del Dolore," Florence, 1880; Lavoisier's "Manuel de Vivisection," 1882. *Archives de Physiologie*, edited by Brown-Séquard, Charcot, and Vulpian. *Salut*, "Physiologia Experimentale," 1866; "Pharmacology and Therapeutics," by Dr. Lauder Brunton, 1880; *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1875; *Journal of Physiology*, Michael Foster, 1882; Golts, "Verrichtungen des Grosshirns," 1881.

is differently described in the scientific treatises and in the popular articles. In the former, the *raison d'être* of most experiments appears to be the elucidation of points of purely scientific interest. It is only occasionally that we meet with allusions to diseases or their remedies, but the experiments are generally described as showing that one organ acts in one way and another in another—that such a lesion, or such an irritation, produces such and such results and reactions; and (especially) that Professor A.'s theory has been disproved and that of Professor B. (temporarily) established. In short, every page of these books corroborates the honest statement of Professor Hermann of Zurich: "The advancement of science, and not practical utility to medicine, is the true and straightforward object of all vivisection. No true investigator in his researches thinks of the practical utilization. Science can afford to despise this justification with which vivisection has been defended in England."—*Die Vivisectionsfrage* p. 16.

We now turn to such articles as the six which have appeared in the *Nineteenth Century* and the two in the *Fortnightly Review* in defence of vivisection, and, *mirabile dictu*! not a solitary vivisection is mentioned of which the direct advancement of the healing art does not appear as the single-minded object.

2. Again, the *serenity* of the experiments in common use, appears from the Treatises and Reports (always including the English "Handbook," *Transactions*, and *Journal of Physiology*) to be truly frightful. Sawing across the backbone, dissecting out and irritating all the great nerves, driving catheters along the veins and arteries, inoculating with the most dreadful diseases, cutting out pieces of the intestine, baking, stewing, pouring boiling water into the stomach, freezing to death, reducing the brain to the condition of a "lately-hoed potato field;" these and similarly terrible experiments form the staple of some of them, and a significant feature in all.

But turning now to the popular articles, we find Dr. Lauder Brunton assuring the readers of the *Nineteenth Century* that "he has calculated that about twenty-four out of every 100 of the experiments (in the Parliamentary Returns), might have given pain. But of these twenty-four, four-fifths are like vaccination, the pain of which is of no great moment. In about one-seventh of the cases the animal only suffered from the healing of a wound." Sir James Paget afforded us a still more *coulour de rose* view of the subject. He said: "I believe that, with these few exceptions, there are no physiological experiments which are not matched or far surpassed in painfulness by common practices permitted or encouraged by the most humane persons."

3. Again, in reading these terrible Treatises (the English "Handbook" included), we do not meet with one solitary appeal against the repetition of painful experiments, one caution to the student to forbear from the extremity of torture, one expression of pity or regret—even when the keenest suffering had been inflicted. On the contrary, we

find frequent repetitions of such phrases as "interesting experiments," "very interesting experiments," "beautiful" (*schöne*) cerebral inflammation, and so on. In short, the writers, frankly, seem pleased with their work, and exemplify Claude Bernard's description of the ideal Vivisector—the man who "does not hear the animal's cries of pain, and is blind to the blood that flows, and who sees nothing but his idea and organisms which conceal from him the secrets he is resolved to discover."* Or, still more advanced, they realized Cyon's yet stronger picture in his great book of the "Methodik," of which, by the way, he has lately told us in the *Gaulois*, that when the book was coming out his English colleagues implored him not to allow it to be advertised in England.

In this great treatise M. Cyon tells us:—

"The true vivisector must approach a difficult vivisection with *joyful exertion*. . . . He who shrinks from cutting into a living animal, he who approaches a vivisection as a disagreeable necessity, may be able to repeat one or two vivisections, but he will never be an artist in vivisection. . . . The sensation of the physiologist when, from a gruesome wound, full of blood and mangled tissue, he draws forth some delicate nerve thread . . . has much in common with that of a sculptor."—*Methodik*, p. 15.

This is the somewhat startling self-revelation of the Vivisector, made by himself to his colleagues. The picture of him in the *Nineteenth Century* and *Fortnightly Review* is almost as different as one face of Janus from the other. We find him talking of the power of "controlling one's emotions," "disregarding one's own feelings at the sight of suffering," "subordinating feeling to judgment," and much more in the same strain, whereby the Vivisector is made to appear a martyr to the Enthusiasm of Humanity.

4. Again, as to the *number* of animals dissected alive, the Treatises make us suppose it to be enormous. M. Paul Bert gives cases of terrible experiments on dogs placed under the compression of eight atmospheres and coming out stiffened, "so that the animal may be carried by one paw just as a piece of wood"—and cats which, when dissected after death, showed a "marrow which flowed like cream;" and of these experiments he gives the public instances up to No. 286. Schiff is calculated to have "used" 14,000 dogs and nearly 50,000 other animals during his ten years' work in Florence. Flourens told Blatin that Magendie had sacrificed 4,000 dogs to prove Bell's theory of the nerves, and 4,000 more to disprove the same; and that he, Flourens, had proved Bell was right by sacrificing some thousand more. Dr. Lauder-Brunton himself told the Royal Commission (Q. 5,721) that in one series, out of three on one subject, he had sacrificed (without result) ninety cats in an experiment during which they lingered four or five hours after the chloroform (Q. 5,724), with their intestines "operated upon." He also carried on another series of 150 experiments on various animals, very painful,

* "Introduction à l'Étude de la Médecine Expérimentale," p. 180.

and notoriously without results (Q. 5,748). This is the scale on which vivisections abroad and at home are carried on, if we are to be guided by the Treatises.

Turn we now to the popular Articles; and we find mention only of the very smallest numbers. Sir William Gull minimizes Bernard's stove-baked dogs to six (concerning the correction of which statement, see further, p. 616), and Professor Yeo brings down those of Professor Rutherford's victims to twelve (for which also see p. 622) every reference to numbers being apparently, like those of the Fuegians, limited to the digits of physiologists.

5. Again, as regards Anæsthetics, throughout the Treatises I cannot recall having once seen them mentioned as *means of allaying the sufferings of the animals*, but very often as convenient applications for *keeping them quiet*. Claude Bernard in his "*Physiologie Opératoire*," and Cyon in his great "*Methodik*," each devote a section to them as MEANS OF RESTRAINT ("*contention*"), and describe their merits from that point of view. Morphia, for example, Bernard recommends because it keeps the animal still, though "*il souffre la douleur*;" and of curare (which, he says, causes "the most atrocious sufferings which the imagination can conceive"), he remarks, without an expression of regret, that its use in vivisection is so universal that it may always be assumed to have been used in experiments not otherwise described. Nor can I explain this omission to treat anæsthetics from the humanitarian point of view, for the Treatises contain long chapters of advice to the neophyte in vivisection, how he may ingeniously avoid being bitten by the dogs, or scratched by the yet more "*terrible*" cats, which are, Bernard pathetically complains, "*indocile*" when lifted on the torture trough.

Turning to our *Nineteenth Century* essayists, we find chloroform is everywhere, and curare nowhere.

6. Lastly, there is not a trace in the Treatises—even in the English "*Handbook*"—of the supposed Wall of China which guards the Flowery Land of English Vivisection from the hordes of outer barbarians who practise in Paris, Leipsic, Florence, Strasbourg, and Vienna. We find, on the contrary, a frequent and cordial interchange of experiments and compliments. Our English vivisectionists study in the schools of the Continent, and in several cases have brought over foreigners to be their assistants at home. When Claude Bernard died, so little did English physiologists think of repudiating him, that a letter appeared in the *Times* of March 20, 1878, inviting subscriptions to raise a monument to his honour, signed by Sir James Paget, Dr. Burdon-Sanderson, Professor Humphry, Professor Gerald Yeo, Mr. Ernest Hart, Mr. Romanes, and Dr. Michael Foster. Even last autumn, when Professors Goltz, Flint, Brown-Séquard, Béclard, and Chauveau joined the International Congress in London, they were received with the warmest welcome from their English colleagues, one hundred of whom accompanied Professors Goltz and Ferrier to inspect the dogs of the former and the monkeys of the

latter (I beg pardon, of Professor Yeo); and when Professor Goltz returned to Germany, he published a volume containing beautiful coloured pictures of the mutilated brains of his dogs, and dedicated it—to whom does the reader think? To—

“HIS ENGLISH FRIENDS!”*

All this does not look exactly like hearty disgust and repudiation of the foreign system.

But turn we to the *Nineteenth Century* and *Fortnightly Review*, and lo! the garments of our English physiologists are drawn closely around them, and we are assured they have “no connection whatever with the establishment over the way.” I am even rebuked for placing on the same page (in my article “Four Replies”) certain English experiments and “the disgusting details of foreign atrocities, which excite a persistent feeling of repugnance.” Professor Yeo says he “regards with pain and loathing such work as that of Mantegazza,” and asks me bitterly, “Why repeat the oft-told tale of horrors contained in the works of Claude Bernard, Paul Bert, Brown-Séquard, and Richet in France, of Goltz in Germany, Mantegazza in Italy, and Flint in America?” (p. 361.)

Surely this is a cargo of Jonahs thrown overboard together! Claude Bernard, the prince of physiologists, to whom this same Professor Gerald Yeo, four years ago, wished to raise a statue! Brown-Séquard, the honoured of Professor Huxley! Professor Flint, who, six months since, was the favoured guest of every scientific throng in London, and who, I presume, is of Anglo-Saxon race, only corrupted from humane British vivisection by evil American communications! And lastly, Goltz!—poor Professor Goltz, who had so many cordial hand-shakes on quitting perfidious Albion, while the autumn leaves were falling, and who is now flung down the Gemonian stairs, a sacrifice to the rabble of anti-vivisectioners, even while the ink is scarcely dry on his touching dedication of his book:—

“SEINEN
FREUNDEN IN ENGLAND
GEWIDMET
VON DEM VERFASSEN.”

May not this new Raleigh fitly cry, not, “O the friendship of Princes!” but “O the friendship of Physiologists?”

Thus we see that, as regards, first, the *purpose* of the majority of vivisections; second, their severity; third, their number; fourth, the caution of the experimenters; fifth, the use of anaesthetics; sixth, the difference between English and foreign vivisection,—in short, on every one of the points of importance in the controversy,—there is contradiction on the broadest scale between the scientific Treatises and Reports prepared for

* “Verrichtungen des Grosshirns,” 1881.

"brethren of the craft" and in the articles written in lay periodicals for the edification of the British public.

It is for the reader to judge which class of statement may, with the greater probability, be held to represent the genuine doings and feelings of the writers.

I now proceed to examine some of the minor points whereon my statements in the *Fortnightly Review* for January have been attacked by the writers in the *Nineteenth Century* and *Fortnightly Review* for March.

Sir William Gull is, no doubt, a great authority on drugs and diseases.* Perhaps for that reason he has scarcely devoted much leisure to the study of morals and divinity. Had he done so he would scarcely have asked, "What casuist can doubt the moral duty (of pressing on the acquisition of knowledge), with the parable of the Talents before him?" The casuist is, I think, yet to be found who will maintain that the pursuit of knowledge is not morally limited, like every other human pursuit, by the lawfulness of the means to be therein employed; and certainly our fashionable physician stands alone in an interpretation of the Gospel parable which would represent the Teacher as recommending the man with five talents to increase them—let us say, by knocking down and robbing the man with one. As Sir William Gull has begun, however, to study the Bible, I may point out to him that in the opening chapters of Genesis he will find the ruin of the whole human race attributed to "the acquisition of knowledge" regardless of lawful limitation.

The experience of six years has convinced most of us that to argue a point of animal suffering with a vivisector is not a very hopeful proceeding. There is one matter, however, wherein, as he seems to refer to me, I shall try to convict Sir W. Gull. He ridicules my expression of "baking alive," applied to the dogs in Bernard's stove, and through a page and a half he labours to explain that the sufferings of Bernard's victims were only those of a man dying of fever. "The animal—or man," he says, "is under such circumstances (those of fever) baked alive"—and he leaves the impression that in his opinion the pain of the stove and the pain of the fever were equal. Here is what a physiologist of a different school wrote recently in the *Spectator*, respecting similar observations made by Mr. Edmund Gurney in the *Cornhill Magazine*:—

"In the baking experiments, of which Mr. Gurney states a great deal has been made, according to him 'the actual mode of death was not exceptionally painful,' in proof of which he states that 'the stages of death were faintness and exhaustion, passing on to coma, and, finally, some convulsive movements.' Now, Mr. Gurney, being a layman, may be excused when, misguided perhaps by some friendly vivisector, he comes to the incredible conclusion that death by

* Sir William Gull told the Royal Commission, however (Q. 5545) when asked "As regards remedial drugs, are there many which you can enumerate as having been discovered by those processes? (vivisections)," "I am sorry to say that I am not a great believer in drugs."

baking is not exceptionally painful: but he ought, at the very least, to have taken the opinion or description of the experimenter who performed the experiments, to whom full reference was given. As he has failed to do so, I shall supply the quotation in question from Claude Bernard, in '*La Chaleur Animale*,' Paris, 1876, page 356:—'When the animal feels the toxic effects of the heat, it presents a series of symptoms which are constant and characteristic. At first, it is somewhat agitated; soon respiration and circulation become accelerated; the animal gasps, it pants, at last it falls into convulsions, and with a scream (*poussant un cri*), it generally dies suddenly.'

"Surely Mr. Gurney does not mean to quibble over the terms 'boiling alive' and 'baking alive.' As far as the experiments are concerned, where the animals were placed till they died in a little oven over a fire (of which a woodcut, reproduced by photography, of the original, in *loc. cit.*, page 347, generally accompanies the textual descriptions), no other term could possibly be applied than 'baking alive.'"—*Spectator*, Feb. 11, 1882.

In short, if for "stove" we substitute "oven," we shall be in a position to give an answer to the simple questions—1. Is the pain of fever (such as many of us have endured for three weeks, and recovered afterwards) equivalent to the pain of being put into a machine at such a temperature as that we should die in a few minutes? 2. Ought a living rabbit inside such a machine to be described by a different word from a dead rabbit put into it and taken out after a few minutes longer, *fit to be eaten*?

I am content now to leave this point, which is a sample of the general treatment of our charges by the advocates of vivisection; but before dismissing Sir W. Gull, I must express my amazement that he should have quitted the safe field of vague denial and suggestion, and committed himself to a matter of definite numbers, whereon his readers need only use their eyes on a visit to the Victoria Street Society's Library, to see that he has made a statement—as an Italian would politely say, *pienamente inesatto*. Sir William says (pp. 460, 461), "Bernard, in these (stove) experiments, sacrificed two pigeons, two guinea pigs, less than twenty rabbits, and six dogs." Where did he find this number "six?" I have before me Claude Bernard's own book, wherein the disputed experiments are detailed, and diagrams of the stoves inserted (pp. 347 *et seq.* to pp. 358, 359); two pages are occupied by a synoptical table of the experiments which were performed in the first and simplest stove or oven, with the diagram of which many of my readers are no doubt familiar. In this table I read in one column the word "*thien*" three times, then eleven times, and then twice. Only one of these dogs is said to have been withdrawn, and to have survived after thirty-six seconds only of the stove. Another, which was also withdrawn, died in four hours.

If Sir William Gull finds that $3 + 11 + 2$ amount to 6, I shall venture to offer him a copy of Colenso's Arithmetic, out of consideration for his patients, to whom his peculiar views of the First Rule might prove of importance in a prescription for physic.

Of the *second* stove or oven, of which Bernard gives a diagram in his

next chapter, and in which another series of dogs and other animals were baked, Sir William Gull takes no notice at all. From his triumphant conclusion respecting the results of the martyrdom of the "six" dogs, the unwary reader might suppose that we had quite got to the bottom of the mystery of fever. To those who have lost their nearest and dearest by such disease, there must be something ineffably tantalizing in these perpetual promises—while we are all the time precisely where we were; and I confess to being, for my own part, just a little sick of these Hopes which (it has been remarked) "spring eternal in the physiological, as in the human, breast." She is, I think, somewhat of an impostor this "Hope" of Science—who leans not on an anchor, but against a vivisectioning trough, and whom her supposed sisters, Faith and Charity, would, I fancy, be quick to repudiate. The references to this hope in every page of every defence of vivisection call to mind the story of Sir Boyle Roche in the Dublin Parliament, when he maintained that the Union with England had brought uncounted, but not easily defined, benefits to Ireland. "Honourable gentlemen," said Sir Boyle, with Hibernian eloquence, "may titter, *but when the Day of Judgment comes* they will see the good the Union has done to Ireland." Just so. And when the Day of Judgment comes—scarcely sooner—we shall look for the promised cure of fever and cholera, cancer and consumption by means of vivisection.

Sir William does not conclude without again parading his singular ignorance of the rudiments of ethics. Quite calmly he enounces the astounding canon: "Our obligations to the lower creatures *arise out of ourselves*. We owe it *to ourselves* that we should treat them with tenderness." The Catholic doctrine, that we owe it to God to be kind to His creatures, exhibits one side of the truth. The doctrine of the intuitionist Butler, and the utilitarian Bentham, that we owe to every sentient creature to spare it pain, simply because it is sentient, sets forth the larger truth. But the doctrine of Sir William Gull, that duty to the lower animals is exclusively a *personal* duty (like truth, temperance, and chastity), seems to reveal incomprehension of the very alphabet of morals. There is however just one thing which the great teachers of physical science deem beneath their notice. It is that science which deals with the noblest part of the noblest creature. The ganglion of a worm or the egg of a maggot is in their eyes more interesting than the heart of a poet or the conscience of a saint.

In the second essay in the *Nineteenth Century*, the writer, Mr. Fleming, mentions with entire satisfaction (heightened by the usual condiment of Hope) various successful experiments of inoculation of rabies, tuberculosis, glanders (applied to a "*worthless*" horse), and of anthrax.

Into the interminable controversy respecting vaccination in all its forms, and the justice of the paeans over "cultivated virus" (delightful

phrase!), which have been ringing in our ears this winter, it would be idle here to speak. I note that already there are signs of a return to a comparatively reasonable frame of the scientific mind, noticeable particularly in a report published in Dr. Lauder Brunton's journal, the *Practitioner*, for March, of experiments made in Hungary in correction of those of Pasteur. The reporters, who seem to have carried out very large inquiries, say that they "cannot overlook the fact that after the protective inoculations, the deaths from other diseases, or more correctly those in which the post-mortem appearances were those of catarrh, pneumonia, distoma, strongylus, and pericarditis, and not those of anthrax, occurred exclusively among the inoculated animals" (p. 233). They add that "there are still several doubts about the method from a public health point of view," and that "of great importance is the question whether the meat, milk, &c., of inoculated animals can convey anthrax." After referring to the inconceivable multiplication of disease germs in living and dead animals which would follow the extensive use of inoculation—germs which "might regain their original virulence, and in this roundabout way affect men and other animals"—the committee conclude that the "immediate general application of Pasteur's method in the form demonstrated to us here would be precipitate, that it should least of all be recommended by the State; and that . . . the performance of protective inoculation by private individuals should be completely forbidden . . ." (p. 235).

The men of science will no doubt wrangle over this matter for some time to come. Meanwhile the lay public may exercise its own humble common sense on a problem nearly connected therewith. Whither is Pasteurism to lead us? Vaccination as a protection from one special epidemic is a thing which the majority of us have, rightly or wrongly, accepted as a wise measure, though the anti-vaccinators have shown cause both to doubt the extent of its preservative power, and to credit it with certain "ghastly risks" more terrible than those from which it should shield us."

Accepting vaccination, however, as a preservative from one disease, how will it be when we and our cattle are to try twenty similar preservatives for twenty other diseases? Is it really to be believed that the order of things has been so perversely constituted as that the health of men and beasts is to be sought, *not* as we fondly believed by pure and sober living and cleanliness, but by the pollution of the very fountains of life with the confluent streams of a dozen filthy diseases? Mr. Fleming indites a psalm of triumph over the prospect of a boundless field of inoculations just opening to the activity of medical men and veterinary surgeons, who will go forth like so many sowers to scratch the people and cattle instead of the ground, and drop "cultivated virus" by way of seed. Are we then, our oxen, our sheep, our pigs, our fowls (that is to say, our own bodies and the food which nourishes them), all to be vaccinated, porcinated, equinated, caninized, felinized, and bovinated,

once, twice, twenty times in our lives, or in a year? Are we to be converted into so many living nests for the comfortable incubation of disease germs? Is our meat to be saturated with "virus," our milk drawn from inoculated cows, our eggs laid by diseased hens—in short, are we to breakfast, dine, and sup upon disease by way of securing the perfection of health?

Surely, when this last medical bubble has burst, it will be deemed the emptiest and the ugliest of the long series of which potable gold and the Elixir of Life formed the beginning.

The third article in the *Nineteenth Century* is by Dr. Lauder Brunton, one of the authors of the "Handbook." The gist of it consists in the attribution to vivisection of certain alleged advances in our knowledge of digitalis, strychnia, Calabar bean, pepsin, chloral, and nitrate of amyl. One would conjecture at first sight that, with all these new weapons wherewith to combat the Destroyer, the doctors would by this time have sensibly reduced the rates of mortality, and that at least four or five diseases should have been definitely conquered. A few figures to such effect from the Registrar-General's Report (which I fear somehow records quite an opposite state of things) would certainly be more satisfactory than to find all these new remedies paraded before us without any means of checking the boasted results. The unsatisfactory nature of these large statements may be noted even by one who, like myself, cannot pretend to get to the bottom of the matter—for example, in two instances out of Dr. Lauder-Brunton's list.—

"The experiments of Luchsinger," Dr. Brunton says, "and of Rokitansky prove"—so and so. "If then we should give strychnia at bedtime to the consumptive patient, we should prevent the sweats. We try it accordingly, and the result shows that the practical deductions from these apparently useless experiments on animals are correct, for the sweats cease and the prostration disappears" (p. 485).

This kind of thing addressed to the public who read the *Nineteenth Century* sounds delightfully clear and conclusive. But, by chance, I compare it with another report, written by Dr. Brunton for his scientific brethren, and reprinted from "St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports," vol. xv. In this latter honest report there are cited four cases wherein the beneficent effects of strychnia were tested. In Case 1 the patient died having had "no night-sweats until a few days before death." In Case 2 the remedy for the sweats caused the patient to think it increased her cough every time it was administered. In Case 3 the remedy seems to have made little difference. In Case 4 it seems to have stopped the sweats, but we are not told whether the patient recovered. These results scarcely bear out, I think, the unlimited assertion in the *Nineteenth Century*, that on the application of remedy "the sweats cease and the prostration disappears."

Again, Dr. Lauder Brunton tells us—as if the matter were beyond doubt:—

“The action of carbolic acid was first systematically investigated by Lemaire, and its application by Lister to surgery is one of the greatest boons to humanity of modern times. Of its importance in antiseptic surgery no one can be ignorant” (p. 485).

Who that reads the above in the *Nineteenth Century* would suppose that at the recent Congress one of the most eminent surgeons and vivisectioners in Scotland, Dr. Keith, stated that he had abandoned the system of carbolic acid, because he found it to poison both himself and his patient? Another no less eminent English surgeon, Mr. Lawson Tait, wrote publicly two months ago of Mr. Lister’s boasted ligature: “If the carbolic ligature had never been tried on animals, where it seems to answer admirably, it never would have been tried on human patients, where it fails miserably and has cost many lives”?—Letter to *Birmingham Daily Mail*, July 21, 1882.

I now reach the essay of Professor Yeo in the *Fortnightly Review*. It chiefly consists of contradictions of my statements in the January number of the same Review, together with some remarks on the noble article of the Lord Chief Justice, which had perhaps best be passed in silence.

Professor Yeo refers at great length to the annual Parliamentary Returns of Licenses and Certificates granted under the Vivisection Act, to prove the extreme paucity of painful experiments, and adds, “No one will, I think, presume to say that this evidence is not absolutely unimpeachable and without prejudice.”—“No one?” Why, who in their senses takes the word of accused men for their own secret doings, and of what else do these returns consist? There is not even a pretence of real personal overlooking of the laboratories by the Inspector, much less of visits paid unawares. No doubt Mr. Busk has correctly noted the number of licenses actually granted by the Home Office—so far is a safe matter of official routine. But respecting the number of experiments performed under each license, and the degree of pain inflicted in such experiments, it is really crediting us with too much simplicity, “weak-minded humanitarians” though we be, to suppose we shall take the word of the very men whom the returns are intended to check. Did not Dr. Yeo indulge in a smile when he wrote the following:—“There are no signs of any attempt to keep back anything on the parts of the experimenters; on the contrary, they seem to have been rather too punctilious”?

It is not easy to write on such a matter as Inspection under the Vivisection Act made by an Inspector who has been the elected Vice-President of that Royal Society to which all the leading vivisectioners belong. But the following fable will perhaps convey the sense in which not a few of us regard the matter:—

FABLE.

"A Farmer once was much troubled by Mice in his Barn. So he went to the Lion and begged for a Cat. The Lion at first promised to send the Cat, but presently up came 3,000 Mice to the Lion's Den, and squeaked so loud at the notion, that the Lion, who has a sneaking kindness for Mice, shook his mane, and winked at the Mice, and spoke thus: 'I must give the Cat to Mr. Bull; but don't be afraid! Pussy shall not eat you.' So the Cat was turned into the Barn. It was a nice sleek Cat, who went purring up and down with a bell round its neck, and never condescended to look down a Mouse-hole. Indeed, it had enough to do lapping its own cream without thinking of Mice. So whenever anybody asked how things were going on, the Cat said always 'Purr,' and never, 'Mew, mew,' and after a few years there were twice as many Mice in the Barn as when the Farmer asked for the Cat."

Professor Yeo next quotes, as of great weight against anti-vivisection, the resolution of the recent Congress in favour of vivisection. Considering that among the votes taken in favour of this resolution were no doubt his own and those of Professors Humphry, Rutherford, Ferrier, Bacelli, Hermann, Brown-Séquard, Charcot, Bédard, Chauveau, Virchow, Flint, and Goltz, it is almost quizzical to ask us to be impressed by their solemn approval of their own practice. A general meeting of the Dominican Order three centuries ago would assuredly have passed equally unanimously a parallel resolution:—"That this assembly records its conviction that *Autos da Fé* have proved of the utmost service to religion in the past, and are indispensable to the immortal interests of the human race."

Lastly, I come to the portion of Professor Yeo's article which personally concerns me. I take up the glove he has thrown down, and call the readers of this Review to witness that I do so without the smallest hesitation.

Professor Yeo calls in question three of the cases of English cruelty cited by me in the *Fortnightly Review* for January. First, he says:—

"In the first the physiologist is quoted as saying: 'As soon as the cat comes out of the chloroform, it lies in a helpless state, and does not move or give any signs of feeling.' Commenting on this case, Miss Cobbe—quite ignoring the important word *chloroform*—suggests that the animal is paralyzed by the intensity of its agony.' Can she really understand the matter so little as to imagine that an animal suffers intense agony when it is completely stupefied by chloroform?"

Commenting on these remarks of Professor Yeo, I observe that he, quite ignoring the important words "*comes out of*" before "*chloroform*," rebukes me for not understanding the cat to be "*stupefied by chloroform*" when the experimenter had expressly described it as having "*come out of the chloroform*." What does "*coming out of chloroform*" mean, if not that the anæsthetic effects of the drug had ceased?

2. Professor Yeo disputes my statements respecting Professor Rutherford's experiments, which he says were "*taken from an inaccurate account of the operations by Dr. Walker*," and are introduced by the statement

that at least fifty dogs, under the express sanction of the law as it now stands, were used in the experiments. Professor Yeo goes on to say:—

"We have seen by the official reports that no such number of animals suffered pain during the year in which Professor Rutherford made these experiments (1878). . . . I happen to know that the exact number of animals used by Professor Rutherford under the certificate in question was twelve, and that they form three-fourths of all the experiments where the pain can be called appreciable that were done during that year."

In my reference to Professor Rutherford's experiments in the *Fortnightly Review*, I gave no date whatever, and I know not by what authority Professor Yeo pleases to fix on that of 1878. According to Dr. Rutherford's own statement in the Scientific Reports of the *British Medical Journal*, May 5th, 1877, and December 14th, 1878, I find that altogether no less than sixty-seven dogs (as a minimum) were tortured. "Each experiment," Professor Rutherford says, "lasted the entire day, at the close of which the animal was killed and the alimentary canal examined." In the series for 1878, I find that thirty-one dogs were thus experimented on; and I now ask Professor Yeo to be good enough to explain how the "twelve dogs" which he "happens to know" was the "exact" number used by Professor Rutherford in 1878, managed between them to be killed *thirty-one times over*, and have their alimentary canals thirty-one times examined? Truly, these conflicting accounts of Professor Rutherford in a scientific Report, and of Professor Rutherford's friend in the *Fortnightly Review*, are exceedingly puzzling to the lay intelligence; but perhaps Professor Yeo's little mistake of twelve dogs for thirty-one still leaves his statement "accurate enough for scientific purposes?"

As to Professor Yeo's reference to the Official Report, which states that "no such number of animals suffered pain during the year in which Professor Rutherford made these experiments," I can only remark that, with Professor Rutherford's own account of his dogs in our hands, we need no better evidence of the trustworthiness of those Official Reports on which half Professor Yeo's paper is founded as "unimpeachable evidence."

3. Finally, we arrive at Professor Yeo's last challenge. He says (p. 361):—

"The third set of experiments adduced in proof of English cruelty is that performed by Dr. Roy on the innervation of the kidney, which was mentioned in the Physiological Section of the International Medical Congress. Of these experiments, Miss Cobbe admits she knows nothing, yet she suggests that they may prove a ghastly counterpart to some others, and she appeals in a telling manner to Dr. Roy's hearers to tell us what those experiments were. I heard him on that occasion, and have also seen him operate, and I can assure your readers that the infliction of pain had no part in the investigation, for the animal was kept under chloroform all the time, and was killed before it recovered from the anæsthetic" (p. 362).

Here, then, we have something definite to go upon. Professor Yeo says, he "has seen" Dr. Roy "operate," and that the "infliction of pain" had "no part in the investigation." It would be too miserable a prevarica-

tion to offer this assurance concerning one experiment, if others of the same series involved frightful agony under curare alone. I therefore assume that Dr. Yeo has here pledged his honour that the infliction of pain had no part in any of these investigations of Dr. Roy described at the Congress, certainly not in the leading part of them. Now, what are the facts?

Dr. Roy has, I find, published an account of these experiments in two articles: first, on the Mechanism of the Renal Secretion, in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, May 23rd, 1881; and second, on the Physiology and Pathology of the Spleen, in the *Journal of Physiology*, for January, 1882. In both these articles he states that the animal—rabbit, cat, or dog, in most cases the latter—was kept fully under the influence of ether, chloroform, or morphia, or a combination of two of these, from the commencement to the end of the experiment. These statements will be presently analyzed.

I now offer to the reader a summary of the contents of these papers, and a commentary upon them, drawn up by a gentleman perfectly qualified to deal with them scientifically:—

"Of the character of these experiments all foreign experimenters would acknowledge that, if they were not performed on animals fully under the influence of some anæsthetic or narcotic, the animals must have suffered atrocious agony, more severe, perhaps, than in any of the so much reprobated experiments performed by Mantegazza; for that experimenter trusted to the nails with which he larded his victims for causing irritation of any sensory nerves they might touch in their passage, while in Dr. Roy's experiments the most sensitive nerves were first carefully dissected out, then tied, and the cut ends irritated by electricity. Now it so happens that the major portion of both series of experiments consisted in watching the effects of reflex action resulting from electrical irritation of the cut ends of a large number of sensory nerves upon the blood-vessels or circulation in either organ. It is also certain that such reflex actions could not be obtained from animals rendered insensible by anæsthetics or narcotics. On this point the evidence of Dr. Branton, himself an eminent vivisector, and joint author of the notorious 'Handbook,' as given before the Royal Commission (5745, 5811), is very explicit, and it is therefore clear from the results that the animals were made to suffer thus, the most agonizing part of the experiments.

"The mutilations caused by dissecting out the various structures to be manipulated might fairly be described as something truly awful, as the detailed account presently to be given will demonstrate. Most of these mutilations could be performed even with advantage to the operator, under anæsthetics, as a means of keeping the animals quiet, but some could only be done well under curare and artificial respiration; for example, the dissecting out of the roots of the splanchnics on both sides of the thorax, where, but for artificial respiration, the lungs would collapse and the animal at once die of suffocation. And as a matter of fact, we are informed in both articles that curare and artificial respiration were used in the experiments to keep the dogs quiet; and if under this drug stimulation of the sensory nerves took place (and such a condition was, from an experimenter's point of view, the most appropriate), then the animals (to use Claude Bernard's classic expression) 'endured the most atrocious sufferings that the imagination of man can conceive.'

"As regards the first and, from the published two series of experiments, that on the kidneys, artificial respiration is referred to without any modifying

most severe of the
'artificial
'; and

that there was great cruelty in that series we have upon authority that neither Dr. Roy nor Dr. Yeo would dare to impugn. In the account of the second series of experiments, on the spleen, Dr. Roy speaks (207 and 221) sometimes of the curare being used, 'in addition to an anæsthetic agent,' during electric stimulation of nerves and of the medulla. Now, in the first place, we absolutely deny the possibility of keeping an animal insensible by anæsthetics during curarization; and in the second place, if it had been possible to do so, the operations now referred to are precisely those which could not be performed, that is to say, they would give no result if so performed; and this we shall prove also from the very clear evidence given before the Commission by Dr. Lauder Brunton, to whom we have already referred as an accomplished physiologist and part author of the 'Handbook.'

"Dr. Brunton's evidence refers specially to that very operation on the medulla, and to the whole class of electrical stimulation of the nerves which we are now considering; and as it is too valuable to be mutilated in any way, we give the evidence exactly as it stands in questions 5472-3-4-5.

"Mr. Forster asks, 5742: Then the purpose for which wourali (curare) is used is in order to keep the animal quiet, to make the experiment an easier one to conduct?—Yes, in frogs and in the higher animals it is to get rid of some of the effects which might be due to irritation of the nerve centres. For example, this is the case in some physiological experiments that have been made in Germany by irritation of various parts of the nervous system of the upper part of the spinal cord (*i.e.*, medulla). You want to ascertain the influence of that part upon the vascular system generally, the system of blood-vessels, and you want to ascertain that alone. If you irritate this upper part of the cord after you have given wourali, you only get the action upon the blood-vessels: but if you were to irritate this part without giving wourali previously, you would get the irritation conducted all down the ordinary motor nerves, and get all the muscles set into violent action; the action of the muscles would react upon the vessels, and you would get the whole experiment disturbed.

"5743. Is there anything to prevent your giving both drugs, or giving them mixed together, so as to stop the pain by the chloroform and the nervous movement by wourali?—Yes, THERE IS, and it is this: in very many of these experiments you want to ascertain what is termed the reflex action; that is say, that an impression is made upon a nerve, and goes up to the cord, and is transmitted down. Now, chloroform acts upon the reflex centres, and abolishes their influence completely; so that if you give the wourali, which paralyzes the ends of the motor nerves, and give chloroform, which paralyzes the reflex centres, you deprive yourself of the possibility, in many instances, of making satisfactory experiments.

"5744. But are there not many instances in which you give wourali simply for the purpose of getting the animal perfectly quiet?—Yes, those instances I have named.

"5745. But if it is done for the purpose of getting the animal perfectly quiet, could not chloroform be given also?—No, for that very reason; if you were to give chloroform, the experiment would be at an end; you would have abolished the action of the reflex centres, and thus you might as well not do the experiment at all."

"Now, with that exact and lucid explanation of Dr. Brunton before them, dare either Dr. Roy or Dr. Yeo pretend that an anæsthetic was used to make the animals insensible, either under curare or without it, while electrical excitation of those sensory nerves was being conducted, to obtain reflex reactions on the blood-vessels of kidney and spleen, and not being used, can they deny that during all these operations the poor mangled cats and dogs suffered atrocious agony?

"There is still another insuperable difficulty in rendering curarized animals insensible by anæsthetics which may occur to many who are not physiologists.

Most people are aware of the necessity of touching the cornea, or doing some similar action, while giving chloroform for a surgical operation, by way of testing the presence of sensibility, through inducing some slight reflex action if sensibility persists. On the other hand, many persons know by this time of the great difficulty there has been in ascertaining whether or not sensitiveness persists during the motor paralysis produced by curare. Scientific opinion at the present day is almost unanimous in holding that curare leaves sensation and consciousness intact, but that is a question which has only been fully corroborated on human beings who have been operated upon under curare, and 'who remember all that has passed around them, and the sufferings they have experienced' (Bernard, in '*La Chaleur Animale*,' p. 68). As then the motor nerve to all muscles of expression are paralysed, what possible sign could be taken by Dr. Roy to mean that the animal was insensible? The thing is simply impossible, and this fact, coupled with the equal impossibility of getting any results from experiments of the kind we are considering, will probably lead most people to place another value upon Dr. Roy's statements about anesthetics than that which he evidently desires.

"Let us now describe the mutilations and the character of the operations which took place in some or other of these experiments upon the kidney alone, probably in most of them; for, thanks to the secrecy guaranteed by the present Act, we cannot tell the number of animals sacrificed, and we are forced to take everything from the vivisector's own story:—

"First, the animal would be curarized and artificial respiration established. Then the kidneys on both sides would be arrived at by means of an incision through the loins; they would then be dissected clear of all their surroundings, often with 'the most laborious and minute cleaning of the walls of the artery and vein'; they would then be enclosed in a peculiarly shaped box, whose interior communicated with a clockwork registering instrument (plethysmograph and Ludwig's kymograph).

"Again, the back of the skull would be cut away, and the little brain (*cerebellum*) lifted up to allow the medulla oblongata to be excited by weak induced currents of electricity. Incisions would be also made along each side of the wind-pipe, and the carotid arteries dissected out and closed at times by applying a clamp. The same instrument would be also applied to the innominate artery, to the renal arteries, to the large branches of the aorta in the abdomen, and to the abdominal aorta itself, below the point where the arteries to the kidneys are given off.

"The chest and abdomen would be opened along their whole length and a glass tube tied in the pipes (ureters) which carry the urine from the kidneys to the bladder.

"The spinal canal would be opened in the region of the neck by cutting through the backbone, and the roots of the whole of the nerves leading to the anterior limbs (brachial plexus of nerves) dissected out.

"The roots of the splanchnics in the thorax and these nerves in their course through the diaphragm would also be dissected out. To do this the anterior surface of the backbone in the chest and belly would have to be cleared on both sides, and the contained organs moved from side to side as required.

"The nerves leading to each kidney (from seven to eleven in number) had also to be dissected out.

"The great nerves of the hip and leg (sciatic nerves) had also to be reached, and also the vagus, the great nerve which supplies all the organs in the chest and abdomen.

"All the nerves mentioned were tied in two places and cut, the tying being for the purpose of lifting up either cut end (central or peripheral end) in order to excite it by electricity. But tying a nerve, even although no bigger than a thread, causes extreme agony (*Evidence Minutes*, 4230), and in these poor animals the principal sensory nerves in the body were so tied. Then if

central and peripheral cut ends of these nerves were stimulated with electricity from time to time, to see what might chance to happen to the circulation in the kidneys.

"Sometimes the artificial respiration was stopped for three or four minutes to see what would happen to the same circulation during suffocation.

"Various solutions of chemicals and drugs—nitrate of soda, urea, acetate of potash, digitalis, and common salt, also defibrinated blood, and serum from other dogs, were injected into the veins, to see what effect these would have on the kidney secretion.

"And what were the results of this horrible series of experiments? Every time a nerve was excited and a pang of agony shot through the animal's frame there was only one result (except when the nerves to the kidney were cut, and therefore telegraphic communication broken) which happened invariably—the kidney contracted. This happened, we are told, to repeat the vivisector's conclusions.

"On suffocation for three or four minutes being produced.

"On the medulla oblongata being stimulated with weak currents.

"On stimulation of the central end of a sensory nerve, *e.g.*, sciatic, brachial plexus, splanchnic, &c.

"Another page might be filled with such details, and we have not even yet reached the experiments on the spleen."

Here then is my answer to Professor Yeo's assertion, as an eye-witness, that "*the infliction of pain had no part in Dr. Roy's investigation.*"

And here is also my answer to the charge of having misrepresented British physiologists by comparing them to foreign vivisectors. Dr. Roy, it is stated, is a young Scotchman, trained in Edinburgh. He obtained, through the recommendation of Professor Burdon-Sanderson, the office of Professor Superintendent of the Brown Institute, and, through that of Dr. Michael Foster, the George Henry Lewes Scholarship founded by the late George Eliot. It was doubtless by the help of the latter that he visited the continental laboratories, and in one of them performed some of his experiments in concert with Professor Cohnheim. The remainder of the series, as well as the whole series of experiments on the spleen, were performed in the Physiological Laboratory of Cambridge.

Thus the attempt of the advocates of vivisection to distinguish modern English vivisection from the vivisection practised by foreigners in Germany, Italy, and France, once for all falls to the ground. These experiments of Dr. Roy—among the most agonizing in the records of vivisection—took place neither far off nor long ago, nor yet were they the work of any foreigner. They were done by our countryman, within the last two years; and the greater part of them on English ground. Nay (most significant fact of all), the report of them was publicly read in the Physiological Section of the London Congress of 1881, and not one voice among all the English physiologists present was raised to express disapproval or rebuke.

FRANCES POWER COBBE.

LAMENNAIS AND KINGSLEY.

ONE of the phenomena in the contemporary evolution of society which has not as yet received the attention it deserves is the growing *rapprochement* during the last fifty years between the Church and the working classes in the three principal countries of Western Europe. The typical representatives of this movement among liberal Churchmen in France and England are Lamennais and Kingsley. In Germany, the classical country of modern Socialism, Archbishop Ketteler, as the late leader of the so-called Ultramontane *Internationale*, and a small band of Protestant Churchmen in conjunction with the Court-chaplain Stöcker and Dr. Todt, who call themselves the "*Staats-socialisten*," represent the reactionary or Conservative side of the same movement. Its object seems to be to bring about a fusion between Clericalism and Socialism, or rather to bring into action the spiritual factor of religion in the composition of social forces and in the solution of social problems. Nor is this a purely Utopian scheme of the Clerical mind. Political economists, like M. de Laveleye, and independent thinkers like the author of the "*History of Materialism*," Lange, have arrived independently at similar conclusions. Lange, referring to the threatened decay of our modern society, similar to that of ancient civilizations, and for analogous reasons, mentions among the principal remedies to avert a social revolution the revival of the Christian idea to work out social reforms. "One of the most important remedies," to use his own words, "is to be found, undoubtedly, in the ideas of Christianity, the moral effects of which have been as often underrated by some, as they have been exaggerated by others."*

Have we any historical data to confirm this view of the mission of Christianity in the society of the future? A brief review of the life

* Lange: "*Geschichte des Materialismus*," vol. ii. p. 484, and see *passim*.

and work of two such prominent Christian Socialists as Lamennais and Kingsley may furnish some historical data to assist us in the inquiry. For, fragmentary as such a comparative view must be of necessity, within the limits assigned to us here, it will go far in helping us to form a fair estimate of religious influence on the social movement of the nineteenth century. It may also indirectly show what should be the proper attitude of the clerical order towards social politics at this crucial juncture in the history of ecclesiastical establishments.

Nowhere in Europe is the social influence of the clergy more marked than in the two countries represented by Lamennais and Kingsley. Their lives have therefore not only a dramatic but also a didactic interest when regarded from this point of view. Separated from each other by strong personal characteristics and racial peculiarities, as well as by local and national circumstances and events, Kingsley and Lamennais bear, nevertheless, a striking resemblance to each other. This is rendered all the more remarkable by the fact that, though both start with identical social aims, based on religious aspirations, they pass through a similar circuit of ideas and efforts in the reverse order, and are, of necessity, landed in opposite extremes at the close of their eventful career. Lamennais begins public life as the staunch defender of Ultramontaniam, then passing through the several stages of religious Liberalism and Christian Socialism, foiled in all his attempts of "saving society," dies as an irreconcilable opponent of the existing powers in Church and State. Kingsley, starting as a social reformer, with the ardour of young-mannish Radicalism and intensified religious enthusiasm, more successful in his attempts, though at first opposed by the reactionary party, ends his days, according to a wish expressed in one of his letters, as "the quietest theologian." It is interesting to trace the causes and consequences of these personal mutations as influenced by, and influencing in return, contemporary events. For in the life of these two remarkable men we see, so to speak, reflected the ebb and flow of the social movement in this century of revolutions; whilst the coincidences and differences in their respective careers reflect the identity and divergence of social evolution in the two countries to which they belong.

We proceed, then, to note the contrasts as well as the coincidences in character and training, and the composite forces of their social environment, so as to account for the wide discrepancy in the sum total of results in their personal life and public usefulness. Whatever may be the conclusion arrived at under this head, success in their case, from whatever cause, can only enhance, whilst failure, whatever may be its dark significance, cannot diminish, the interest attached to their unselfish nature and noble aspirations.

Gifted both with an ardent and affectionate temperament, a sincere love of truth, and scornful hatred of injustice, they were alike prone to polemical aggressiveness, which at once provoked bitter opposition among the defenders of the old, and sympathetic attention among those

of the new order of things. In both Lamennais and Kingsley we have the same admixture of humility and audacity, the charm of natural simplicity which attracts friends and attaches disciples, and the leonine defiance of falsities and wrongs which repels time-serving neutrals and opponents. In both, too, we observe the "passionate limitation of view" which looks on human affairs from the ideal standpoint of social reformers, rather than the realistic standpoint of social politicians or economic thinkers. This often impels them to dwell on social wrongs with the forcefulness of undisciplined exaggeration—a fault only partly corrected in Kingsley by his quasi-scientific habits of thought and social sympathies. Both men were "emphatic and intense," because in their way of looking at human affairs they were guided rather by poetic intuition than accurate processes of reasoning. But the love of Nature which was shared alike by both produced different effects in either, a feeling of joyous exuberance in Kingsley exercising a sanitative influence on his modes of thought; whilst in Lamennais it produced a habitual tendency to sombre sadness less easily reconciled with the facts of life. The same natural bent leads Kingsley to find consolation in the "beautiful phantasms" of Greek philosophy, whilst Lamennais seeks refuge in the romantic mysticism of the Neo-Catholic School of Germany. Were this the place for such speculations we might go further, and show how the influence of climate and surroundings shaped the characters of the two men who played such a prominent part in the history of their own times. We might show how Lamennais, born on the coast of Brittany, which is washed, like Ireland, by the "melancholy ocean," and spending his boyhood in the gloomy solitude of La Chenaie, acquired those habits of morose misanthropy which, added to the inherited taciturn stubbornness of the Breton, produced that "*haine eloquente*" in his writings, which was the principal cause at once of his notoriety and final failure. Kingsley, on the other hand, receiving the early impressions of extended freedom from the "shining meres and golden reed-beds" of the Great Fen, where he was born, and the spirit of joyous sprightliness from the bright and stirring environs of Clovelly, where he spent part of his boyhood, acquired there that breadth of view and cheerfulness of disposition which enabled him throughout life to go on "whistling and working" and cracking his "Pantagruelist jokes" in the midst of depressing circumstances. His domestic habits, social instincts, and love of out-door sports form another contrast to the hermit-like austerity of Lamennais, who spent greater part of his childhood in the library of an eccentric uncle, and under the influence of an elder brother who was a religious recluse. Resembling one another in spiritual disposition, they both pass through similar stages of religious development; both have their season of scepticism and severe struggles with the lower self, culminating in a more solemn sense of personal responsibility. Both turn to the ministry as their vocation, and become, after some hesitation as to their proper calling, "every inch a priest." Soon, however, the contrast becomes marked

between the Celt and the Teuton. The English Broad-Churchman allied, as Parson Lot, with Maurice and his small band of Christian Socialists, engrossed with pastoral occupations in his country living, and cheered by the prospect of literary fame, fulfils his vocation with the vigorous earnestness of his nature, until, after a manly struggle and trials nobly borne, he finds a resting-place in a Canonry of Westminster Abbey, closing his career as the favourite of the Court, the loved companion of the cultured, and the friend of the people. Lamennais, "the most illustrious ecclesiastic of his times," as Lacordaire once called him, on the other hand, is engaged in endless ecclesiastical controversies, now with Gallicanism, then with Ultramontanism, and after being discarded by Royalists and Jesuits alike, takes up the popular cause, and, unsuccessful from first to last in his attempt of "spiritualising society," resentfully retires from the contest, and thus

"From his height and loneliness of grief
 dashed his angry heart
 Against the desolations of the world."

Both Lamennais and Kingsley were, so to speak, children of the Revolution. They were like stripling trees planted in the soil during a raging storm. Society was in surging state of insurrection when they reached their stage of consciousness. The British riots of 1831 affected Kingsley as profoundly as the private mass, celebrated in secret for fear of the revolutionary persecution, had produced the most indelible impression on Lamennais' childish mind in the previous generation. The former gave, as he confesses, that Radical bent to Kingsley's mind which, in spite of his aristocratic prepossessions, made him first generously embrace the people's cause and adhere to it in one form or another throughout life. The latter inspired that bitter hatred against every species of tyranny which manifests itself successively in Lamennais' reactionary defence of Church authority, his reformatory efforts as a liberal ecclesiastic, and his later Republicanism as the exponent of democracy.

The ultimate results in both cases were widely different. At the grave of Kingsley the worth and work of the man were recognized to the full by representatives of every section of society—Churchmen and Dissenters, Roman Catholics and Protestants, soldiers and sailors, delegates of trades' unions and deputations of scientific societies, simple country-people and men of rank, courtiers and gipsies—men of mark from both sides of the Atlantic stand by that grave to mourn over the loss of a great and good man.*

Now mark the melancholy scene of Lamennais' funeral! On a foggy, gloomy day in February, he is borne in a pauper's hearse to the *Cimetière de l'Est*, to be buried in a poor man's grave. The mournful procession passes through two files of police, drawn up, not as a guard of

* See Max Müller's reminiscences of the funeral: "Charles Kingsley: Letters and Memories of his Life," vol. ii. p. 464.

honour, but to prevent a popular *émeute*. Only eight persons accompany Lamennais' remains to their last resting-place, Béranger among the rest. There are no funeral obsequies; not even a wooden cross to mark the spot which receives what remains of the once defender of the Faith. Such has been his express desire. The world of Paris treats with indifference the end of the man whose burning words in "*Paroles d'un Croyant*" had electrified Europe. It is true he wished to be buried in this humble manner to give a last touching proof of his affection to the Proletariat, but he never imagined he would die thus unmourned and nearly forgotten by the general public. "What does it matter, after all?" says M. Blaize, in the biography of his uncle, "where his ashes rest! His name will live blessed in the people's memory, shining with the aureole both of genius and virtue."

What a contrast in the estimate formed by their countrymen of Kingsley and Lamennais at the close of their career!—what a contrast in the respective position occupied by either! The once reactionary champion of the Restoration has ended as an irreconcilable Republican, and the revolutionary sympathizer of Chartism has become the mildest of social reformers. For the causes, immediate and remote, of this contrast, we must look to the external condition of things, as well as their power of adaptation, and take into consideration the play of progressive and retrogressive tendencies of the times in the countries to which they belonged. For these, as well as their mental and educational bent, brought about the great divergence in principles and methods to be examined presently, and which in their turn led to personal results thus utterly unlike when their chivalrous crusade against social abuses came to a close.

It was Lamennais' fate to see three revolutionary waves pass over his country, and to watch with sorrow and bitterness of heart the disappointments to which they gave rise. He had seen the sore distress of the people whose condition the political changes of the first Revolution left to all intents and purposes unimproved. It had, in fact, given rise to new social grievances. In destroying patriarchal relationships and feudal bonds of social union, it had handed over the masses to the tender mercies of free contract and competition. The introduction of machinery with the rise of modern industry had a pauperizing effect, and intensified popular discontent. Hence the various Socialistic and Communistic schemes for the liberation of the working-classes from the "tyranny of capital" and the attempts to promote the free association of labour by means of voluntary co-operation following in the wake of the Revolution.

Every section of society was represented in this revolt against the excessive individualism of the *laissez-faire* system as the result of the new "social contract." Among the ~~ss~~ society who rose rapidly one after another—St. Simon on the ~~ocratic~~ crétins impoverished by the Revolution, Fourier ~~he~~ aggrieved

lower middle-class, in danger of being crushed by the superior force of the Plutocracy—Babesf representing the communistic materialism of the "common people"—each in their own way had their theories of social reconstruction. The same tendency made itself felt among the leaders of opinion generally. Comte and Pierre Leroux became the exponents of philosophical altruism and speculative humanitarianism, respectively; whilst a small band of generously-minded Churchmen, with Lamennais at their head, made it their object to save society by means of spiritual regeneration. They changed their programme with the varying exigencies of the hour; but throughout the whole course of their religious development, the same object remained definitely before their mind—viz., to bring about a reconciliation between science and religion, and between religion and social life. In this attempt to resuscitate religion as a social power, they were favoured by circumstances. The former uneasy state of the public mind in the unsettled condition of things during the revolutionary period, had given way to a yearning for inner peace, and a reaction in favour of Church authority set in rapidly. After the Revolution of July, the popularity of the Romish Church was enhanced by the fact that it made opposition against an unpopular Government, and the aggressiveness of the dominant middle-class during the reign of the "Bourgeois" king. According to Lamennais' view the social anarchy of "*laissez-faire*" was to be reduced to order by the Divine voice of authority, and the "chaos of ignorance and hunger" was to give place to a social cosmos at the Divine fiat of the Catholic Church. Christianity was to become the "*force organisatrice*" to collect together the scattered units of society into a grand labour association independent of the hegemony of capital. In his essay on "Indifference in matters of Religion" he had claimed absolute obedience to authority as "the Soul and sustaining force of the Universe," without which "there is no existence, no truth, no order."

And as force is subject to law, so the State must be subordinate to the voice of the Church. But only because the Church of St. Peter, as no other power, rests on the sovereign will of the people. This remarkable concession to popular rights would naturally pave the way for an alliance between Papal Authority and Democracy.

"God and Liberty" was the device chosen for the organ which Lamennais founded, in conjunction with Lacordaire and Montalembert, for disseminating these views and cementing the union between Clericalism and Socialism in France. The cautious gentlemen of the Roman Curia, however, dreaded this unhallowed union, and perhaps still more so the danger of coming into conflict with Monarchical absolutism in Europe at the time. The publication of *l'Avenir* failed to secure the Papal approval, though it was announced to be a work "at once catholic and national, from which ought to be expected the enfranchisement of religion and the reconciliation of different minds, and, in consequence, the renewal of society."

The second volume of the "Essay" had already aroused orthodox susceptibilities. Lamennais went to Rome to plead his own cause, and was received "with joy" by Pope Leo XII., who had even his portrait hung up in his reception-room at the Vatican.

But Gregory XVI. was not so easily pacified by personal explanations during the second visit, for the advanced Democratic tendency of Lamennais and his friends expressed in the motto of *l'Avenir*, "*Séparez vous des rois, tendez la main au peuple*," alarmed the Church politicians of the Holy City. The treatment he had received in Rome had offended Lamennais; the Pope's Encyclical (Aug. 15, 1832), which indirectly condemned *l'Avenir*, came upon him as a heavy blow, from which he did not recover.

"Catholicism was my own life, because it is the life of humanity," he writes in one of his letters. "I wished to defend it, and draw it from the abyss into which it sinks more and more daily. Nothing was easier. The bishops have found that it would not suit them. Thus Rome lagged behind. I went there and saw the most abominable *cloaque* which ever offended human eyesight. . . . No other God rules there but egotism. For a piece of land, for a few piastres, they would bargain away the nations, the whole human race, even the blessed Trinity." It was this which brought about the sudden revulsion in Lamennais' religious ideas. In his utter isolation, forsaken by legitimate Bourbons and liberal Orleanists, regarded with suspicion by the Gallican clergy at home, and the Jesuits in Rome, he becomes the Apostle of Democracy.

Scarcely a year after his unsuccessful journey to Rome he publishes "*Les paroles d'un Croyant*"—"a work of great perversity," as it is styled by the Roman Pontiff. Here Lamennais depicts with the enthusiasm of poetic penetration, and the agonies of a wounded spirit, all the sorrows and sufferings of the poor as they are viewed by a sensitive mind, and raises a loud and bitter cry against their rulers. In his later works, "*Affaires de Rome*," and "*Livre du peuple*," the rupture between him and the Roman hierarchy becomes complete, and his theories of social amelioration no longer rest on an ecclesiastical but a purely philosophical basis. In one of his latest works, "*Discussions critiques et pensées diverses sur la religion et philosophie*," he denies the supernatural altogether.

The Revolution of 1848 finds him ready to take up the people's cause with great enthusiasm, but he proves to be a poor politician and "mediocre journalist." Yet he sees more clearly than some of his contemporaries the insincerity of the Government in making tools of the people: "*Après avoir obtenu de lui ce-qu'on en voulait on le brisera, et, devenu l'objet de la risée publique, on jettera son cadavre dans la fosse où, non loin des traîtres, dorment les imbéciles et les lâches.*"

On the 11th of July, his organ, *Le Peuple constituant*, appears with a black border, and the words, "le peuple constituant a co

la république, il finit avec la république." Another abortive effort in the *Réforme* closes Lamennais' career as an agitator, and though he survives the *coup d'état* by a few years, these are spent in silent brooding. He turns to the congenial task of studying Dante's "*Commedia*," an introduction to which, as well as a translation of some parts of the New Testament, form the peaceful occupation of his latter days.

The utter want of repose in the impatient efforts of his life leave an unpleasant impression in the mind of his most sympathetic biographers; but it is the tempest of the outer world that we see reflected in Lamennais' soul. Religious reaction in conflict with infidelity, the restoration grappling with the spirit of revolt, the rising *bourgeoisie* struggling with the growing forces of the Socialist insurrection—these are all mirrored in the personal life and work of Lamennais. The elemental forces of the social revolution were raging in that "strong soul in a narrow mind." Lamennais, with a zealot's eloquence and a prophet's daring; with the religious intensity of a Tertullian, with the reformer's intrepidity of a Luther, and with the revolutionary inspiration of a Rousseau, raises his voice against corruption in high places, and pronounces woes over an effete royalism, profane liberalism, and hollow ecclesiasticism, until, having spent his force in these loud denunciations, like the prophets of old, with whom he has been compared, he closes with a few consolatory promises of a brighter era in the regenerated society of the future.

There are gentle martyrs, like Fénelon, who, under similar circumstances, have said their say and done their work through good and evil report without passion and without prejudice, in simple self-forgetfulness, submissive yet gently dignified under adversity, rising to the sublime in silent suffering. Such men conquer by sheer force of disinterested virtue, by the charm of their sweet reasonableness, their unconscious grace and truthfulness. Their benign demeanour disarms enemies and converts the indifferent into warm friends. Like placid rivers irrigating vast plains, they fertilize the regions through which they flow in their stately calm.

There are others—turbulent, eager souls—whose quick temperament and eager intensity often overstep the boundary of moderation, as rivers swelling into torrents overflow their boundaries, disturbing communication and at times devastating the country. Conscious of their earnestness of purpose, and impatient at the puny attempts of unjust or paltry opponents, such men readily meet force with force and craft with craft, wasting their powers in a worthless and hopeless conflict. They are rarely at ease, often exposed to danger, offending their friends, giving occasion to the enemy, always surrounded by a small band of enthusiastic followers, and a cloud of "disinterested" witnesses at a safe distance. They are a spectacle to men and angels in their lofty ire, though wasting their strength in sanguine *batailles à outrance* that lead to no victory. Their good is often evil spoken of,

their rash deeds fraught not unfrequently with danger. Men see the havoc a turbulent stream in flood-time has produced, and mourn over it—its fertilizing and purifying effects are less conspicuous in attracting attention; but all men say it is a grand sight. Such was Lamennais.

In his essay on Sir Walter Ralegh, Charles Kingsley says: "By fanatics, whether military, commercial, or religious, and not by 'liberal-minded men' at all, has the world's work been done in all ages."

Was Kingsley behind Lamennais in his zeal for social reform because he was less a fanatic than a liberal-minded man? To this question we must now address ourselves. As in the case of Lamennais, we may turn to Kingsley and see, by way of comparison and contrast, how far external surroundings and circumstances shaped the man in his endeavours to shape the destiny of his Church and country. Two prevailing influences of the time—the one progressive, in its tendency, the other retrogressive, and both profoundly affecting the social condition of England at the time—left their mark on Kingsley. They are frequently alluded to in his writings and speeches. The first of these—amounting almost to a revolutionary tendency in the industrial world—was the stirring activity of what he terms, in his racy style, those "roaring, rattling, railway times," in this progressive push-and-progress era of material advancement. This tendency of the *Zeitgeist*, though by no means regarded with favour by men of Kingsley's stamp, yet influenced him unconsciously and against his will. It acted as an additional excitant on the lively susceptibilities of his active brain, and served as a strong incentive to that laborious energy which marked the earlier portion of his public life, when he was administering his parish with vigour, writing, reading, fishing, walking, preaching, talking, "with a twenty-parson horse-power," as Mr. C. Kegan Paul says in one of the letters in the "Memoirs" quoted by Mrs. Kingsley. It was this influence of the age on the man, irrespective of inherited propensities, which produced that species of "muscular Christianity" of which Kingsley has become the type, though he personally disliked and disowned the appellation.

The other tendency alluded to above had an exasperating rather than exciting effect on Kingsley—namely, the persistent determination on the part of the governing classes to blink bare facts in the social world, and to seek, as he thought, refuge in reactionary temporizing. "This is a puling, quill-driving, soft-handed age—among our own rank, I mean. Cowardice is called meekness; to temporize is to be charitable and reverent; to speak truth and shame the devil is to offend weak brethren, who, somehow or other, never complain of their weak consciences till you hit them hard."* But if excited unconsciously to greater rapidity of action in his endeavour to move with the times, and exasperated into quickness of speech by the irritating slowness of his

* Prefatory Memoir to "Alton Locke," p. xxi.

fellows, that which gave both momentum and direction to his manly efforts towards social reform was the critical state of the country and the menacing attitude of what were then called the "lower orders," as manifested in Chartism. As Lamennais, with characteristic energy, during his first visit at the Vatican, asked as a special favour of the Pope dispensation from the daily exercises of the Breviary to find more time for practical work, so Kingsley, taking for his motto "Work and Worship," throws himself into the movement with all the fervour of his intense nature. Like Lamennais, despising the discretion of dullness in his more cautious and conventional brethren of the clergy, he startles the religious world by his probably unpremeditated confession at the Cranbourne Tavern meeting:—"I am a Church of England parson, and a Chartist." With Kingsley it was the first, as with Lamennais it was the last, step to throw himself heart and soul on the sympathy of the working classes.

The course of events in France had, in the case of Lamennais, who was by thirty-seven years Kingsley's senior, brought about successively changes of personal conviction, which we have noticed already, causing a change of front from extreme reactionary Ultramontanism to anti-sacerdotal socialism. A contrary course of events in England accounts in a similar manner for Kingsley's change of front from Radical Socialism to a peaceful acquiescence in the existing order of things, resting his hopes rather on the effectual though slow cure of social abuses by social reform than the effects of slap-dash changes. In France, the continued struggle of social forces had culminated in a social democratic revolution which collapsed in an abortive effort to organize labour by authority. In England, during the same period of intermittent social agitation, tardy but effectual reforms, introduced, not at the bidding of insurrectionary forces, but according to the expressed public opinion of the nation, led to a more satisfactory solution of events.

In many respects, indeed, the circumstances of both countries bore a strong resemblance to each other. Like causes had produced like effects in the social discontents of 1848. In both countries the industrial changes effected by steam, and other scientific discoveries, by the rapid spread of education, and the emancipation of the press, by the growing political power of the middle class and diminished influence of landed aristocracy, had produced a strong democratic current. Bad harvests in country districts, and distress among the wage labourers in overcrowded towns, produced dissatisfaction verging on rebellion. "These Radicalisms, Chartisms, Reform Bill, Tithe Bill, and infinite other discrepancy, and acrid argument and jargon that there is yet to be, are our French Revolution," Carlyle had said in 1839. Ten years later the prayer, he added, was answered: "God grant that we, with our better methods, may be able to transact it by argument alone."*

The Chartist demonstration at Kennington Common proved a fiasco, and the 10th of August, which was to have been a repetition of the

* "Miscellaneous Essays," vi. 137.

February revolution in Paris, passed away quietly enough. It showed the superior stability of a Government resting on public support, and the superior safety of a society which does not ignore the just claims of its weaker members. But in a great measure it was owing to men like Kingsley and the Christian Socialists, under the intellectual headship of F. D. Maurice, that the nation was aroused to a sense of its duty during this social crisis.

What St. Beuve says of Lamennais' mission of awakening society from its Epicurean dream of slothful indifference to social grievances, is true also of Kingsley and his school.

In "Yeast" he calls the state of the country "ominous," and speaks of the economic relations of society as utterly rotten and confused. He angrily asks: "Is not every man who allows such things hastening the ruin of the society in which he lives, by helping to foster the indignation and fury of its victims?" He treats with ridicule the "Franklin-Benthamite religion," with its prophecies of smooth things, and appeals to the clergy not to connive at the faults of the governing classes; but in his memorable sermon on the "message of the Church to the labouring man" he says: "I assert that the business for which God sends a Christian priest in a Christian nation is, to preach freedom, equality, and brotherhood in the fullest, deepest, widest meaning of these three great words."

No wonder "Parson Lot," in his drastic method of stating things, using strong language, as he afterwards confesses with regret, for the purpose of "shocking, startling, and defying," and hitting as hard as he could, gave alarm to timid sympathizers, and provoked severe criticism from opponents, sometimes not only unmerciful but also unfair, especially when it came from the steady-going Churchmen whose "safe policy" consisted mainly in doing nothing, and who endeavoured to combine Talleyrand's *surtout point de zèle* principle in clerical ethics, with the comforting optimism of the *laissez-faire* school in economics, as far as they understood it, which was not very far.

"His life and conversation," said Dean Stanley, in his funeral oration on Kingsley, "as he walked among ordinary men, was often as of a waker among drowsy sleepers." Sleepers of this sort do not always like to be disturbed in their slumbers and often answer the caller with a growl. So did they. Presently they had the satisfaction of seeing Kingsley take a little rest himself, and then they spoke well of him.

Again, like his hero, Lancelot, Kingsley was in the habit of thinking only in concrete form, and accordingly chose the dramatic mode of expressing his ideas. This, as in the case of Lamennais, produced the declamatory style, and is most apparent in "Clothes cheap and nasty," and some well-known passages in "Alton Locke." This was partly owing to what he called "my blessed habit of intensity," which differed, however, from the "intense logic" peculiar to the Celtic intellect, which led Lamennais astray beyond recovery. Both had the same qualities of fancy,

imagination, and self-will, and both were guilty at times of fallacies of exclusiveness and exaggeration. But Kingsley, even in the most exciting period of agitation, preserved a serenity of mind, calm composure, and tone of moderation, which contrast very favourably with the contemporaneous utterances of his more irascible French neighbour.*

At first, indeed, he is loud in his denunciations against starvation wages, stifling workshops, reeking alleys, roofless and crowded cottages, careless landlords, and heartless employers of labour under the "sweating system." These receive no mercy at his hand. "Laws, constitutions, churches, are none . . . if they tolerate such, they are accursed and they must perish—destroy what they may in their fall. Nay they *will* perish in their own corruption."

But as the fervid atmosphere around him cooled down, and he saw the world improving (perhaps a little less so than he imagined it did)—as controversial bitterness became less rancorous and the clerical organs even adopted a kindlier tone towards him (awed into respect by his newly-acquired dignities)—as the self-healing forces in society made themselves distinctly felt, and events began to vindicate the justice of his reformatory efforts, the acrimonious tone of his former speeches and writings made room for calm and gentle remonstrance. In short, as he succeeded in conquering opposition by the persuasiveness of truth, so he, too, was conquered by the kindly appreciation of his services, and the general course of events making towards social progress. Thus, in the preface to a later edition of "*Alton Locke*," dedicated to the undergraduates of Cambridge, he congratulates his young friends on the improved state of things, the changed attitude of the upper classes, the progress of sanitary reform, the increased reverence for law, increased contentment with existing institutions, and increased confidence in the classes above them, bred among the working classes by the kindly efforts of gentlemen and ladies of all shades of opinion for thirty years past. In a similar tone of conciliation and congratulation he speaks in the preface of a later edition of "*Yeast*," which, more especially on its first appearance, had incurred severe criticism because of its radical tendency. Here he refers to the influence of the clergy in social life, and the growth of self-help and independence among the labourers in consequence of improved poor laws.

Referring to the Anglican movement, frequently and boldly attacked in the book, he now speaks of the seed sown in young hearts by it, which "will develop at least into a virtue more stately and reverent, more chivalrous and self-sacrificing, more genial and human, than can be learned from that religion of the Stock Exchange—for a year and a day—in the popular pulpits."

This calm before sunset in Kingsley's life is in strange contrast with the sad close of Lamennais' career. It would be interesting to inquire

* Cf. Mrs. Kingsley's remarks in "*Letters and Memories*," i. 162, and the letters she quotes there with a view to clear her husband's memory from the charge of intemperate language in connection with the Chartist.

what Kingsley might have done if the Church of England had denounced him officially, as Mr. Drew did most officiously on the occasion of the sermon to which we have already alluded. If, instead of heaping upon him honours and prizes of a substantial nature, she had subjected him, as the Papacy did Lamennais, to humiliation and disgrace, would Kingsley, under such circumstances, have produced a work like "*Paroles d'un Croyant*?" He possessed both the ability and temperament for such a task. But his English training, and inherited tendencies, in spite of his impatient philanthropy, make the supposition improbable. If Kingsley was perhaps incapable of rising with Lamennais to the same height of dignified serenity after a series of defeats and defamations, his superior power of self-discipline would prevent him, on the other hand, from giving way to those vehement explosions of anger and pity, tenderness and wrath, which abound in this volume, where sublime visions and weird denunciations, sanguine maledictions and ineffable promises, are so strangely commingled.

Lamennais' way of dividing all mankind into black and white, angels and demons, marks an absence of critical acumen. In judging human nature, he cannot divest himself of the habits of thought acquired in the seminary and a solitary life. Kingsley, though sometimes exhibiting a spirit of contemptuous intolerance towards those whom he imagined to be enemies to social progress, was far too large-hearted and broad-minded to be confined by such a narrow range of view. Both men, from the intensity of their disposition, were naturally prone to those "*brusque changements*," of which Lamennais was accused, and which called forth the remark from him: "*Je plaindrai l'homme qui n'aurait jamais changé*" But then, we are told by M. Rénan that he hated the next day the very convictions he had held the day before. This shews a want of mental balance, the partial absence of the "philosophic mind." His eager sympathetic nature must plunge into active politics, he must have a coterie of followers blindly following at his heels—he cannot rest. Such men are apt to change often and sincerely, but not always discreetly and in the right direction. Kingsley's opinions, too, underwent considerable changes; but they came on more gradually. Some have found it hard to reconcile these "inconsistencies." His change of front has been frequently alluded to as a sign of weakness of character, unable to resist the allurements of Court favour. Thus a false interpretation has been put on his motives by those who, in their love of consistency, forget the well-known aphorism, we believe, of Lord Macaulay, that men who never change must be either inspired angels or unmitigated fools. Those who neither claim infallibility with the former, nor intellectual relationship with the latter, make allowance for the mellowing effects of years and experience on human nature, as well as the convincing power of the logic of events in teaching the salutary lesson of moderation. They know that increased caution does not of necessity imply diminished candour, that philosophical repose in the solution of social problems

ought not to be confounded with timid reaction, that friendship with the rulers does not mean disloyalty towards the ruled, that the greatest teachers of mankind, like Shakespeare and Dante, in the last efforts of their matured genius, have spoken in accents of hope, rather than despair, and have risen above the turmoil of inner agitation and contention with the world into the serener atmosphere of tolerance with the shortcomings of man and society.

To recapitulate the several points of contact and disagreement between Kingsley and Lamennais in their methods of social improvement, before we conclude in estimating the immediate and remoter results of their work.

Both Kingsley and Lamennais are deeply impressed with the lamentable condition of the labouring classes, and the futile attempts to improve it by a mere extension of political freedom. Both are loud in their denunciations against the "Midas-eared Mammonism" of the middle-class, and the atheistic animalism of the lower. Both demand a new organization of labour, based on ethical principles, as distinguished from the leave-alone creed of the orthodox economists. Both hold up a Divine standard for regulating industrial relationship in the place of the so-called natural laws of supply and demand. Both aim at uniting employer and employed by the bonds of friendship and mutual help, in lieu of the "claims of mutual necessity alone." Both are believers in the Christian idea as a power to regenerate society, the "splendour of God" to brighten our industrial age,* especially in its mission of conferring dignity on work and eliminating poverty "as the child of sin." Both inveigh strongly against the comfortable sanctimoniousness of the well-to-do classes, and the hypocrisies of the hard Manchester school. Both recognize the fact of the growth of Democracy, and dwell on the duty of the Church in directing this movement in the face of the manifest impossibility of checking it.

But, whilst agreeing in these leading principles on the constitution of society, and the necessity of social reforms, they differ widely from each other and from themselves in different epochs of their life as to the means and methods of realizing their social ideals. We note three such epochs in the public life of each, marking in the one case the growing tendency towards, and in the other the growing departure from, revolutionary, as distinguished from reformatory methods for remedying social grievances. In Lamennais we have—

1. The reactionary period, when he figures as the defender of the *ancien régime*, attacking democracy and predicting the death of the Revolution at the foot of the Cross.

* The object of the *Christian Socialist*, the organ of the Maurice and Kingsley school, was stated to be "the practical application of Christianity to the purposes of trade and commerce." It contains many articles signed by Kingsley as "Parson Lot." Many of these deserve reprinting, as throwing light upon the history of those times, especially as few copies of the publications are to be had at any price. There is no copy in the British Museum Library, and the present writer is indebted to Mr. Thomas Hughes for the loan of a copy of this interesting publication.

2. The reformatory period, when he seeks to effect an alliance between Liberalism and the Papal authority, but fails, owing to the time-serving hesitation of the Romish Court, and the turn of public affairs in France.

3. Compelled by circumstances once more to shift his ground, he reaches the last stage of development, which amounts to a revolt against the sacerdotal and monarchical régime alike. Changing thus the liberal for the radical, the royalist for the republican platform, Lamennais pronounces in favour of the supreme sovereignty of the people.

Kingsley began where Lamennais had ended, and passed through the three stages—the Revolutionary, the Reformatory, followed by the period of Reconciliation. He begins as the apostle of Christian Socialism, and, as Parson Lot, is steeped in the "Salt-asphaltic lake of Polemics," during the years of 1848-55. Thence he emerges, sobered by events, into a calmer state of mind.

"Graviter commotus, et alto
Prospiciens, summa placidum caput extulit unda."

He becomes the leader of the Reform party, and opens a crusade against dirt and bad drainage, the advocate of sanitary reform. "As years went on," writes his biographer, "he devoted time, thought, and influence more and more to sanitary science; the laws of health and the enfranchisement of men's bodies from disease and dirt, and their inevitable consequences of sin, misery, and physical, if not spiritual, death, because more important in his eyes than any political reforms."

But so far from abandoning all former social aspirations, he only begins now to recognize the fact that their realization depends on the moral improvement of the masses, and the growth of altruistic self-denial among the higher classes. The co-operative "associations" founded by the "Christian Socialists" are a failure, he thinks, because the working men are not fit for them yet. At the same time he disallows the ruling tenet of the *laissez-faire* system which lets chance and selfishness rule the fortunes of the human race. Then, speaking of Maurice's scheme, he adds:—

"Now, as for any schemes of Maurice's or mine—it is a slight matter whether they failed or not. But thus I say, because I believe that the failure of a hundred schemes would not alter my conviction, that they were attempts in the right direction; and I shall die in hope, not having received the promises, but beholding them afar off, and confessing myself a stranger and a pilgrim in a world of *laissez-faire*. For it is my belief that not self-interest but self-sacrifice is the only law upon which human society can be grounded with any hope of prosperity and permanence."^{*}

Thus Kingsley, like Lamennais, in the second and most healthy period of their social agitation, looks for the salvation of society in the apotheosis of self-sacrifice.

At last Kingsley becomes reconciled with the existing order of things. Still in principle there was no real inconsistency. He remained all along

* "Letters and Memories," ii. p. 37, et seq.

an aristocrat sympathizing with the wants of the people, whilst Lamennais had been throughout a popular demagogue, though sometimes without knowing it. In 1848, indeed, Kingsley was supposed to be a revolutionist, as many have been since who have spoken above a whisper on burning social questions of the hour. It was entirely owing to want of discernment on the part of the intelligent public. With Lamennais, he recognizes the fact: "*Le monde d'aujourd'hui est travaillé d'insurmountable besoin d'un ordre nouveau.*" But in his first democratic impulse even he recollects himself, and says, "*I am no Revolutionist.*"^{*} So, again, in the latter portion of his life, he remains true to his earlier convictions, and speaking of the effects of science and civilization on social amelioration in 1870, he dwells on the supreme importance of human and personal as distinguished from material and industrial interests: for man "*is, after all, the most precious and useful thing in the earth, and that no cost spent in the development of human beings can possibly be thrown away.*"[†]

Here, indeed, we have none of the restless impetuosity of the revolutionary period. The ardent aspirations of youth have changed with the ripening of mind and heart in manhood. Years and experience have taught him the right method of uniting progressive effort with order in the slow evolution of society. With the disappearance of the season of acute struggles, Kingsley's demands for social reforms become less emphatic, though his efforts and sympathies have grown no less earnest. The age which had produced the mental agitation reflected in his "*Saint's Tragedy*," or some of the poems of 1848, had passed away, and with it the excessive combativeness of this "*joyous knight-errant of God, thirsting for labour and for strife.*" His work was done.

A generation has now passed away since the Socialistic agitation in which Lamennais and Kingsley took such a prominent part, and it is not premature to form some estimate of the work accomplished by them, and from it deduce one or two practical lessons.

The immediate result, in both cases, was to inspire a number of young men in both countries with an ardent wish to improve the condition of the working classes. This was to be effected, not by means of petting and pauperizing the peasant, which was the dream of the *jeunesse dorée*, led by Benjamin Disraeli, nor by means of organizing factory labourers under the captains of industry, suggested by Lamennais' former friend, Comte, but by means of moral elevation, creating feelings of independence and self-respect, and by means of religious union to reorganize industry. Besides this influence on young men, the work of Lamennais and Kingsley had remoter consequences, setting on foot the movement, which has since been growing steadily in both countries, having for its object the bringing together of the Church and the

* "*Letters and Memories*," i. 141 seq. Also cf. Prefatory Memoir in "*Alton Locke*," pp. xxiv., xxxi., and lvi.

† *Ibid.*, vol. ii. 323-4, *loc. cit.*

working men. Though Lamennais' proposals to the Roman Curia were rejected at the time, the policy of the Roman Church since has been on the lines thus laid down by himself; so much so that the threatened alliance between Clericalism and Socialism in France and Germany forms a very important factor in modern politics. In England, the Christian Socialists, in the absence of anything like ecclesiastical centralization and independent Church action, and in the absence, too, of acute social disorders, have not produced such marked effect. Still, the existence of the Clergy Trades-union, in conjunction with the new Dean of Carlisle, as well as the isolated efforts of the clergy, such as John Ll. Davies, Canon Girdlestone, the late Dean Stanley, and the Bishop of Manchester, also the attention given to social subjects in the Church Congress, may in part be attributed to the pioneering work done by the Maurician movement of which Kingsley was the most popular exponent. These may be small results of so much activity, but who shall say what may be the ultimate effects of a tendency still in its initial stage, and struggling against adverse forces both in the Church and in the world! Already philanthropic legislation in favour of the working people, and the establishment of national health societies, Kyrle societies, and similar institutions for the elevation of the masses, bear witness to the indirect influences of Christian Socialism at home and abroad.

It is true, neither Lamennais nor Kingsley were the first exponents of these ideas. Their merit consisted not in propounding new societary theories, but in re-affirming and accentuating truths forgotten for a time, and, with a powerful enthusiasm, promulgating them, thus spreading the contagion of social affection with the religious fervour of their irrepresible individuality.

The new movement thus set in motion has religion for its inspiration, and looks to Christ's gospel preached to the poor as the best system of social therapeutics. It looks to the Christian religion as a spiritual force in society, promoting the even and harmonious development of the social organism, and regulating its members by the exercise of the *passive* virtues of resignation and self-denial, and thus exorcising the demon of egotism and discontent. It regards the Church as an educational institution, forming character and habits, and inculcating the *active* virtues of diligence, thrift, justice, and veracity, thus furthering the material improvement of the people. It takes note of the mediatorial office of the Christian Church reconciling employer and employed—the *mons sacer*, where Patricians and Plebeians, as of old, may be re-united. It dwells on the sacred solidarity of man taught in the New Testament, and recommends brotherly co-operation as opposed to the heathenish method of industrial warfare in bare competition. Thus it regards Christianity as the "*second principe d'association*," which may bring about the federal union of classes and nationalities, as opposed to international fiscal wars and socialistic confederacies for the subversion of social peace and order.

It is to the Christian religion, thus regarded in its social functions, that men of varying religions and philosophical creeds, and representing social interests in different countries, turn simultaneously as a remedy for "our present discontents." Adolph Wagner,* the Berlin Professor of Social Sciences, and C. Périn,† the Professor of Law at the University of Louvain; Matthew Arnold, the English man of letters, and M. de Laveleye, the Belgian economist; Bishop Martensen,‡ the learned Scandinavian moralist and divine, and Raffaele Mariano,§ the independent literary man in the South of Europe—all alike look to the Christian Religion for the extinction of social misery and wrong.

"The Proletarians," says E. de Laveleye, in his "*L'Avenir Religieux*," "have been detached from, and will return to Christianity when they begin to understand that it brings to them freedom and equal rights, whereas Atheistic materialism consecrates their slavery and sacrifices them to pretended natural laws. By a complete misapplication of its ideas, the Religion of Christ transformed into a temporal and sacerdotal institution has been called in as the ally of caste, despotism and the ancient *régime* to sanction all social inequalities. The Gospel, on the contrary, is 'the good news' to the poor, the announcement of the advent of that kingdom when the humble shall be lifted up, and the disinherited shall possess the earth. The Christianity of Jesus shall resolve all our economic difficulties, if the spirit of Charity and fraternal feeling which it inculcates is understood and applied."¶

Thus the ideas propounded by Lamennais and Kingsley are spreading far and wide. The seed has not fallen on barren ground, it is bearing fruit already; but for the full harvest we must look to the society of the future, when other men shall have entered upon their labours and ours.

M. KAUFMANN.

* "Rede über die sociale Frage." Berlin, 1872, and other speeches delivered since.

† "Le Socialisme Chrétien," 1879.

‡ "Socialismus und Christenthum." Gotha, 1873.

§ "Christenthum, Katholicismus, und Cultur." Leipzig, 1880. The German translation by the Italian author is the only work in the hands of the present writer. Cf. M. Arnold's paper on this subject, *Mansfield's Magazine*, April, 1870.

¶ "*L'Avenir Religieux des peuples civilisés*" p. 25. Cf. Paul Ribot: "Du rôle social des idées chrétiennes," 1880; S. Mony: "Étude sur le travail," 1877, of which a second edition has just appeared.

THE TRUE PRINCIPLE OF TENANT-RIGHT.

A REPLY TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL

IN the March number of this Review the Duke of Argyll, who in a previous article had referred to the results of Mr. Prout's system of continuous corn-growing, criticized that gentleman's proposals for giving legal security to the capital of tenants invested in the improvement of their holdings, as put forward in his book, "Profitable Clay Farming under a Just System of Tenant-Right." Mr. Prout, in 1861, purchased 450 acres of clay land at Sawbridgeworth, Herts, for £15,000, an amount which grew to £16,000 through buying and exchanging small portions of adjoining land in order to straighten the boundaries, and with legal expenses. The land was then wet from want of draining, covered with useless fences, and overgrown with pollards and other comparatively worthless trees. Mr. Prout made small fields into large ones, grubbing up fences and trees, drained the farm thoroughly, made hard roadways where necessary, and cultivated the land by steam. During the first two years he fallowed the greater portion of the land, and the rest in the third and fourth years of his occupation. At the end of four years, during which he derived no profit from his outlay, he commenced his system of continuous corn-growing, which he has kept up, with only an occasional intermission of a fallow or a forage crop, until the present time. After allowing 5 per cent. interest on his investments in improvements as a landowner, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the original purchase money, he derived a profit of 11 per cent. on his capital as tenant during the thirteen years succeeding his fourth year of occupation. These being results far more satisfactory than those commonly attained by either landlords or tenants during the period in question, Mr. Prout was led to speculate upon the best means of enabling both to follow his example as long as it is profitable to do so, modifying the system to suit any altered circumstances.

Looking at the positions of landlords and tenants generally, Mr. Prout asks, "Where are the properties on which the system can be at once introduced?" He comes to the conclusion that until owners are relieved from the disabilities and lack of inducement to improve, incidental to the prevalent entail and settlement of land, there is no hope of their following his example. Mainly, then, he says, "the work remains to be done, if at all, by men occupying land at a rental." But these, again, have no more inducement than owners have to do the work, because there is no security for the capital they will require to invest. Seeing this, Mr. Prout makes the proposals which the Duke of Argyll in part criticizes. Briefly stated, those proposals are that the tenant should have legal security for any increase in the value of his holding caused by his improvements, with perfect freedom of cropping and sale of produce; and that the landlord shall have corresponding security (which he has already) for any deterioration in the value of the holding due to the acts or defaults of the tenant. The Duke does not refer to the question of freedom of cropping and sale of produce, and payment for deterioration, as a necessary counterpart to compensation for improvements, is also left unmentioned by his Grace. These omissions are, I think, insignificant; but, nevertheless, the narrowing of the question in dispute is not without its advantages. Unfortunately Mr. Prout, in a single passage, appears to adopt a different principle of compensation for tenants' improvements from that just mentioned as the one he adheres to throughout the rest of his essay; that is to say, he speaks of the return of outlay instead of payment for results. His critic, therefore, accuses him of teaching two different, and even contradictory, doctrines, and utters many lamentations over the transmutations that occur through ambiguous language and consequent confusion of ideas. If the Duke will turn to the passage again, however, he will see that Mr. Prout, in the case in question, assumes the increased letting value of the farm due to the tenant's improvements to be such that the capitalized value, at twenty years' purchase (a term quite long enough for the capitalization of improvements, one with another), would be equivalent to the outlay. Thus, I think, there is no inconsistency on Mr. Prout's part, though the manner in which he expresses himself fully excuses the Duke's interpretation. At all events, as the Duke admits, the principle of compensation to tenants taught in the rest of the book is that of payment for results, as shown in the following sentence:—"I am convinced that the greatest impediment to the extension of my husbandry over the heavy lands of the kingdom lies in the fact that no law yet provides any safeguard that a tenant shall obtain the full fruits of his enterprise." It is true that Mr. Prout, as a tenant, would be content with two-thirds of the "full fruits," and thinks that the remaining third might fairly be left in the hands of the landlord, in order to encourage landlords generally to adopt his system, or to get it adopted, on their estates; but this concession, as

the Duke says, is allowed as a favour—"an abatement from sound principle and equity which it may be expedient to make, in order to tempt the owners of land to allow other men to improve their land." The apparent advocacy of two distinct doctrines led the Duke to contrast them. So far as his Grace believes in tenant-right at all, he agrees with me in regarding these two doctrines as embodying the true and the false principles of tenant-right; only the Duke's "true" is my "false," and *vice versa*.

What, then, is the true principle of tenant-right? Mr. Prout says, the right of the tenant to be paid the full value of his improvements; and I agree with him. The Duke of Argyll, on the other hand, declares it to be the right of the tenant to receive repayment for his outlay in improvements, with interest. Mr. Prout mentions three methods of payment: first, the payment of a lump sum, as estimated by valuers; second, allowing the tenant to sell his improvements to another occupier; third, a long term, say twenty years, of enjoyment of the tenancy at the old rent—that is, at the rent charged previous to the making of the improvements. The tenant might receive the fair value of his improvements by either the first or the second method; but I agree with the Duke of Argyll in regarding valuations as very much of the nature of lotteries, and in considering that, for landlord and tenant alike, the method called free sale, with pre-emption to the landlord, is preferable. The third method might, or might not, be a satisfactory form of compensation. If rents were stationary, the arrangement might be fair, provided that the tenant who received a twenty years' lease at the old rent had the right of assigning or bequeathing his tenancy. I understand from Mr. Prout that he considers this right a necessary complement to his third method of compensation, although I think he does not mention it in his book; and obviously the plan would be entirely unsatisfactory without that right, as the tenant might die or be compelled to leave the farm before the term had expired, in either of which events he would lose a portion of his compensation. With the right to assign or bequeath his tenancy, the occupier would probably accept the third method as a fair compensation for his improvements unless the market value of rents had generally fallen; for he would thus get permanency of tenure for twenty years, with free sale, and at the end of the period he would be able to claim compensation or a renewal of his lease on terms exempting him from rent on any new improvements made during the period. On the other hand, if rents were rising, the landlord would object to the plan, as by it he would lose his "unearned increment" for twenty years to come, as well as for a term preceding the commencement of the lease, during which the improvements were being executed. The great merit of the plan is that it avoids the expense of arbitration or litigation, and for that reason it deserves consideration. At present, however, we are not concerned with the methods, but with the principle of compensation for tenants' improvements, and this explanation

of Mr. Prout's three proposals is only intended to show that, although he is disposed to meet landlords' objections as far as possible by avoiding a hard-and-fast system of tenant-right, he has always in view the true principle that the tenant should have secured to him the full fruits of his enterprise—the total increase in the value of the holding caused by his improvements. Against this principle the Duke of Argyll directs the whole force of his argument; but as with his objections to the principle he mixes up his objections to compulsory legislation for securing any compensation to the tenant, it is necessary to allude briefly to the latter point. Although the failure of the permissive Agricultural Holdings Act is obvious and admitted, the Duke still holds that tenants are quite able to take care of their own interests by means of private agreements, and the utmost that he would do in the way of compulsion would be to insist that there shall always be an agreement between landlord and tenant, recognizing the tenant's right to a partial enjoyment of, or compensation for, his improvements. In support of this contention, the Duke states that at the present time the tenant has the upper hand in contracting for the hire of land. This is not true in the case of any desirable farm even now, and the Duke must know perfectly well that the present crisis is an entirely exceptional one. Whenever farming pays at all, the landlord has the upper hand in contracting power, so that the tenant, if he intends to farm at all in this country, must submit to estate rules. At the present time, although greatly reduced rents may be insisted on by farmers who are making new contracts, I do not know of a single instance in which the right to compensation for the full value of improvements made by the tenant has been conceded by the landlord. Several exceptionally liberal leases have recently been published; but all fall short, more or less, of securing to the tenant the full fruits of his enterprise.

The Duke assumes that in England and Scotland it is the owner who executes permanent improvements, except when the tenant executes them under the protection of an "improvement lease." Now, although nothing is more definite than an improvement lease, the Duke, who objects so strongly to confusion of terminology, extends the meaning of the term so as to include all leases in which there is no agreement for compensation to the lessee at the end of the term. An improvement lease is one under which the tenant agrees to execute certain specified improvements in consideration of a low rent or some other "valuable consideration," and no lease which does not bind the tenant in this way is an improvement lease. Such a lease is a very uncommon contract. I have seen hundreds of leases; but I have never seen an improvement lease. The Duke, however, multiplies improvement leases by inventing a new definition for them, which describes ninety-nine out of every hundred leases that are made. He even gives a new definition of the term "valuable consideration." This is what he says on the subject:—

"The tenant undertakes, as a speculation, the improvement or reclamation under the protection of a contract, by which he secures the whole produce of the soil at so moderate a rent, and for so long a time, that by the value of that produce during that time he can reckon on being repaid the whole capital he has expended, with good interest, and with a good return for his own skill and labour. In short, he does the work for valuable consideration. The confident expectation of this return is his only inducement to undertake the operation. He may or he may not promise to undertake it in the lease. Generally he does not promise, and is not asked to do so, for the best of all reasons—because it would be unnecessary. He reclaims or improves because it is his interest to do so. It makes no difference in the principle whether any particular reclamation or any particular improvement is part of his contract. Whether he undertakes to be bound to do it, or whether he undertakes to do it without being bound, he is equally induced to do it because he knows it will pay him well" (p. 362).

The boldness of these assumptions almost takes one's breath away, and it would be difficult to find in the whole range of controversy a more flagrant instance of special pleading and the misuse of terms. In a lease a tenant is bound to do whatever he undertakes to do, and he does not undertake to do anything that he cannot be proceeded against for not doing. Therefore, it makes all the difference "whether any particular reclamation or any particular improvement is part of his contract." If it is, he is bound to do it; if it is not, he does it without any "valuable consideration" whatever. A valuable consideration in a lease is a specific advantage given by the lessor as a set-off to a corresponding advantage which the lessee is bound to confer. The Duke transforms it into a vague expectation of profit. According to the Duke, if A contracts a lease under which he is bound to execute certain improvements, and B contracts a lease under which he is not bound to execute any improvements at all, both are equally the lessees of an improvement lease. No Court of Law would waste half-an-hour over so preposterous an assumption, and the Duke has damaged his position as a controversialist by putting it forward, not for the first time, as a fundamental premiss of his argument. This "first count" in the Duke's pleadings against the demand for compulsory compensation to the tenant for improvements—a "never-indebted" count—may, therefore, be dismissed without further notice.

Having thus cleared the ground, we may proceed to consider the Duke of Argyll's objections to the true principle of tenant-right, urged after his "never-indebted" plea has been waived by him for the sake of argument. Supposing the tenant to be entitled to any compensation for improvements beyond that secured by contract, or in spite of contract, the Duke maintains that it is utterly unreasonable for the tenant to demand the full fruits of his enterprise, because, he says, the full fruits of a tenant's enterprise include the appropriation of the previously undeveloped resources of the landlord's property. In the abstract, the Duke's contention is this:—An agricultural improvement consists of two factors—the tenant's outlay and skill, which belong to the tenant; and the inherent qualities of the soil, which belong to the landlord. If the

tenant will comparatively small outlay greatly increase the value of his holding by developing the resources of the soil, he ought not to be entitled to the whole benefit of the result. This is a plausible argument and shows that rearing an improvement shows our desiring of perpetual ownership. It has often been put forward by the Duke and is often replied to: but he is a great agent, and an improver, and has long been unhesitatingly adopted by many judicial authorities, and cannot be passed by on the present occasion. The tenant, A, is supposed to take a farm which is comparatively sterile on account of being waterlogged, so that no inherent fruitfulness is obtained. He drains that farm and the result is that he increases the value of it to an extent considerably in excess of his outlay. This is the most favourable statement of the Duke's argument that can possibly be drawn, and there is a manifest partiality in his contention that the tenant is not entitled to the whole of the increased value induced by removing the fatal qualities of the land from the paralyzing effects of surplus water. The extraordinary exaggeration of the profitability of ordinary agricultural improvement in which the Duke consistently indulges need not enter in here to vitiate the argument. We will suppose it is an instance of draining in which the return is greatly in excess of the expenditure, a result by no means as general as the Duke makes out in agricultural experiments. Does it follow, then, that the tenant is not entitled to the full fruits of his experiment in draining? The Duke says it does; I say it does not. The tenant pays in rent the full annual value of the inherent qualities of the soil, and is only bound to restore them at the end of his tenancy in as good condition as that in which he received them. If he has deteriorated them, he is by law compelled to pay full damages to the landlord. If he has improved them, I contend that he ought to be paid the full value of the improvement. It seems to me utterly unfair to say that the tenant shall take the whole risk of an experiment, bear the whole loss of a failure, and yet not be entitled to the whole gain of a success. If the tenant, as the Duke contends, is entitled only to be repaid his expenditure, with interest, then he ought to be repaid his expenditure in case of unremunerative experiment in the improvement of the farm. That is to say, either there should be payment for results good and bad, or payment for expenditure good and bad. The Duke's argument is that the tenant shall get nothing for an unremunerative investment, and only "change for sixpence" for a remunerative improvement. I altogether repudiate the repayment-for-expenditure idea. The tenant who makes the experiments in agricultural improvements ought to take all the risk, bear any loss, and reap any profit. If he makes a mistake, he is liable to lose, not only his expenditure, but also a portion of the ordinary returns of his holding which would have been forthcoming if he had not diminished them by his mistaken attempt to improve the land. This is quite right, and it would be monstrously unfair to compel the land-

lord to bear part of the tenant's loss incurred through the tenant's blundering. But if, on the other hand, the tenant makes a good hit, he should equally be entitled to the whole benefit. As his landlord was not called upon to bear any portion of the loss of an unsuccessful experiment, so his landlord should not be entitled to any portion of the gain of a successful experiment. Every one admits all that I am now urging to be valid during the currency of a lease or other agreement, and it is for the Duke of Argyll and other opponents to show that there is something unfair in my contention that the same principle should apply at the end of every lease or agreement.

The letting of a farm, when the tenant, and not the landlord, carries out the improvements, is like the lending of a sum of money. The farm is let at a fixed rent for the tenant to use to as much profit as he can get out of it, provided that he does not deteriorate it. The sum of money is lent, at a fixed rate of interest, for the borrower to use as profitably as he can, he being bound to return the capital sum at a definite period, or when required to do so. The hirer of the land, like the borrower of the money, uses the commodity he has hired at his own risk, and has to bear any loss which his mistakes or misfortunes may cause; but, unlike the borrower of the money, he is not at present, and the Duke says he never should be, entitled to the whole profit. The borrower of say £2,000 invests it in some business, pays £100 a year as interest to the lender, lives out of the business for some years, and then sells it for £3,000. The lender does not say, as the Duke as a landowner says, "Your success is made up of two factors, one of which is my capital and the other your skill in business. You were paid well for your skill during the time you carried on your business, and now that you have sold it at a great profit, I ought to have, besides my £2,000, at least the greater portion of the £1,000 profit." If so obviously unfair a demand were made by the lender, the borrower would reply, "Your demand is preposterous. I paid for the use of your capital while I held it, I took all the risk of the ventures made with it, and I claim the entire increment of £1,000. All that I bargained to do was to repay your £2,000 when required or disposed to do so, and to pay interest upon it in the meantime. If I had lost everything else I have in the world, I should have been bound to repay your principal as well as interest, or my securities would have had to pay it for me. Any little risk of repayment which you incurred was allowed for in the rate of interest; therefore you will have received all you are entitled to either by law or in equity when I have repaid the £2,000, and I shall retain the £1,000." The law is on the side of the borrower in this supposed case; but unfortunately it is against the hirer of land in a parallel instance. He, let us suppose, hires £10,000 worth of land for £300 a year, and uses capital of his own on the land in hope of making it profitable. If he fails, the landlord's capital is safe, and it also is far safer than the interest of the lender usually is.

succeeds, and adds £1,000 to the value of the farm, the landlord makes a claim similar to that made by the money-lender; but, instead of his demand being rejected, it is allowed by law. The Duke would perpetuate this state of law, because, he urges—just as the money-lender urged—that the greater part of the capital out of which the tenant's profit was secured was the landlord's, that the tenant derived advantages during his occupancy of the land, and that at the end of his tenancy he should only expect to be paid, if anything, the residue of his expenditure, with interest, that had not been previously returned to him as profit during his tenancy.

Suppose the tenant to have deteriorated instead of having improved his holding: to be just the Duke should admit that the damages incurred should represent only the sum of money that the tenant would have had to spend in order to keep the farm in the condition in which he received it; also that any loss which the tenant suffered during his occupancy through his deterioration should be taken off the amount of damages. This would be the precise counterpart of the Duke's doctrine in relation to improvements. But nothing of the kind is hinted at by the Duke, who leaves us to assume that he is satisfied with the law relating to deterioration, which, very properly, only takes results into account. No account of loss incurred by a tenant is for a moment considered as a set-off to the reduction in the value of his holding, caused by his acts or defaults. Then why should any profit, which an improving tenant has obtained, be estimated as a set-off against the increase in the value of the holding, caused by his expenditure and enterprise? Surely it is unfair to plead for payment for results just so far as it suits the landlord's interest and no further; but, unfortunately, the Duke does not believe in the motto, "Sauce for the goose, sauce for the gander."

Let us now follow the Duke briefly in his application of his argument to Mr. Prout's case.

As landlord, Mr. Prout expended £4,500 in improvements, and he allowed himself 5 per cent. on this outlay in increased rent, in addition to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the £16,000 of purchase-money. Thus the landlord was amply repaid for his original investment and subsequent improvements. This fact the Duke entirely ignores when he tries to show the unreasonableness of Mr. Prout's demand as a tenant. I believe that the late Mr. Scott's estimate of the value of the farm after the improvements had been made was an enormously overrated one; but let us take it as correct for the sake of argument. It was stated to be £31,000, showing an addition of £10,500 upon the landlord's purchase-money and the sum he invested in improvements. Now the Duke says that Mr. Prout, as tenant, demands this £10,500 as his in return for the tenant's investment of £2,700 in improvements, though he would take two-thirds, or £7,000, as a fair settlement. Mr. Prout does nothing of the kind. The only definite demand which he makes, in respect of his investment of £2,700 as tenant, is for the repayment of

that sum, which happens to be identical with twenty years' purchase of the increased letting value due to it alone. He does affirm in one passage as follows:—

"It is true that good profit upon my capital has accrued to me in a majority of years; but, over and above that, I claim to be entitled to something for my £2,700 sunk in improvements (supposing the tenant to have done all, and the landlord nothing), and for the rest of my long practice of thorough tillage and clean management—namely, an estate worth many thousands of pounds more than it would have been without them."

The all-important words in parenthesis are ignored by the Duke of Argyll. Mr. Prout is here assuming that he had spent as tenant all that he had spent in improvements as owner and occupier combined; but the Duke, taking no account of this, foists upon Mr. Prout a demand which that gentleman never made, and then proceeds to demolish the demand as unfair, as it would be if it had been made. Mr. Prout most distinctly allows to himself as landlord full compensation for his landlord's improvements, and then demands full compensation to himself as tenant on precisely the same principle. Afterwards, he assumes that he, as tenant, has made all the improvements, and demands compensation accordingly. The Duke confuses the whole case, and then represents Mr. Prout, the tenant, as demanding the whole fruits of the landlord's and tenant's expenditure combined. It is also to be borne in mind that Mr. Prout, besides his expenditure as tenant of £2,700 in permanent improvements, otherwise greatly increased the value of his farm by constant clean cultivation and liberal manuring. His capital as tenant was £9,000, or £20 an acre, and any farm on which so much capital per acre is used must be enriched.

It is amusing to notice that, though the Duke persistently and repeatedly declares that the tenant should not be paid for results, but only for expenditure, when he comes to consider the landlord's improvements he just as firmly lays down the doctrine that the tenant should not concern himself with cost, but should pay for results. He says:—

"It is a curious example of the chaotic confusion of thought which prevails upon these subjects at the present moment, that some writers in England, and many more in Ireland, regard the tenants as the persons who pay for improvement loans when they pay a rent out of produce which may be equivalent to the interest paid for such loans by the owner" (p. 339).

If the tenants pay the interest in rent as long as it is due, it is perfectly clear that they pay for the whole improvement, and the "chaotic confusion of thought" is the misfortune of the Duke of Argyll and any other persons who deny the truism. The Duke, however, goes on to say:—

"But this is a fallacy so obvious and so gross that it ought not to require exposure. When I hire land from another man the only thing which I have to consider is whether the land, as lent to me, will or will not yield enough produce to afford a certain rent. I have no business whatever with the question how the land came to be worth what I offer, or whether the owner has improved that land with his own ready money or by borrowing; nor have I any business to inquire how soon his loans may be repaid out of the rent I offer him" (p. 400).

Why does not the Duke apply these arguments to the case of the landlord who receives an improved holding back from his tenant? Why does not he say that the landlord has "no business whatever with the question how the land came to be worth" what it is worth to a succeeding occupier, or whether the tenant's expenditure has been repaid or not? The only answer that can be given is this, that the Duke never will admit that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander. The gander—the landlord—always has had, under English law, exceptional privileges, and the Duke of Argyll is the foremost champion of the retention of those peculiar favours *ad infinitum*.

I have left for the last, though it is by no means the least, but rather the greatest, in importance, the consideration of the public interest in the improvement of land. This the Duke never once refers to, and his reticence in this respect is to be commended as a controversial expedient. The land of the country really belongs to the nation, and it is held in trust by the Crown, which delegates it to the persons called "landowners," who, in their turn, let it to capitalists to farm. Now, the interest of the nation is in favour of the utmost profitable development of the resources of the national soil, and this end is only to be secured by giving full security to the capital of those who actually have the soil to deal with. It would be absurd to expect the cultivators of the land to develop its resources to the utmost if they are only to be repaid their expenditure, with interest, when they happen to make a successful experiment in improvement, and to get nothing, or to have to pay, when they fail to succeed in increasing the productiveness of the soil. If landowners neglect to carry out the improvements essential to successful farming in these times of tremendous agricultural competition, they must not be allowed to prevent capitalists who hire their acres from doing the work which they neglect; and prevent this they will so long as the Duke of Argyll's arguments are acted on, whether theoretically accepted or not. A very large majority of the owners of land are in such a position, owing to entail, primogeniture, and settlements, that it is not to their interest or to the interest of their families, with the exception of the heirs to their estates, that they should do their duty as stewards of the nation's land. Under such circumstances it would be highly injurious to the public interest to allow them so to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn as to deter those who can do the duty which they neglect from doing it. They must be compelled to allow to every improver the full fruits of his enterprise, expenditure, and skill; for under no other conditions will the land be properly dealt with. It is to their interest even, if they could but see it, that this compulsion should be put upon them. Increased production is the only hope of British agriculture, and as landlords are dependent upon the success of that industry, they should be saved in spite of themselves from the perpetuation of a policy which must ruin the industry, if it is not reversed.

I greatly regret to notice that what I regard as the extremely mis-

chievous and unjust doctrine of the Duke of Argyll with respect to tenants' improvements, has received endorsement in a high quarter. In the important case of *Adams v. Dunseath*, the Irish Court of Appeal has adopted the Duke's doctrine of the "two factors" to an agricultural improvement. It is, no doubt, very presumptuous on the part of a "layman" to question a decision come to by great legal luminaries on a question of law; but if the heavens fall on me for my presumption, I will declare that there is not the slightest hint of the "two factors" in the Irish Land Acts of 1870 and 1881, or in either of them; also that under the Ulster Custom the theory is entirely unrecognized; and further, that in the cases tried under the Act of 1870, that theory has never been so much as mentioned, so far as I have seen. The judges have obviously been sitting at the feet of the Duke of Argyll, as they have adopted not only his doctrine, but some of his phrases. The Land Commissioners had taken the only sound and fair view of the question—that the tenant should have secured to him the full fruits of his improvements. This has been overruled by the decision of the Court of Appeal, to the effect that the "inherent qualities of the soil" form part of an improvement, and that the value of this is due to the landlord; so that in fixing a "fair rent" the tenant may be rented on a portion of his improvements. "Improvement works," as distinguished from their result in increasing the value of a holding, the judges decide, are all that the tenant should be paid for; but how do "improvement works" appear in the case of the gradual improvement of the fertility of a farm by years of high manuring and clean and thorough cultivation? The only comfort in the face of this most disastrous decision, which seems at first sight likely to destroy a large portion of the benefit of the Act of 1881, is that it cannot be acted upon in general practice. In theory, the Land Commissioners will be bound to defer to it; but they will not be able to distinguish the "landlord's factor" in an improvement in the vast majority of cases, and it may therefore be hoped that "fair rents" will not be raised to any considerable extent by the *Dunseath* decision on this point.

Payment for value received is the only fair measure of compensation to tenants due from landlords, just as payment for value withdrawn is the fair measure of damages for deterioration due to landlords from tenants. This is the true principle of Tenant-Right.

WILLIAM E. BEAR.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN WALES.

THE Report of the Departmental Committee on Higher and Intermediate Education in Wales and Monmouthshire, issued just before the rising of Parliament, has attracted great attention in the Principality, without as yet giving rise to any very strong adverse feeling on the part of any section of the community.* It may be hoped, indeed, that the general acceptance with which it has met does not, as so often happens when all men speak well of a measure, imply any sacrifice of principle; and that this halcyon calm, should it continue, will be due to the spirit of moderation and justice in which the work of the Committee was done, their intimate acquaintance with the peculiar requirements of the country and its inhabitants, and the intrinsic value of the recommendations which they have thought fit to make. That the one wish of the Committee was to discover the true state of the case, and to do equal justice, may, at any rate, be asserted of every member of it, from the well-tried statesman who presided over it down to the writer of this article.

In this respect, no doubt, the late Committee was only on a level with a former Commission of Inquiry issued in 1846 by the Government of that day. But of that Commission, composed as it was of young English barristers, with no more knowledge of the wants of the country on which they had to report than if it had been Timbuctoo, it is impossible to say that it was in any sense a success, or to deny that it had the effect of seriously misleading and retarding the growth of public opinion. Hasty dicta, reflecting gravely on the intellect and morals of a people of whose language and circumstances they knew nothing, are far too frequent in the pages of the former report. They

* Meeting after meeting, religious or secular, from all parts of Wales has recorded hearty concurrence both with the spirit and the details of its recommendations.

were thrown out in the same light-hearted way in which a lad fresh from the University sets himself cheerfully to review and to underrate the life-work of some established writer or statesman of whose defects or excellences he is in the happiest ignorance. But the haste and the flippancy, of which the critics have, no doubt, long since been heartily ashamed, still rankle in the hearts of the Welsh people, and after the lapse of thirty-six years are still widely known among them as the "*Brâd y llyfrau gleision*"—"the Treason of the Blue Books." The recent Committee was composed of men all either of Welsh birth or connexions, two of them, indeed—Mr. Henry Richard and Professor Rhys—well able to conduct the examination of witnesses in their native language, while almost all were able to understand the Welsh evidence when any was given. And it had the additional advantage of the presence of a distinguished member, formerly of the Endowed Schools Commission and now of the Charity Commission—Canon Robinson, who combined, with the accurate knowledge that long official experience of educational matters can alone give, a very strong sense of the peculiar needs and requirements of the people, and an honest desire to satisfy them as far as it might be possible to do so.

The Committee devoted the greater part of the last three months of 1880 to the inquiry, either in the country or in London; and the report, which was presented in the last days of the past session, bears, it is hoped, evident marks, whatever may be thought of its conclusions, of honest and careful research into facts. With the main scope and terms of that report I am in the most complete accord; and if I, in any respect, depart from it in this article, or go further, I must be understood to be speaking for myself alone, and not to desire, in the least degree, to question the wisdom of the conclusions at which my colleagues have arrived. But it is possible in the recommendations of an Article to add many details which would be out of place in a Report; and, moreover, it is very desirable that the English public, proverbially incurious as to Blue Books and Reports, should have the opportunity of learning, through the pages of a popular Review, facts which nearly concern every dweller in these islands.

Nothing more widely different can be imagined than the comparative condition of England and Wales, in almost all essential points. England is a rich country, Wales is a poor one. In England all the people speak what is, notwithstanding all local differences of accent and dialect, one language. In Wales the upper classes and the upper middle classes speak one language, the rest of the people another, almost as far removed from it in the family of languages as it is possible for it to be. Of the 1,600,000 inhabitants of Wales and Monmouthshire nearly 1,100,000 habitually speak and use Welsh in preference to and to the exclusion of English in the daily intercourse of life, in business relations among each other, and in their religious services. It is very difficult to bring facts as to language home to the ordinary Englishman. He t

North Wales a great deal, and in South Wales a little; and all the people at the hotels and in the towns, with whom he is in contact, speak English to him, with an accent, indeed, but not a stronger one than that of the inhabitants of an average English county; and if he hears people of middle-class position talking in a tongue which he does not understand, it makes no impression on his mind beyond the passing moment. That the people are in many important respects as far removed from the people of England as if the Straits of Dover ran between them and the English border does not occur to him, nor, indeed, can you convince him of it. A dominant people is always careless of such matters and ignores them as far as possible; and it was only a year or two ago that a member of a former Government, an otherwise well-informed man, assured me that it was a mistake to suppose that the Welsh language was any longer used, except here and there by a few very old people; that the great bulk of the rising generation had definitively renounced it for the English language; and that the next generation would witness its final extinction.

What are the real facts on this head, first as to the colloquial use of the language, secondly as to its literary use? On the first head, Mr. Ravenstein, in his work on the Celtic-speaking population of the British Isles, published shortly after the census of 1871, has left it on record that of 1,426,514 people, the population at that date of Wales and Monmouthshire, not less than 1,006,100 spoke Welsh habitually. That population has increased to nearly 1,600,000 at this date, and there can be no doubt, bearing in mind the recent efforts towards a revival of the Welsh language and nationality, the increase in the number of Welsh-speaking people is quite in proportion to that of the general population.

As to the literary use of the language, twelve newspapers, with a weekly circulation of 74,500; eighteen magazines, with one of 90,300; and two quarterly publications of a high order of merit, are issued in Welsh. A large number of translations from standard English works, both religious and scientific, is made every year. A commentary on the New Testament, published at 17s. 6d., has had a sale of at least 20,000 copies in a period of fifteen years since its publication. Generally, the genius of the people seems to tend to works of a practical scientific character; to musical publications of all kinds; to the various phases of theological activity contained in doctrinal commentaries, in volumes of sermons and religious addresses, and the lives of various native Nonconformist theologians known and beloved in the past or present. It is calculated that at least £100,000 a year is spent by the Welsh people in the purchase of Welsh books alone; and as there can be no doubt that a very large proportion of valuable English books, such as the works of Mr. Mill and Mr. Carlyle, find their way to the quarrymen of North Wales, it is obvious that we have here a population very much less incurious than an English one of the same

number and wealth, on all points affecting the condition of educational and literary effort.

For it must be borne in mind that Wales is distinctly a poorer country than England in many respects. Of the greater part of the country, consisting as it does of bleak and barren hill-sides and moors,—very beautiful to the summer tourist, but of very small agricultural value,—and enjoying, even where the land is more productive, a climate so humid that, in most Welsh counties, the cultivation of cereals, with the one exception of oats, is coming to be more and more discouraged among practical farmers, this is sufficiently obvious to require no argument. Of the great mining and quarrying districts, this is less obvious, but is equally true, at any rate for educational purposes. Great communities, like Merthyr Tydfil, are distinguished by the almost entire absence of a middle class. There is no one, or almost no one, between the artisan who works at the forge or in the mine, and the great manufacturer who lives in a fine house, and is accused, rightly or wrongly, of very little sympathy with his workmen. The income-tax returns, the poor-law rating, the rentals of houses, all tell the same tale, and point to the same conclusion of comparative poverty. Certainly, therefore, Wales is a poor country, notwithstanding the exceptional cases of great ports, like Swansea and Cardiff in Glamorganshire, or Newport in Monmouthshire. And it is with Wales as a poor country, on the whole, and not as a rich one, that all who wish well to her educational future will have to deal.

The case is further complicated by the division of interests between the upper and lower classes throughout the length and breadth of the country. There are two ways (besides difference of race) in which such a division of interest may be established. The upper classes may differ from the lower in language or in religion. In Wales they differ in both; and it is only wonderful that, with so many influences to draw the people apart, there has been, on the whole, so little of jealousy or disunion, and such a complete accord on all substantial points, broken only at rare intervals, and then to a very trifling extent, by dissensions such as are unfortunately chronic in Ireland. Of the extent of this difference in language I have already spoken. The reason for the non-acquirement of Welsh by the gentry of the Principality is no doubt due partly to the constitutional dislike of people of the upper class of Englishmen or Anglicised Welshmen to speak a tongue of which they are imperfectly masters—the national *mauvaise honte*, in fact; partly to the danger, at least in the southern part of Wales, of acquiring an accent in speaking English fatal to success in life; and partly, also, to the real though ill-founded belief that somehow or other all would come right; the language would fade away forthwith, or would no longer be a cause of division between classes. Of this consummation it is as well to say at once that there are no practical indications whatever in anything like the near future. It is quite possible that in the twenty-second century, though

hardly before, people with a turn for philology may be going about Wales looking in vain for an aged person who knows Welsh. But it is, to my thinking, quite as likely that the language may hold its own even far beyond that period, in a manner proportionate to its very considerable literary activity and vigour.

Certain it is that in the South the resident gentry, the magistrates, the squires, and of course the higher aristocracy, are either altogether or in great part ignorant of the Welsh language for purposes of conversation and discussion. Into the national life of the people, their assemblages at *Eisteddfodau* or "General Meetings" for literary or religious purposes, they cannot enter with any ease or comfort to themselves, even if they understand, as many of them do not, a word here and there of what is going on. I believe that in the North, where the southern "Welshy" accent in English is almost unknown, there is much greater knowledge of the language of the country, at least among the native gentry, than among the same class in South Wales. But there are numerous Englishmen from Liverpool or Manchester who have settled in succession to the old families of the country; and as these rarely if ever acquire the language of the people, much the same general result is produced as in the southern half of the Principality with regard to ignorance of Welsh on the part of the upper classes.

The other great cause of division arises from the difference of religion. As to this, it is difficult to obtain any statistics on which, in the absence of an authoritative religious census, we can rely; but no doubt whatever exists that, for whatever reason, partly no doubt from the insane folly of its rulers in the past, the Church has but little hold on the great bulk of the lower and lower middle classes of Wales. Among the upper classes the number of Churchmen is probably much the same as in England. But it must be remembered that the middle class generally, and the upper middle class certainly, in Wales is much smaller than the corresponding class in England, so that there seems some probability in the opinion which was expressed to us in evidence by many witnesses that of the 1,600,000 people who now constitute the Welsh nation, at least 1,200,000 are Nonconformists. Therefore there is, besides the element of difference supplied by language, another and still more potent one constantly at work to keep classes apart in Wales.

These then are the social conditions of the people into whose educational condition and requirements it was the duty of the Commission to inquire: a people on the whole distinctly poorer than the English, cherishing a language which shuts them out from the whole of the rest of the world, isolated by their position in a remote corner of the island from their fellow-countrymen; competing for none of the public rewards of successful ability,* so that a Welsh wrangler or first-class man, a Welsh colonial governor or statesman, a Welsh civilian or general, a Welsh judge even, was up to very recent times a sort of phenomenon.

* There was no candidate in 1870 from the Welsh schools for the Indian Civil Service.

while a Welsh bishop, even for the four Welsh Sees, had been an unheard-of thing from the first year of the eighteenth century until the appointment of Bishop Hughes ten years since; preferring for the most part for their representatives in Parliament men with no qualification besides obscurity, and the absence of the faculty of intelligent speech; yet generally of high intelligence and possessed by an ardent thirst for knowledge which they cannot satisfy. For while the gross educational income of England is £632,650, that of North and South Wales, with an area of about one-seventh of that of England and a population of about one-eighteenth, is but £14,231. Moreover, the actually existing grammar schools were, at any rate until recently, strictly Church institutions; and even now, in these days of conscience clauses and religious liberty, the fact that they are in many cases administered by governing bodies upon which not a single Nonconformist finds a place, while in most the Church is in an overwhelming majority, is thought by Nonconformists, not unnaturally, to make it probable that their children attending such schools will, at any rate, be at a disadvantage; that though no attempt at proselytism be made, the atmosphere and tone of the school will be distinctly of a Church type and character; which no conscience clause, however stringent, can overcome, even if there were any good reason why, in schools intended for their use, Nonconformists should be subjected to treatment which implied their marked inferiority. A great mass of evidence was offered to the Committee on this head, though, indeed, it was hardly required to prove that the present condition of the governing bodies must fail to give entire satisfaction to a people so much divided among themselves on religious matters as the people of Wales.

What is the remedy for such an educational condition of things as now exists in the Principality? Every one will be struck with the fact that, insufficient as the accommodation is, it is nearly double the actual number of attendances. That for a population of 1,570,000 people only 2,896 places are provided in grammar schools is bad enough, but that only 1,540 boys attend is a more unsatisfactory result still, and one for which it is difficult to find an explanation consistent with the great zeal for knowledge which we were told, and we think justly, prevails among the people, unless it be that of the distrust felt by the people in the actual governing bodies, the insufficiency of the endowments of the schools of Wales, their often inconvenient position, and the fact that they do not offer the teaching which is required. That out of some 1,570,000 people only 1,540 boys find their way to grammar schools, is, whether we take an estimate (probably too high in practice) of 15,700 boys who should be so present, or a more moderate one calculated on the average attendance in an English district of the same population with the Principality, in itself wholly inadequate and disheartening. If we take the additional fact that out of this small number two-thirds are the children of Churchmen, who form certainly not one-fourth of the population, and are, moreover, by their position

in the world, of the classes able to take care of their children's education without help it will be seen how deplorably inadequate are the numbers attending secondary schools, from the classes for whose education it is desirable that public provision should be made.

Admitting this, it is first in my opinion, as it was in that of the Committee, necessary, that the very scanty endowments applicable to Welsh education should be utilized to the fullest extent. These should unquestionably include all charities—except such as may be of a distinctly denominational type, with which it is better not to seek to interfere—having for their object the promotion of elementary education, a purpose which is now sufficiently provided for by law. The Betton Charity, amounting to about £200 a year, the Bevan Charity of £900 a year, the Bughbrood Charity, and the Meyrick Fund amounting to a sum of £20,000, should all be utilized for this purpose. All these charities should be consolidated, and, as they have no local character, applied for the benefit of Wales and Monmouthshire in general, as a General Welsh Exhibition Fund, to be administered by a representative body, in which the Charity Commissioner for Wales should have a place. Again, a local or county fund might well be established in each county. To this all endowments for elementary education, or which might, under the Endowed Schools Act, be made applicable to education, amounting to some £12,000 a year, and all doles, apprenticeship endowments, and others in the county, which have through circumstances now become useless or mischievous, should be transferred. In saying this, I am by no means desirous of confiscating all such charitable endowments without distinction. It seems to me that there is at present an almost exaggerated sense of the evils likely to be produced by indiscriminate charity. Endowments for almshouses, of course, it is not proposed to touch except by common consent. Doles are undoubtedly mischievous in a great majority of cases, but there may well be instances in which a soup-kitchen, only to be opened during severe weather, restricted to the aged and very young children, both classes incapable of earning their own living, or consequently of being demoralized by alms, may be of great use. In many cases, however, these and other charities are unquestionably mischievous, and should be applied to useful purposes. The proper person to do this would be the Charity Commissioner for Wales, who, the Committee recommend, should be created, acting either alone or with the advice of the rest of the Board, and probably on the application of a certain number of the rate-payers of the district, and after a local inquiry into the effects of the charity.

When once this county fund was established, it would of course be out of the question that it should, any more than the general fund, continue to be administered by the present trustees. These trustees, indeed, would in many cases naturally be hostile to any diversion of the funds which they administer, to other purposes than those for which they hold them,

however useless or even mischievous those purposes may have become. It will be necessary to take powers to do away with this difficulty by transferring the administration of such funds from the trustees to a county board, the constitution of which should be of a fairly popular character, which would administer all the moneys thence to arise, primarily for the benefit of the county, secondarily for that of other counties of Wales and Monmouthshire.

Having thus got the funds into the hands of those who would inspire confidence in the country, the next stage is to consider what is to be done, supposing the fund thus created to be insufficient for the purposes of intermediate education.

All through Wales, with the exception of two grammar schools, both Church foundations, the condition of Welsh grammar schools as to buildings is simply deplorable. They are wholly and entirely unfitted by original plan, by disrepair, or by surroundings, for the work which they ought to do. At Ystradmeurig, an old and useful school, which has in its time done much good work for the higher education of poor Welsh lads, and from which, previous to the institution of St. David's College, Lampeter, candidates for the ministry were ordained, the buildings are such as would not be tolerated in a modern elementary school. At Carmarthen, a county town of over 10,000 inhabitants, the only school is a semi-ruinous building, educating, at the date of the Committee's visit, fifteen boys only, and situated on the verge of a railway cutting, with a goods-station on one side, and large tin works on the other. At Ruthin, the buildings are poor, and under grave suspicion of a very defective sanitary condition. A sum of £100,000 would possibly be required to provide new schools, and to place the existing schools in a proper condition. How is this to be raised? To do so out of the scanty funds which are, as has been indicated, available for endowment, would be impossible. There is, therefore, no alternative but to appeal to external assistance, to be given either from the Consolidated Fund, or from the county rates, or by a combination of both sources of supply; and the proportion fixed upon by the Committee was as follows—either a moiety to be furnished by the Consolidated Fund, and a moiety to be borrowed on the security of the county rates, repayable by instalments in fifty years; or, as an alternative scheme, a county rate of not more than $\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the £1, the deficiency, if any, to be supplied by the Consolidated Fund. The Committee were inclined to believe that two-elevenths of a penny in the £1, or 1s. 6d. per £100 a year rating value, would be the average burden which such a provision would imply; but there can be no doubt that it would bear more heavily on some localities than on others, and therefore they proposed that in no case should the rate exceed $\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the £1. That an occupier rated at £100 a year should be fixed for fifty years with a payment not exceeding 4s. 2d. a year, or one rated at £20 a year with one not exceeding 10d., for a great national

purpose, of which he would himself reap the full value, does not seem to be a proposition which should cause any great alarm under any circumstances, nor will it, as I believe, do so.* That the Consolidated Fund should be asked to supply that sum, ought not probably to offend the greatest of financial purists, or lead to the fear lest a similar proposal should be made to extend the blessing of higher education to the English middle or lower classes. It is simply a case of giving help to people who, from general poverty, from the necessity of supporting at once a Church in which they do not believe and their own religious institutions as well, and from the heavy contributions which they, almost wholly without crime of their own, are bound to make to the repression of crime throughout the Empire, are unable to help themselves. Once get over the initial difficulty, and the people may be trusted, with their appreciation of education, to do all that is necessary for the completion of the educational edifice.

When the schools are repaired or built, and placed on a proper footing, what is the next thing for which it is essential to provide in any country of Nonconformists? There can be no doubt that the public schools of Wales must be thoroughly undenominational and unsectarian in tone. And the only way to ensure this is to make the governing bodies thoroughly representative of the different religious interests of the people, so that the members of no denomination, whether Churchmen or Nonconformists, shall have, as heretofore, a preponderating and overwhelming influence in the government of the school. If this be not conceded, the best and most stringent of conscience clauses will have no power whatever. There will, under any circumstances, always remain the vague fear of the religious atmosphere being as fatal to the success of a school among such a people as the most definite and well proven acts of religious oppression. If it be, there will be no need to legislate on matters which are far better left to a governing body familiar with the wants of the locality, as no outsider can ever be; conscience clauses will drop off as unnecessary; the questionable restriction of the head-masterships to laymen may perhaps no longer be insisted on or even recommended, and the whole machinery of the school will work smoothly and well.

Though the Committee very properly refrained from doing so in their report, it seems to me that it may be well to indicate the lines on which the new governing bodies of the schools should be constructed. And, first, I think it essential to make a difference in this respect between first-grade schools and second-grade schools. Those of the first grade are intended for a class of boys, the children of parents in a higher position in life from those in other schools; and though the school boards should

* In the case of Ireland, no difficulty was felt in allotting to Intermediate Education the large sum of £1,000,000, the proceeds of Disestablishment in that country, and it is understood that more will be forthcoming. Scotland gets without question £15,000 a year for her Universities, which are really places of intermediate as well as higher education, and a building grant of £140,000 for the University of Glasgow alone. That Wales under very similar conditions should ask for £50,000, or less, ought not, in my opinion, to shock anybody.

be represented here, too, it is obvious that they should not have a commanding majority. I should propose to make every governing body consist of twelve persons, chiefly representatives.

But in the case of first-grade schools it seems desirable to allow something for the strong feeling which no doubt will not unnaturally exist against the immediate removal of the present bodies, and to provide for the continuity of the school traditions, by allowing them at the outset to nominate a certain proportion of the new governing body, leaving this element to be gradually replaced by others of a more representative character. And in institutions of this character, it is desirable that experts, who have had experience in the higher education, should be appointed by the Universities, and should form an appreciable portion of the governing body. In the case of second-grade schools, which would be used almost exclusively by the middle classes, it would be chiefly necessary that those who would benefit by them should have the effective control in their hands; while the claims of the higher education, on the one hand, might be represented by a member from the University Body of Wales; and, on the other, the connection between the elementary schools and the second-grade schools, which, with a view to the "educational ladder," it is so necessary to establish, would be secured by the presence on the board of H.M.'s Inspector for the district, who would best know what promising boys in elementary schools were ripe for further training, and likely to repay by their exceptional abilities the extra expense which would be incurred in carrying them further. The argument that the school boards, as such, are often unfit to deal with higher education, and therefore to elect the governors, would be met, it is hoped, by the restriction of the electoral element from them to the chairmen and vice-chairmen alone, as being persons of higher qualifications and position than the ordinary members of those bodies. Under no circumstances should any elected governor sit for life, or indeed for any longer period than five years.

What should be the character of the schools thus established in respect of the subjects taught? While the first-grade schools must probably, until that entire reform in University studies for which it is not unreasonable to hope, remain very much what they are in point of teaching, it is essential in my opinion that the schools which are to be frequented by the middle classes of Wales should be above all things places in which the instruction bears some reference to the probable wants and requirements of the boys in after life. Therefore, there can be no doubt that something approaching to the German *Realschulen* will be the form best adapted for Wales, and it is the scientific type rather than the classical which should be followed. It is time that the farce, ridiculous if it were not so painful, of devoting the few precious years which can be spared by middle class youths for educational purposes to the laborious acquirement of the Latin and Greek accidence should come to an end. Yet, it hardly seems to me that the r

Charity Commissioners, which, in certain cases, absolutely excludes the teaching of Greek, even where there is a boy for whom it is absolutely necessary as a qualification for the ministry, and a master ready and able to teach it, is adapted to the circumstances of Wales. That Greek should be an extra subject, not forming part of the general curriculum of the school, and only to be taught on special terms, is all that can be provided in the way of safeguard for the general interests of the school, without inflicting positive injury on the candidates for the ministry (unusually numerous in Wales) and others who may wish to pass from the second to the first-grade schools in a country so thinly populated.*

But, with the best system of secondary schools that can be established, it will be useless to expect to meet the peculiar wants of the country without adding, in every adequate centre of population, advanced elementary schools, or, better still, advanced departments in elementary schools, wherever, from the circumstances of the district, such a course may be desirable. A separate room, where pupils above the school age, whose parents may not have been able to determine whether the ability of the child or young person is or is not sufficient to warrant them in prolonging the time of training, to see what may come of it, would afford just the means which is wanted of winnowing the grain from the chaff. For a working man to withdraw his child from the elementary school to the secondary school, is to announce that the career of manual labour is renounced definitively for such child. Even if, for social reasons, the transfer be possible, it is a very serious step for a wage-paid man to take, and will, if he is prudent, very seldom indeed be taken by him. But a promising boy or girl retained a little longer, probably at the instance of the master or mistress, at the elementary school, is still among companions of the same class, is not taken out of his or her proper sphere, and, if the coveted scholarship or exhibition is not available, is still in no worse position than at first. The present advanced elementary schools at Bradford and Wolverhampton are, I believe, schools charging a fee of ninepence a week. Very wonderful and, indeed, brilliant results have followed from these institutions, and I do not wish to hint that they are in any way too good for the money. But it is obvious that, whether by raising the fee to a shilling, to meet the case of smaller populations, keeping the quality of the education given at the same level, or by lowering it to sixpence, giving a less ambitious education, the principle is capable of infinite modifications, and might easily be adapted to any different set of circumstances likely to arise in the Principality. I think, indeed, that for Wales something much less ambitious than the ninepenny school, with its Latin, French, Mathematics, two Sciences, and History, might, in the first instance, suffice, and that a sixpenny fee in an

* Technical schools should be established wherever there is an industrial population of sufficient magnitude, such as exists at Cardiff, Merthyr, and Swansea in South Wales and in the great quarrying districts of the North, as at Newport or in the hill districts of Monmouthshire.

advanced branch of an elementary school where the population is smaller, or a sixpenny or ninepenny advanced elementary school where the population is 10,000 and upwards, might be found quite satisfactory and sufficient in the great majority of districts.

Indeed, it may well be questioned whether it will be wise, in the matter of second-grade education, to run the risks inseparable from new and unaccustomed legislation, while under the present law there seems nothing to prevent the Education Department from establishing, wherever it may be thought necessary, new advanced schools or advanced departments. Such a course would relieve the question from many of the difficulties which surround the proposal to give State aid to intermediate education, or to charge the cost of the necessary buildings upon the county rates. On the other hand, it is obvious that such schools cannot altogether replace the second-grade schools which are required, although the adoption of such a scheme may lessen the amount of the demand which such schools must otherwise make on the public purse, either local or general. Still they would, in my view, be a valuable contribution to the solution of the difficulty, and, so far as it is possible without legislation, should be proceeded with at once. And wherever this is done, it will be essential that due provision should be made for night-schools. These are especially adapted to a population of artisans who, like the quarrymen of Bethesda, or the miners of Merthyr Tydfil, are hard at work during the day, and can only avail themselves of teaching after working hours.

This intermediate school system must be supported by a system of exhibitions, open to boys and girls, which shall have the effect of carrying children on from the elementary to the intermediate schools, and from the intermediate to the first-grade school or provincial college. That these should be of the respective values of £20 and £30, is the proposition of the Committee. But I think that, in addition to this, there should be what are known as overlapping exhibitions—viz., exhibitions tenable partly in a first-grade school, partly in a college—and that, while held at a college, they should be raised to £50 a year if possible. I have, in our Report, already put on record my opinion that these exhibitions should be tenable, not only at the provincial colleges, but at any college (being undenominational), either at home or abroad. I think it essential that young men should be enabled to finish their scientific education in any of the great universities of Germany, and most desirable that they should do so. And for those who, under a changed rule as to residence, might wish to take their degrees at Cambridge, or any college at Oxford other than Jesus College, some such assistance would be absolutely necessary, if the great endowments of Jesus College are to continue to be, as they have been hitherto, lost, so far as any useful purpose is concerned, to the great bulk of the Welsh people for whom they were designed.

I cannot end what has been said as to intermediate schools without

expressing a hope that something will be done, now that the matter is being generally dealt with, to bring all private adventure schools under such inspection as shall offer a guarantee, now sadly wanting, for the nature and quality of their teaching. That this is very necessary in Wales will appear when we recollect that, as against 1,540 boys at grammar schools, 2,196 receive their education at private or proprietary schools, the latter class of schools only contributing 209 to the whole number. To do this comprehensively is, at present, perhaps impossible. But the greatest possible encouragement might be given them to submit themselves to inspection, if a portion of the endowments, in the way of scholarships to be provided for the schools, were thrown open to every private school conducted on purely undenominational principles and under proper regulations, and certified by an inspector to be efficient. I cannot think that the difficulties in the way of such a course would be insurmountable, though that difficulties exist is obvious. But unless it be recognised that new principles must be admitted and new expedients tried, it is useless, in view of the deficiencies and peculiarities of the country, to approach the subject of Welsh education at all.

When the schools are established and at work, what is the likelihood that a people, educated as far as they can carry them, will rest content with the knowledge that they can give, and not ask for more? Happily, not the slightest in the world. Just as the myriads of school-children, now educated up to the point at which ordinary elementary education ends, imperatively call for something more, to meet the wants of the more promising boys and girls, so unquestionably the intermediate schools will turn out a percentage of more highly gifted students, who will find their account in carrying on their education further still, and on the collegiate rather than the scholastic model—the method of teaching by lectures rather than that by lessons. It is perfectly idle to set before young Welsh people, of scanty means and small knowledge of the world outside Wales, the prospect of going to an expensive English university, or even to a Welsh college in Oxford, conducted, indeed, on the model of an English rather than a Welsh institution. That Jesus College, with its immense endowments, has always failed to do anything like adequate service for Wales, is due to the fact that, however good the teaching—and it might, of course, have been much better—whatever the endowments which were forthcoming to maintain the Welsh boy, it would have been a simple act of madness in a struggling Welsh parent, even if he had ever heard of the College, and was sure of a share of its emoluments for his son, to have sent him out of the country to remain until he was twenty-two, and then to come back too late for any useful work in life, except the service of the Church of England, and with a taste for an expensive mode of living which, unless his abilities were of a high order, he could not hope to gratify. The Nonconformist, indeed, did send his son the long and weary journey to Glasgow to get

the degree which was denied him in his own country. But at Cambridge a poor Welshman was a rare and curious bird, and at Oxford, before the institution of the body of Unattached Students, almost unknown, except at Jesus College. Some few Welshmen crossed the Channel to Ireland in search of a degree. But the vast majority of them remained without any education at all of the collegiate type, except, indeed, those who gained such an education at St. David's College, Lampeter.

That college, by the mere fact of its existence, and of the useful and necessary work which it has done in the interests of the Anglican Church in Wales, has, indeed, solved the whole question of the necessity and possibility of collegiate education for Wales, and further of the creation of a degree-giving body. It was in evidence before the Committee that the standard of the Arts degree was carefully kept up to the level of the same degree at Oxford and Cambridge. This is secured by the presence of examiners familiar with the requirements of each of the old Universities; and it is obvious, therefore, that the cry of a possible degradation of the degree by the undue multiplication of degree-giving bodies is a pure assumption in this case. Certainly, whatever may be the case with American degrees, there can be no real danger of such a result in this country. The possible list of degree-giving bodies is already exhausted; and if the degree given by the present governing body of Lampeter is shared in competition with candidates very much more numerous from the other colleges, and conferred by a more formal and representative University Board, it stands to reason that there can be no fear of the degradation of the degree, but a strong probability of its eventual if not immediate improvement.

Something then in the nature of a college or university body giving degrees may be taken to be a necessity for Wales. That any new college should be wholly unsectarian and undenominational is undoubtedly a *sine qua non*. That the Principal of every such college should therefore be a layman seems to me to follow in strictness, especially if there is to be any provision made for lodging the students. But with the views which the Committee entertained on this subject and which they have embodied in their report, it is possible that it may not be necessary to insist on the exclusion of any person fitted for the post, be he lay or cleric.

That the colleges should, in accordance with the most powerful tendencies of modern cultivation and the peculiar needs of the Principality, be mainly scientific in character, seems beyond doubt. By this it is not meant that there shall be no literary element, or that it shall not be rewarded. That would be to exclude a most important factor in modern education, and one which the naturally literary bias of the Celtic people and the proclivities of the Welsh towards an ecclesiastical or ministerial career in preference to other professions make it especially necessary to provide. Possibly if two or more colleges were established,

it would be practicable to arrange that one of the two should chiefly cultivate the literary, the other the scientific side of education.

That one college at least for South Wales should be established at Cardiff or Swansea, and one for North Wales at Carnarvon, Bangor, or Denbigh, is all that seems to be decided upon at present. In both cases a very considerable and entirely healthy rivalry seems to exist between these towns. At Cardiff subscriptions to the amount of £18,000, headed by Lord Bute, a local owner, with a contribution of £10,000 conditional on the college being founded in that town, have been got together already. The claims of Swansea have been represented at an influential meeting attended by the Members of Parliament for the county, and for the borough of Swansea. There is every reason to think that the funds necessary for the erection of the necessary buildings will be more than sufficiently provided for by voluntary effort. In my opinion £25,000, the sum proposed to be raised at Cardiff, is far in excess of the need for buildings and plant, and would be positively mischievous, in diverting public attention from the essence to the accidents of collegiate education. There can be no reason, as I think, why both Cardiff and Swansea should not have a college, if only the friends of education were not burdened with costly buildings in each place, swallowing up money which would be far better spent in providing the necessarily expensive staff and apparatus by which the quality of the education given is to be kept up to the proper level. And I see no reason why one professor and one reader or assistant professor should not be made to do the work of two professors, by circulating between college and college, wherever distance allowed, and thus not only lessening the cost of the staff, but providing for a uniformity of teaching at the various colleges constituting the University Body of Wales. I think, too, that it would be essential to bring into this scheme the already existing theological colleges, making the first two years of their course a time of general university training, and deferring to the end the distinctive theological training which they are established to impart.

The position of the College at Aberystwith is one which cannot fail to prove a great difficulty, though far from an insuperable difficulty, in settling the question of education in Wales. It has an admirable building acquired for a sum immensely below its real value; it has done good and useful work, but it has failed to attract the numerous students who were expected to avail themselves of its advantages. So far it may be thought to have been a failure, that it undoubtedly has not come up to the expectations of its promoters. But it is no small thing to have attracted and to have educated in the nine years of its existence nearly 350 young men who otherwise would not have received any higher education at all. That it has unfortunately failed to attract students from the northern part of the Principality in anything like adequate numbers is undoubtedly the fact; and no doubt exists in my mind that the present college staff might be removed and resettled at some

suitable place in North Wales, and the existing buildings utilized as a high school for girls, for which purpose, owing to their affording admirable boarding accommodation, they are especially suited. I think a question might well arise whether the University of Wales, for purposes of examination, might not still have its local habitation at Aberystwith, in a part of the present buildings, thus bringing together students from North and South once or twice in the course of their academical career in friendly competition for the prizes and degrees of the University. Nor do I think that the objection as to distance and inaccessibility would have the same weight as at present if the journey to Aberystwith needed to be made by a student only once or twice altogether.

I greatly hope that after a certain period has elapsed all the degrees and emoluments of the University may be thrown open to young men wherever educated, without reference to the scheme of affiliation of colleges. I think, however, that in the first instance it would be well to protect the colleges by restricting the degrees and emoluments to persons actually in residence. When the system of intermediate schools has had fair scope for a time, there will be, I am convinced, numerous cases of young men who have educated themselves after leaving school, by attendance at night schools, or by private study, and who, while wholly unable through the necessities of their position to satisfy the least stringent conditions of residence, would yet be able to compete satisfactorily for degrees. And it is unnecessary to say that every degree should be conferred only after the strictest examination, as is the case in the London University now.

While on this subject, it may be well to say, as I pressed persistently on my colleagues on the Committee, that any system of university teaching in Wales must allow of a degree being taken at a much earlier age than unhappily prevails in the older Universities. Nothing can be more painful or perplexing to a thoughtful observer than the spectacle presented by any great college in either Oxford or Cambridge. Hundreds upon hundreds of young men crowd the streets of the town, or the chapels and dining-halls of the colleges, who are either already twenty-two years of age, or will remain at college until they have attained that age, or later. Tutors, and the authorities generally, are wholly unable to convey to one any idea of the end which the parents of those young men set before themselves in sending them to spend so many precious years at the University. They will not, the great majority of them, take Orders, and yet it is only for the Church, or the still more overcrowded professions of the Bar, or of Literature, that they can hope to qualify themselves. From all other callings or professions—from medicine, from engineering, from business, from the military or naval service—they are absolutely excluded by age. This is the case even with those who are able, by their abilities and tastes, to profit by university teaching at all, and who may have attained the dangerous competence which an idle fellow-

ship has offered to wreck so many useful lives. But for the great mass of young men, with no care for the present or thought for the future, except the everlasting football and cricket and rowing which are supposed to form the whole duty of a young Englishman, but which certainly do not supply the means of living, the prospect is hopeless in the extreme. That fine, frank young fellows are escaping daily from this artificial and demoralizing atmosphere, to take up with the life of colonists in the Far West, is to me a very painful spectacle indeed. They go, foredoomed to failure, to pursuits for which they would have had probably eminent qualifications, in their healthy bodies and vigorous life, if they had not been wasting time for years in the pursuit of frivolous and unmanly pleasure. Nothing of this kind must ever exist, nor must this difficulty ever arise, in Wales. If we are not prepared to disregard the pedantry which is always calling for more precious time to be spent upon the useless abstractions of the higher mathematics, or the niceties of classical scholarship, we had better not attempt to found colleges for Wales. A young man may take his degree at eighteen at the London University or at Paris, and he should be able to complete his college training by that age or earlier in Wales. Only thus can we hope to reconcile the claims of the higher educationist with those of practical life, and, if we have to make a sacrifice, it is not the interests of practical life which will suffer. But I believe that it would be easy to exaggerate the amount of damage which will thus be done to education, if we bear in mind the fact that to the studious and struggling youth of Wales, a course of football protracted till the close of the twenty-third year must be a very rare phenomenon indeed. Whether, having regard to the peculiar conditions of the country, and the devotion of so many of its most active minds to theological studies, an Arts degree should not, as at Oxford, be attainable by a student of theology as such, is a very grave and difficult question. It is my belief that the difficulties in the way of such a course are practically insuperable. If it were desired by the authorities of Lampeter to surrender the B.D. degree, which they at present confer, to the University, as well as the B.A. degree, it would be perfectly possible to create a theological school which should be wholly undenominational, and might be of the greatest service in softening the asperities which are bred of mutual ignorance and distrust between the Nonconformists and the Church. And this seems to me a most desirable solution. It is true that at Oxford a B.A. degree is now obtainable by passing an examination in theology. But I cannot help feeling that this is an unworthy concession, and just as a scientific man should pass as a Bachelor of Science, so a theologian should pass as a Bachelor of Divinity, leaving the Arts degree to be obtained by those only who have passed that which for the time being represents the standard of the time in the acquisition of liberal Arts.

No one can consider the question of collegiate education in or for

Wales without being at once confronted with the question of Jesus College, Oxford. That is a great and wealthy body which in times past has done as little as it was possible for such an institution to do for the benefit of the country with which it was connected. Narrow traditions, stunted educational work, immense sums expended on the luxurious creature-comforts of a handful of illiterate Welshmen, the most rigid exclusion of any student who was not of the Church of England—all these things have long gone to make Jesus College a kind of byword for inefficiency and waste. That all this is now changed; that for the first time in its modern history it has a reforming Principal, as it has had for fifteen years or more an enlightened body of Fellows; that Nonconformists are freely admitted; and that there has been a marked improvement in the educational work of the College, only increases the difficulty which I feel in saying a word on a very important subject. The devotion of the accumulations of the Meyrick Fund (some £20,000) to purposes of Welsh education, and many useful reforms proposed by the new statutes of the University Commission, render the difficulty greater still. But I am bound to say that I think it would be better, in the interests of Wales and of the College, if nothing else had to be considered, that all the emoluments of the College should be tenable in colleges in Wales, or by Welshmen elsewhere, so that all the exhibitions, scholarships, and fellowships might be of use to the country for whose benefit they were founded. If it should prove that the College held its own,—as it perhaps might notwithstanding this,—it would be shown that it supplied a want, and there would be an end of the question. There would also equally be an end of the question if it did not, because it would be shown that the College was of no real use, that it was only maintained at a loss to the country, and that it would be better (securing, of course, all vested interests) that it should cease to exist as a Welsh college, and that all its emoluments should be distributed among other colleges in Oxford and Cambridge or elsewhere as might be best. The short tenure of fellowships under the proposed new statutes would make any change much easier, because it would no longer be a question of dealing with what was held by some to be a freehold for life, any interference with which was open to the cry of confiscation, always raised when it is sought to make endowments which have become useless do some sort of useful work.

With the B.A., B.D., and B.Sc. degrees to commence with, and a body of at least 400 students, I think the new University Body might be considered to be fairly under way and with every chance of success. But in the improbable case of its failure, I think that full power should be reserved to remit St. David's College, Lampeter, to its former rights; and therefore I should recommend that the charter should be granted for a limited period, and made revocable under certain conditions. I think, too, that for the higher degree of M.A. and the cognate distinction in other branches of knowledge, the new Body should wait for at least

five years, in order that there might be a sufficient accumulation of candidates for the very searching examination which should precede the granting of such degrees. That at the colleges, as at the schools, due provision should be made for evening lectures, is, having regard to the circumstances of many of the young men who are likely to avail themselves of them, absolutely indispensable.

I have said little or nothing about the education of girls, because I have throughout wished it to be understood that whatever is done for boys should, under such modifications in the number and character of the schools as common sense requires, be done for girls also. For the advanced elementary schools girls would of course, as things are, be equally eligible with boys. In other secondary schools, I think, provision should be made for girls wherever it seems to the proper authority, —the Charity Commissioner acting for Wales,—after consulting with the local authorities, that such provision is desirable. That may be provided by the institution of a department for girls in every such secondary school; and considering the age of the children, I cannot for my own part think that there should be any difficulty, looking to the example of the Scotch and American schools, in educating both sexes together, or at any rate in separate rooms in the same building. With regard to first-grade schools I should recommend that, in addition to the Howells Schools at Denbigh and Llandaff, the fine revised foundation at Ashford, which may yet, I hope, be removed to Wales, the excellent school at Dolgelly in North Wales, and the possible high school at Aberystwith, additional schools, possibly at Beaumaris in North Wales, and one at some point in Glamorganshire and another in Monmouthshire, should be established forthwith. To all the privileges, emoluments, and degrees of the schools and colleges girls and young women should be admitted as freely in every respect as young men. The experience of University College, Bristol, as detailed to the Commissioners by its accomplished Principal, shows that with proper care no difficulty whatever exists in educating young men and women together, but rather that they mutually stimulate and encourage each other in their studies. And the example of Girton and Newnham at Cambridge, and the new Oxford Colleges for girls, shows how thoroughly young women enter into the spirit of educational competition with young men. That any new institution, such as it is proposed to found in Wales, should deny to them the certificate of fitness and achievement, so valuable in the profession of teaching, which a degree implies, should be wholly impossible in the present day.

All the details of these matters should be, as the Committee recommend, left to an additional Charity Commissioner for Wales, or, better far, if the Endowed Schools Commission were revived, to an Endowed Schools Commissioner acting for Wales, and possibly, having regard to the recommendations of the Schools Inquiry Commission, not necessarily excluded from Parliament.* Considering the present dead-lock in the education

* See Report of Schools Inquiry Commission, p. 634.

of Wales, and the impossibility of setting in motion a more active and healthy system without making great changes, I think it would be necessary to give such an official for a limited period (say ten years) personal powers considerably in excess of those enjoyed by him or his colleagues in connection with the education of England. He should have for instance—

Power, without the consent of the trustees, to take or apply for educational purposes all useless endowments, of whatever date, in the nature of doles and apprenticeships, or the other endowments specified in the Endowed Schools Act, 1869, sect. 30, saving of course vested interests.

Power to remodel existing governing bodies of schools, and to remove trustees of other endowments who may have grossly neglected their trust.

Power to administer school estates and endowments in so far as may become necessary through the exercise of the foregoing powers.

Power to compel the establishment of advanced elementary schools or branches of schools.

In all cases an appeal should lie from his decision to the Committee of Council. Such an office might, perhaps, expose its holder and his acts to much severe criticism in a country where party spirit undoubtedly runs high. But the fair and equitable reception which has been given by all classes to the proposals of the Committee, leads me to think that any one approaching the task in a true judicial spirit would have little to fear on this head.

To some familiar with the enormous populations which all over the world are governed by Englishmen, it may seem but a small matter to take thought for the advancement of the million and a half or more of people who constitute the population of Wales. But the truth is, that patriotism, like charity, begins at home. It is simply impossible to measure adequately the amount of the loss which England sustains in having in this island a large and increasing population, soon indeed to be numbered by millions, of great aspirations and immense natural gifts, but adding, from causes which may be made to disappear, little or nothing either in the field of pure intellect, or that of administration, to the great sum of English achievement. Such a condition of things is more than a serious loss, it may at any time become a serious danger, of which, indeed, signs are not wanting at this moment. Whoever shall develop the immense fund of wasted natural ability, and direct and satisfy the great thirst for knowledge, which are to be found in the Principality, will in my opinion do a more important work than is often given to a statesman or administrator to perform.

LEWIS MORRIS.

THE OPIUM TRADE AND SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK.

SIR RUTHERFORD ALCOCK has recently come before the world in an attitude which, for a diplomatist, is as rare as it may be on occasion praiseworthy. I understand him, if not very definitely in his paper,* yet certainly in his address at the Society of Arts,† to take up the position of a penitent. He admits that, in a most important matter, which it has been his duty to study for years, he has been for years mistaken in his views, and misleading the public opinion of England. Now, upon fresh information, acquired since his duty to acquire it has ceased, he has completely changed his mind, and he appeals to the public opinion of England to follow him in his right-about-face movement.

The position is remarkable and demands serious attention, for the change comes at a time when the views he formerly held have filtered into every town in the country, and are producing the effects which he formerly would have desired.

The question at issue is the opium trade between India and China—a very old matter, and a very complicated matter, into all the details of which it is quite impossible to enter in an article of this length. With the object, then, of grouping certain important facts, it may be well to recall Sir Rutherford Alcock's own position. For a quarter of a century prior to 1871 he was in a series of responsible official positions in China, and was brought into daily contact with the facts, and he developed opinions which in that year he formulated before a Parliamentary Committee.‡ They were not hastily formed; they coincided in their main conclusions with similar opinions declared in 1857.§

* "Opium and Common Sense," by Sir R. Alcock, *Nineteenth Century*, December, 1881.

† On the 13th of January, 1882.

‡ Select Committee on East India Finance, 1871.

§ See Papers relative to Lord Elgin's Mission of 1857, pp. 55-61.

Upon three points of capital importance they may be briefly stated as follows:—

1. Opium is a dangerous drug, seriously demoralizing and enervating to the population of China—"a source of impoverishment and ruin to families."^{*}

2. The Chinese authorities, who are a paternal government, sincerely desire to check in every way, and, if possible, totally to abolish, the consumption of this seductive drug.[†]

3. They are foiled in their attempts to do so by the action of the British Government, which has forced the trade upon them.[‡]

In 1881, after a lapse of ten years—during which he has not been in China—his opinions have, to state it mildly, become modified, and upon these three points they now stand as follows:—

1. Opium is in no way more injurious than any other narcotic, and is the particular narcotic which is suited to the Chinese, just as tobacco or whisky is preferred by some nations, and hemp by others.

2. The Chinese authorities are grossly hypocritical in their professed desire to put down the consumption; they only wish to exclude foreign opium in order to raise more revenue from the native drug. The British imports to which they really object are not opium but consuls and missionaries.

3. The British Government never has forced the trade upon the Chinese; they were always eager to take more than we could supply. Neither in the Treaty of Nanking nor in that of Tien-tsin is there a single word about opium.

When confronted at the Society of Arts with his former views, he stated that, "in the words of a celebrated statesman, a great deal has happened since that time." He thus founds his change of opinion upon fresh information, acquired since 1871.

It therefore becomes material to inquire what has happened since 1871. No doubt a great deal has happened. What then is it, and does it justify the British nation in doubling after Sir Rutherford Alcock?

But let us pause at the outset to consider the relative importance of the three points raised. For, in a matter of this sort, where fundamental principles and complicated details and far-reaching effects are apt to bewilder, it is above all things essential to endeavour to keep clear what are the main points, what are merely aggravating circumstances, and what are altogether side issues. And this is especially so where strong feelings are concerned,—as here commercial ambition and national pride on the one side, and moral indignation and humanitarian enthusiasm on the other,—and when the worst apple of discord, theological animosity, enters into the consideration. Sir Rutherford Alcock shares with the Chinese, if not their love of opium, at least their dislike of missionaries. And

^{*} Select Committee, 1871, Q. 5738 B.

[†] *Ibid.* Q. 5742, &c.

[‡] *Ibid.* Q. 5740 I.

it may be granted to him, that it would be no wonder that principles should become obscured if it be attempted to regulate the policy of England, neither upon the ground of national interests nor upon the footing of international justice, but upon consideration of its effect in recommending the doctrines of the Christian religion to a people to whom they are wholly distasteful; if the same force which is deprecated in the case of opium be invoked on behalf of theology; and if ironclads be sent into foreign waters with, as it were, a port broadside of Palliser shot, and a starboard broadside of bibles. But it is the duty of men who, like Sir Rutherford Alcock, claim to lead public opinion whithersoever they list, to clear away misconceptions, and not to follow side issues. It is very necessary to insist upon this, because there never was a more extraordinary exhibition than the discrepancy among the speakers at the Society of Arts as to what is the real point at issue. The reader of the address certainly seemed to think that all his three points were very material, and that the question of missions was hardly less so. Sir George Birdwood declared that, in his opinion, the only real point was the relative effect of opium and other stimulants and narcotics upon the nervous system. Lord Aberdare, who occupied the chair, was so diametrically opposed to this idea, that he interfered in the promptest manner, with—"Excuse me, Sir, but that is *not* the point," and refused even to hear the paper. And to Lord Aberdare's mind, the only point worth arguing was whether the Chinese are sincere in their professed desire to put down the trade and the consumption, and whether they have the power to do so if they wish. Mr. Matheson seemed to look at the question mainly from the point of view of the despairing missionary; and even the redoubtable Mr. Richard rather followed the line of Sir George Birdwood than of the chairman, though he took the opposite view. Mr. Maclaren almost alone considered the general question of our right to force trade upon China. Now, how are we to steer through this labyrinth of views?—those of us, that is, who neither are, nor have been, consuls, nor ministers, nor Indian officials, nor China traders, nor missionaries, and have no special interests, nor crotchets, nor hobbies in the matter,—those of us who are plain English citizens, with the duty imposed upon us of trying the issue joined between our Lady the Queen and the people of China,—those of us who believe the commercial greatness of our country to be a legitimate object of pride, provided it be obtained by means consistent with international justice,—those of us who think that the only safe foundation for national interests is their harmony with international morality,—those of us who would gladly see the whole world supplied with English manufactures, provided they be the best and cheapest, and be recommended to the purchaser by their quality and price, and not by force or fraud.

To those among us who approach the question from this standpoint, there arises at the outset one obvious consideration. With all deference to Sir George Birdwood and Lord Aberdare, the first and second points

raised by Sir Rutherford Alcock seem to have very little to do with the matter. If it be true that the trade has been established by smuggling and wars and threats of war,—that we continue the same course of conduct now, or continue to reap the fruits of our former violence,—is it really of importance to us whether the article of commerce be a drug as poisonous as prussic acid, or be a stimulant as harmless as Sauterne or Zoedone? and is it our right or our duty to inquire into the motives of the Chinese in demanding its suppression? These may be aggravating circumstances, very seriously affecting our own reputation and our own professions of sincerity. But as a matter of international injustice, we have no more right to insist upon flooding China with chocolate creams than with piculs of opium. Nor are we in a position to inquire into the motives of the Chinese in desiring to exercise the normal functions of any Government, the right to raise their revenue in their own way, the right to exclude particular articles or all articles from commercial treaties except upon their own terms. This is exactly the right we are insisting upon in our negotiations with France at the present moment. We might then be well content to put these two matters aside altogether, to refuse to discuss them, and to confine our attention to the third point. We should be quite justified in so doing. Nevertheless, it is of no use to shut our eyes to facts and feelings, which do influence public opinion strongly, however wrongly; and if the relative importance of the considerations be duly pointed out, and borne in mind, there is no harm in the discussion. It will be necessary to give a short time to each of the first two points, because they are the two most prominently urged before the nation at the present moment.

And first, with regard to the injurious effect of opium. The attention, which was refused to Sir George Birdwood at the Society of Arts, has been granted in the columns of the *Times*,* and his position may thus be summed up:—"The eating and drinking of opium may be very pernicious, if indulged in to excess; but the smoking is not, and cannot be, otherwise than harmless, because the active principles of opium are non-volatilizable—i.e., not smokeable." In proof of this, he offers, first, the evidence of the Rajputs and other Orientals, who do, in fact, eat and drink opium without indulging to excess, and without injurious results. These statements are not much to the point here, though they would be very cogent if his proposition were exactly the converse. It is smoking that presents itself in China, and on this matter, besides the fact that he and his acquaintances have smoked opium without being demoralized, he has little to offer beyond the evidence which was in our hands before. But being completely possessed with his chemical theory, he insists that wherever a man is ruined by smoking opium, it is not owing to the opium, but to the pre-existing incapacity of his own brain or body. He is either idiotic or cachectic

* *Times*, 6th December, 1861, 20th and 31st January, 1862.

expressing a hope that something will be done, now that the matter is being generally dealt with, to bring all private adventure schools under such inspection as shall offer a guarantee, now sadly wanting, for the nature and quality of their teaching. That this is very necessary in Wales will appear when we recollect that, as against 1,510 boys at grammar schools, 2,496 receive their education at private or proprietary schools, the latter class of schools only contributing 209 to the whole number. To do this comprehensively is, at present, perhaps impossible. But the greatest possible encouragement might be given them to submit themselves to inspection, if a portion of the endowments, in the way of scholarships to be provided for the schools, were thrown open to every private school conducted on purely undenominational principles and under proper regulations, and certified by an inspector to be efficient. I cannot think that the difficulties in the way of such a course would be insurmountable, though that difficulty exists is obvious. But unless it be recognised that new principles must be admitted and new expedients tried, it is useless, in view of the deficiencies and peculiarities of the country, to approach the subject of Welsh education at all.

When the schools are established and at work, what is the likelihood that a people, educated as far as they can carry them, will rest content with the knowledge that they can give, and not ask for more? Happily, not the slightest in the world. Just as the myriads of school-children, now educated up to the point at which ordinary elementary education ends, imperatively call for something more, to meet the wants of the more promising boys and girls, so unquestionably the intermediate schools will turn out a percentage of more highly gifted students, who will find their account in carrying on their education further still, and on the collegiate rather than the scholastic model—the method of teaching by lectures rather than that by lessons. It is perfectly idle to set before young Welsh people, of scanty means and small knowledge of the world outside Wales, the prospect of going to an expensive English university, or even to a Welsh college in Oxford, conducted, indeed, on the model of an English rather than a Welsh institution. That Jesus College, with its immense endowments, has always failed to do anything like adequate service for Wales, is due to the fact that, however good the teaching—and it might, of course, have been much better—whatever the endowments which were forthcoming to maintain the Welsh boy, it would have been a simple act of madness in a struggling Welsh parent, even if he had ever heard of the College, and was sure of a share of its emoluments for his son, to have sent him out of the country to remain until he was twenty-two, and then to come back too late for any useful work in life, except the service of the Church of England, and with a taste for an expensive mode of living which, unless his abilities were of a high order, he could not hope to gratify. The Nonconformist, indeed, did send his son the long and weary journey to Glasgow to get

upon a scale which reduces Sir George Birdwood's plans to pigmy proportions. We have had the consequent demoralization attested by the overwhelming evidence of British and native residents—not missionaries, but Government officials; and we have seen the authorities forced to recede from their position to the extent of closing, peremptorily, nearly two-thirds of the opium shops—forty-one out of sixty-eight—imposing restrictions on the remainder, and raising the price of opium.

So far as this point is concerned, these are the main things that have happened since 1871. The former evidence of the effect upon the Chinese of necessity stands; recent evidence is not materially different: there are still, as there always were, varying opinions as to the value of it; to this is to be added the evidence from British Burmah. If there is other evidence, Sir Rutherford Alcock has certainly not produced it. Therefore, the bulk of the fresh evidence goes to support his old view. On the other side, we have these speculative deductions from chemical analysis, disputed even by chemists, that a drug which, in fact, demoralizes whole populations, is, *a priori*, demonstrated to be not pernicious; that that which destroys, is not destructive; that that which is smoked, is not smokeable; that that which is, is impossible. Is it upon this that he has changed his mind?

Now, on the second point—the sincerity of the Chinese in their attempts to check the consumption—there is undoubtedly fresh evidence, evidence which calls for consideration and which appears to tell against the Chinese. And if Sir Rutherford Alcock and Lord Aberdare can satisfy us of this, then we shall get rid of one, at least, of the set of aggravating circumstances, which has made us more than usually ashamed of the results of our aggressive policy. They will not have touched the main question, but they will have cleared the way for it. The statements range themselves under two heads:—(a) That recent explorations have brought to light the fact, that for centuries there has been, in large tracts of China, unknown to us, an extensive growth and manufacture and smoking of opium, which still continues; (b) That even in parts known to us there has of late been a considerable increase of the area of poppy cultivation. And it is further alleged that the Chinese authorities not only do not prohibit it, but encourage, or at least avail themselves of it, for the purpose of raising more revenue by an additional tax upon land so used.

As for the historical statement, it is in its nature difficult to prove or disprove. What at least is certain is, that the evidence adduced by Sir Rutherford Alcock in support of it is of the vaguest. It consists of three items only. First, in a Chinese herbal, two centuries old, both the plant and the inspissated juice, and the mode of collecting it, are mentioned, "and the inference," he adds, "is clearly that it was well known at this period, and in common use, otherwise than as at medicine." That is a bold inference from a statement in a medical

book. Secondly, in the "General History of the Southern Province of Yunnan" (A.D. 1736), opium is noted as a common product of Yang-Chang-Foo, and Mr. Hobson says truly, "if 134 years ago so much opium was produced as to deserve notice in such a work" (how much is not suggested) "it may well have increased since, and could be no novelty at the beginning of the present century." That is pure guess-work. Thirdly, Imperial edicts and local proclamations against opium supply most indisputable evidence of poppy culture. Possibly, but they do not at all prove the extent of it, nor Imperial connivance at it or encouragement of it. The facts may be correct or incorrect; even if correct, they tell little for or against the sincerity of the Chinese statesmen of this century in their professed desire to discourage it. Lord Aberdare would not like to be told that he was a hypocrite in his licensing legislation and in his expressed desire to discourage drunkenness, because he must have known that during last century dram-drinking was a common Scotch vice. Upon such evidence it is futile to argue. Moreover, it was all known to Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1871.*

The evidence under the second head—the increase in poppy cultivation during the last few years—is much more cogent. Major Mann stated at the Society of Arts, as a fact within his own knowledge, that in a particular district of Manchouria this had taken place to such an extent that British opium had been driven out of the market. Further evidence is given in the published trade reports of our consuls.† It is not easy to form an estimate of the extent; but it may be admitted to be considerable. What, then, is the inference? Is it that the Chinese are hypocrites? Not necessarily, by any means. The Treaty of Tien-tsin informs the Chinese that our religion teaches us Englishmen to do as we would be done by.‡ We are certainly, therefore, not bound to follow Sir Rutherford Alcock in imputing to the Chinese the worst possible motives consistent with one set of facts; if better motives are equally consistent with those facts, and more consistent with others.

Now this increased manufacture of the native drug has been long foretold as the natural result of our own conduct. It was the contemplation of this possibility that has made English statesmen and financiers constantly speak of the precariousness of the revenue from opium.§ Mr. Gladstone, who must at least be admitted to know something of finance, has constantly done so.|| It has for many years been urged that the politicians, at home and in India, who supported this trade, were soiling the reputation of England in vain: that if the Chinese could not get rid of our opium by appeals to our honour, they would do it by affecting our pockets—by underselling us, and so getting control of the trade. According to Major Mann, that is what they are doing.

* Report of Select Committee on East India Finance, 1871, Q. 5855.

† See Parliamentary Papers (C), China, Nos. 3 and 4, 1881.

‡ Article 8.

§ See Sir C. Beadon, Select Committee, 1871, Q. 3334-3354.

|| E.g. in 1880. See Hansard, vol. li.

If so, it is not we who can cast stones at them. It is not only the natural result of our conduct, but even the mode of defeating us they have possibly learned from ourselves. The very worst that can be said of them is that they have become converts to Sir George Campbell:—"If the Chinese must be poisoned by opium, I would rather they were poisoned for the benefit of our Indian subjects than for the benefit of any other exchequer."* That is his view. By the substitution of the word "Chinese" for "Indian" we have the alleged Chinese view.

Nor is it hypocrisy for a Government to endeavour to take control for the purpose of minimizing the evils of a vice it cannot eradicate. We do it ourselves in our own licensing laws. Even Lord Aberdare, again, would not like to be called a hypocrite if a village on his estate were demoralized by a disreputable public-house and he were to set up a decent one in opposition to it. No doubt the policy of eradication is in the grander style, but it is not always possible. We who make it impossible for the Chinese, and never attempt it at home, are hardly justified in exhausting our vocabulary of abuse against others, because they have, under our influence, descended from the high level of their own morality! But, it is said, they must be insincere; they take an additional tax for land used for opium; they make money by it. So do we. That is the process we adopt: and we do not find that the publican looks upon his license, or his beer tax, or his spirit duty, as an encouragement to his trade, but rather the contrary. We might as well expect the enterprising farmer to fall down and worship the extraordinary title.

Therefore, upon the question of the sincerity of the Chinese, we are forced to some such conclusion as this. The evidence from history cannot count in either direction—it is too vague. The increased growth and manufacture of native opium is consistent with either of two explanations of the conduct of the Chinese Government—hypocrisy, or a rational desire to obtain control of the trade. The latter is more consistent with other facts, such as the increased taxation, and the whole course of diplomatic negotiations (of which more hereafter). Even if wanton hypocrisy were the only alternative, we should be the last people in the world who would have any right to complain. Is it upon this, again, that Sir Rutherford Alcock has changed his mind? He had, at any rate, similar facts to communicate in 1871.†

So much then for these minor points—the pernicious effect of opium and the sincerity of the Chinese. It may be well to clear away, at the same time, the side-issue of missions. Now the ordinary English citizen has this main problem before him: how to discharge the plain duties of an Englishman at home and abroad. We have officially informed the Chinese that our guiding principle in the

* Hansard, 1880, vol. li.

† Report of Select Committee, 1871, Q. 5693-5696.

discharge of these duties is, "to do as we would be done by."* The English citizen will not be inclined to dispute that position. It is not a specially Christian principle; it was examined and adopted as a standard of ethics by Westerns like Socrates, and Easterns like Theng-tseu, a disciple and friend of Confucius, some centuries before the birth of Christ. The latter tells us—"Tseu-koussy asked, 'Is there a word in the language which is of itself enough as a guide for our life?' The wise man answered, 'There is the word *chou*, of which the meaning is this: What we would should not be done to us, let us not do to others.'"[†]

Our attitude towards the Chinese religion should be then to respect it, if we cannot understand it; to do our best to understand it if we can; and to modify it (if that be our desire) by discussion within the limits of place and time and manner allowed by the Chinese themselves. We should not wish to prevent missionaries from preaching their doctrines in a more heroic way, if only they will do it at their own risk, and abandon appeals to the "civis Romanus" theory. Let them not involve in crusades other English citizens, who are willing to be just to the Chinese, and to take Confucius and tea in exchange for Shakespeare and cotton. Of course we are Englishmen, and our national pride is over-apt to get excited if Englishmen are killed anywhere, even though they have brought their fate upon themselves by insolence and narrow-mindedness and wrong. True, the better part of the missionaries have learned wisdom from experience, and no longer invoke the aid of Armstrong in the propagation of the gospel of peace. But to this day they found too largely their anti-opium appeals not upon the broad ground of justice, but upon the hindrance thrown by the trade in the way of Chinese acceptance of the faith. Upon the general morality of our commercial policy (of which the opium trade is only a particular illustration) they have little or nothing to say. If we would do as we would be done by, we must take our stand upon firmer ground. At this very moment Americans are sending to Ireland missionaries of certain doctrines which some of us call public plunder, others treason, others rank socialism; but which they themselves call Irish nationality. We clap them into prison without trial and without ceremony, because we profess to think that these doctrines are, under present circumstances, liable to lead to disturbance and breach of the peace—the very ground upon which the Chinese object to Christian missionaries. We may differ among ourselves as to the wisdom of this course, but we should not tolerate armed interference from the United States on their behalf; nor consent to pay indemnities and grant commercial concessions for their detention. But could we find words to express our sense of the topsy-turvyness of the Irish-American character, if these missionaries were to appeal to their Government to regulate the commercial treaties of England and the States upon a different footing, alleging that the

* Treaty of Tien-tsin, Article 8.

† "Quatre Livres sacrés de la Chine," pp. 122, 123.

native Irish will not take kindly to socialism or nationality so long as their country is flooded, to the ruin of their agriculture, with cheap corn from America? Something very like that is the claim too often put forward on behalf of the English missionary in China; and the ordinary English citizen can really have nothing to do with it. Nor would the ordinary German citizen consent to regulate his commercial intercourse with any other country upon a speculation of its effect in inducing the foreigner to take kindly to that glory of the Fatherland, the philosophy of Hegel. This line of advocacy may be absolutely repudiated without committing any one to support the policy opposed. Sir Rutherford Alcock seems not to have learned the lesson that the surest way of playing into the hands of fanatics is to adopt a lower moral standard than theirs, and to jeer at them for having a higher. It is necessary to say so much merely in order to show that the argument for or against the success of the missionaries and their work is, from the point of view of national interests or international justice, an absolutely irrelevant side issue.

Let us now turn to the main point in dispute,—Sir Rutherford Alcock's third point of departure in his revolt from his former self,—namely, that England has never forced the opium trade upon China. It is, of course, impossible to rewrite here the history of British commerce with China, even in outline. Happily there is no need. It has not been possible to live it over again. The facts are there in contemporary documents, and they have not been altered since 1871; nor has any fresh light been thrown upon them by this apostle of tergiversation, who does not seem even now to deny (what is really the important matter) that our trade generally has been forced upon China, though he makes an exception in favour of opium.

It would, of course, be quite futile for him to support such a thesis upon the question of our general trade. From the time of Lord Napier, when the movement took head, to the time of Lord Elgin, who completed it, this was avowed. Here are Lord Napier's words: "Her Majesty's Government should consult immediately on the best plan for *commanding* a commercial treaty. Say to the Emperor, 'Adopt this or abide the consequences,' and it is done. Now abiding the consequences immediately presupposes all the horrors of a bloody war against a defenceless people."* This advice was rejected for the time by the Duke of Wellington, who was old-fashioned enough to have a belief in justice in these matters. "It is not by force and violence," he said, "that his Majesty intends to establish commercial intercourse between his subjects and China, but by the conciliatory measures so strongly inculcated in all the instructions you have received."

At that time, then, it was proposed as a policy of force, and rejected as a policy of force. But only six years afterwards it was in the same way proposed and adopted, and, unfortunately for Sir Rutherford

* Parliamentary Papers on China, 1840.

Alcock's new position, the first commercial treaty was extorted by the "opium war." It is not possible to repeat the facts; they are well known. Different opinions may be formed upon them; but there has been, in fact, no difference of opinion upon this, that the Treaty of Nanking, our first commercial treaty with China, was extorted by force of arms after a war which was commenced to avenge the detention by the Chinese authorities of certain Englishmen until they would consent to surrender a quantity of smuggled opium, which had no right to be where it was, within the port of Canton. So much Mr. Cobden admitted with shame; so much Lord Palmerston paraded with pride.

It may be granted that nothing is said about opium in the treaty of Nanking itself, nor in the tariff regulations which followed. For fifteen years after the date of the Treaty (1842) the trade in opium, increasing at the rate of 10,000 chests in every ten years, was to be carried on as an illicit and smuggling trade. It is none the less the fact that the smuggling was connived at and supported by the British authorities, that they made periodical reports on the state of the trade, that licenses were granted to pirates and smugglers to sail under the British flag, and that they were supported in their conflicts with the lawful authorities of China by the naval forces of the Queen.* Neither can it be denied that this practice led, as might have been expected, to the China war of 1857. The story of the pirate ship, *The Arrow*—how she was sailing under the British flag when she had no right to do so;† how she dishonoured that flag by smuggling; how she was detected by the Chinese; how she was lawfully and rightfully seized and a portion of her crew detained for piracy; how Sir John Bowring demanded an apology, which was refused; how we thereupon went to war with China to avenge this imagined insult; how we succeeded, and insisted upon the execution of the Treaty of Tien-tsin, in which we formally declared that the Christian religion taught us to do as we would be done by, and in which we insisted upon a revision of the commercial tariff; how, under that provision, a new tariff was drawn up, in which the importation of opium was to be allowed, subject only to a low duty (about one-fortieth part of the rate imposed by ourselves in India)—all this is too well known to need repetition in detail. It is asserted that the legalization of the trade in opium was suggested by the Chinese. It is not worth while to discuss whether this were so. Three things are quite clear:—(1) The suggestion would never have been made by the Chinese but for the war and the defeat; (2) Lord Elgin went out with definite instructions to secure the concession; (3) Between the date of the Treaty (26th June, 1858) and the date of the tariff regulations (8th November, 1858), an Act of Parliament received the royal assent (2nd August, 1858) by which the

* Papers Relating to Naval Forces at Canton, p. 10. Parliamentary Papers, 1857.

† despatch from the Governor of Hong Kong, printed July, 1862.

British Government was taking over the direct administration of India. If the trade had not then been legalized, the British Government would thenceforward have been forced to engage in open and direct smuggling, unless it were prepared, as it was not prepared, to abandon the manufacture and sale of opium. All this is clear. No fresh light has been thrown upon these transactions since 1871. Why then has Sir Rutherford Alcock changed his mind? Why does he now say that we never forced that trade upon China?

The history of the last ten years, moreover, has not been without its bearing on this question. We have had another convention with China, the Chefoo Convention, also obtained not by actual war but by threats of war. The negotiations were conducted by Sir Thomas Wade, who gives the following account of the means he used to enforce the signing of the convention:—

"If my propositions were acceded to, I would telegraph that with the exception of the indemnity the Yun Nan affair was settled. If they were rejected, the note already written and read, though not forwarded, on the 29th of May, in which the production of the ex governor Tsên and those with him was demanded, would be presented, and if this demand were then refused, I would withdraw the Legation, and would recommend Her Majesty's Government, as in 1860, to demand reparation."*

The starting-point of these negotiations was also the avenging of an insult—namely, the murder of Mr. Margary on a tour of exploration in the most disturbed provinces of Western China. It is worth while to recall this fact in order to remind ourselves that the Chefoo Convention was one inaugurated upon our initiative, and upon which we insisted. Its provisions are threefold:† first, the settlement of the Yunnan affair by a full apology and a special mission to London; a full indemnity to the families of Mr. Margary and others, and for the expenses occasioned, and for outstanding claims of British merchants; and, further, the regulation of trade on the Burmese frontier: secondly, concessions by the Chinese in the matter of official intercourse, into which it is not here necessary to enter, but which were considered of capital importance by Sir Thomas Wade: thirdly, trade concessions by the opening of four fresh ports to British trade and British consuls, namely, I-chang, Wu-hu, Wen-chow, and Pak-hoi, with other supplementary concessions. In return for this a disputed question about the area of exemption of foreign produce from *Li-kin*, or local transit rates, was to be settled, and opium was made the subject of a special arrangement by which it was to be deposited in bonded warehouses, liable both to a tariff duty and to the *Li-kin* of the port to be collected by the customs, while the provincial governments were left free to decide the amount of *Li-kin* to be collected upon its transit through their jurisdictions. Further, a decree declaring the effect of the treaty was to be posted all over China, and the right was conceded to send British officers for two

* Parliamentary Papers, 1877, vol. lxxxviii. p. 129

† See the Convention. Parliamentary Papers, 1877, vol. lxxxviii. p. 64.

years into every part of the provinces to see that the proclamation was so posted. This convention was signed on the 13th of September, 1876. Before the end of March, 1877,—that is to say, within six months after the conclusion of the convention,—the Chinese had carried out in detail all that was required of them by the convention. The apology was sent, the indemnity paid, the formulas of official intercourse were improved, the four ports were opened to our trade, the supplementary concessions were carried out, and by July of that year Sir Thomas Wade was in London.* Nearly six years have now elapsed since the date of the convention, yet neither of the stipulations to which we consented, and which were in great measure the consideration for the Chinese concessions, has been carried into effect. Our Government has refused to ratify so much of the convention as imposes obligations on itself, while it has rigidly enforced all that imposes obligations on the Chinese.

The responsibility rests upon the heads of the Foreign Office, the India Office, and the Government of India, in two successive Governments; yet no rational explanation is forthcoming from any one of them. So far as the official explanation is to be gathered from the Parliamentary Debate in 1880,† it is something of this sort. With all this array of nobility and talent to help them, the Government cannot quite understand the effect of the clause their authorized representative has agreed to: they are afraid that if they give the Chinese the power to regulate the customs duties on opium, the Chinese will use the power; and, further, the negotiations backwards and forwards between the Foreign Office and China, and the India Office and India, all take time: the matter is very important, and must be fully discussed: they are doing all they can as rapidly as they can: but do what they may, they cannot quite understand it. And so the matter rests. Well, the ordinary English citizen, who is invited to stand aghast at the insincerity of the Chinese, is much puzzled at all this. And his bewilderment is not diminished when he finds that, in 1879 and before the end of January, 1880, all these points had not only been raised at home, but discussed between Sir Thomas Wade (who was again at his post) and the Prince of Kung; and that the Chinese had undertaken, in order to facilitate matters, not to raise the *Li-kin* at the ports for five years, and not to erect fresh transit barriers; and that Sir Thomas Wade had not hesitated to accept this undertaking, and to impress upon the Marquis of Salisbury the duty of carrying out the convention upon these terms. But we are apparently no nearer doing so than we were in 1877. All we do is to jog comfortably along, and chuckle over the insincerity of the Chinese. Five and a half years is a long time to take in arriving at the meaning of six lines of tolerably plain English, even for noble lords who were educated before the establishment of school boards. During

* See his Report. Parliamentary Papers, China, No 3, 1877, p. 111.

† Hansard, vol. li.

‡ See Parliamentary Papers on China, 1880, vol. lxxviii pp. 11, 12.

this period we have not been altogether inactive: we have managed to understand all the rest of the agreement—all that affected the other side—and we have done something in the way of seeing that it was carried out. Emissaries were sent out from all our consular stations to see that the proclamation was posted in the remote towns and villages of the provinces. They travelled in every direction; they were everywhere courteously treated; and their reports are altogether satisfactory. Without the help of railways, or steam printing, or telegraphic communication, the work had been done. In some few instances there had been opposition from local feeling, as at Hankow; and here and there the authorities had been remiss. But our agents took prompt action in bringing them to reason.* Here is an instance from the report of Mr. Phillips, dated the 31st January, 1877:—"We left Huigan at eight o'clock, and saw proclamations well posted up along the road, except at Lo-Yang. . . . I learnt that the Tepao had received a copy, which he had not posted up. I sent in search for that officer, and made him produce the copy . . . and put it up on a board at the end of Lo-Yang bridge, immediately opposite the landing-place of the port."† It may be worth while to quote this sentence also, from the report of Mr. Warner:—"I arrived at Ning-po . . . after an absence of thirty-seven days, during which time I travelled close upon 900 miles, and found that wherever I went the Yunnan proclamation had been carefully posted in all towns, large villages, and public thoroughfares."‡

Nor had we been altogether inactive at home. We appointed consuls to all the newly opened ports, from whom we received annual accounts of a rapidly increasing and flourishing trade. At I-chang, the foreign imports, which in 1878 were of the value of rather over 19,000 taels, had risen in 1880 to over 1,000,000 (equal to something under £300,000). At Pak-hoi, in 1880, the value of the foreign imports was £342,498 (of which nearly one-half was opium). At Wen-chow the foreign imports rose from about £90,000 in 1879 to over £120,000 in 1880. And at Wu-hu the value of foreign imports was in 1880 nearly £700,000, of which over £500,000 was opium.§ Thus a foreign import trade to the extent of about one and a half million pounds sterling (mostly British) was carried on with ports for the opening of which we have not yet paid the stipulated price. And this trade is annually increasing in rapid strides. Might not a little of the energy involved be devoted to assisting our responsible Ministers in the understanding of that unfortunate clause? Can it be that they will not understand? Can it be that they are bearing in mind the story of Ah Sin, "that heathen Chinese," who worsted Bill Nye at euchre? Can it be that they are bent upon "avenging the insult" of that defeat by a dexterous manipulation of this "clause they do not understand?" The ordinary English citizen

* Parliamentary Papers, 1877, vol. lxxxviii., China, No. 3, pp. 97-111.

† *Ibid.*, p. 109.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

§ Parliamentary Papers, China, Nos. 3 and 4, 1881.

would fain hope that they are not, but he feels that the countrymen of Ah Sin are shrugging their shoulders at his expense, and, having taken Shakespeare in exchange for Confucius, are very probably exclaiming—

"Not sincere !
We thank thee, Bruce, for teaching us that word."

Now in all this history, what is there to justify Sir Rutherford Alcock's change of front since 1871, upon the ground that "a great deal has happened since that time?" Nothing at all, upon any one of his three points. On the first point, we have had, since 1871, only inconclusive argumentation on the one side, against a powerful combination of facts on the other. On the second point, the facts, as far as they are established, are quite consistent with a rational and intelligible, but less heroic, policy on the part of China, such as we ourselves always adopt, and such as we always foresaw that they would adopt. On the third point, there is no new evidence upon the old facts, and the later history conclusively shows that we have still threatened force, but have preferred to take refuge in something uncommonly like fraud.

Again we must ask, why has Sir Rutherford Alcock changed his mind? Perhaps we may never know. But for his own sake and in the public interest we may fairly appeal to him to explain some coincidences which may be trifling or may be important. It has recently come to light that during most of the time that the Chefoo Convention has been under consideration, negotiations have also been going on for the sanction of the British Government to the grant of a charter to a British company for the government and exploitation of North Borneo.* That charter has at length been secured, the grantee of the concessions from the potentates of North Borneo being a member of the well-known Oriental firm of Dent,—that is to say, a firm which persistently traded in opium even in the smuggling times,† and thus had a large share in committing England to the first war with China. Of that company, under such auspices, Sir Rutherford Alcock is to be a director, and possibly to exercise sovereignty with the title of Maharajah! And at the very moment when that charter is granted Sir Rutherford Alcock appears before the world as the uncompromising advocate of the trade in opium, which ten years before he unsparingly criticized.‡

* See *London Gazette* of 8th November, 1881.

† See evidence of Mr. Robert Inglis a partner in Dent's, in the minutes of evidence before the Select Committee of 1840, pp. 1-60 of their Report.

‡ Here are some of the principal dates:—

Dec. 20, 1877. Three grants from the Sultan of Brunei to Alfred Dent and another.

Jan. 22, 1878. Concessions from the Sultan of Sooloo to Alfred Dent and another.

Jan. 31, 1880. Urgent representation from Sir Thomas Wade to the Marquis of Salisbury to ratify the Chefoo Convention.

(? date) Formation of a Permanent Association to form a company to take the concessions.

(? date) Petition for a charter.

Nov. 7, 1881. Grant of a charter.

Nov. 8, 1881. Publication of the charter in the *Gazette*.

Dec. 1, 1881. Sir Rutherford Alcock's article.

Will he then candidly explain what are the objects of this company? Do they include a traffic in opium? If so, is it intended to take advantage of the possible withdrawal of the Indian supply of opium under the pressure of English public opinion to procure a supply from Borneo, and to keep the profits of the trade in English pockets? or is it rather to supply a fresh market for Indian opium, if the Chinese market should fail? This at least is certain, that the company has taken care to secure the right to a *monopoly in opium*; and if it is intended to use it for the China trade, it will be of capital importance to secure the rejection of the Chefoo Convention, which may ultimately enable the Chinese to put a heavy duty upon foreign opium. Now we find Sir Rutherford Alcock, in his article, declaring, with reference to that convention, that the case of the Chinese "is too hopeless for further argument, and in no court of equity could such a plaintiff escape being non-suited by a judge or jury of honest men!" Is this a second Daniel come to judgment? or is it the extravagant statement of a man whose mind is biassed? Let us hope, at least, that all these are undesigned coincidences, which can be cleared away. But we are entitled to know. It is not a matter of private interest merely for Sir Rutherford Alcock and the Messrs. Dent. The honour of England is involved, and that is a matter which concerns the ordinary English citizen more nearly than the insincerity of the Chinese, or the chemical analysis of opium.

Even without this additional fear upon us, the honour of England is seriously involved. If the Chefoo Convention be not ratified, the reputation for international honesty of both political parties in England will be irretrievably damaged. It may possibly be too late soon, and we may be dragged into another unrighteous war. The duty rests mainly upon Her Majesty's Government; but no elector in the kingdom can escape his share of the responsibility. If it is not discharged he can but look back upon the past with shame and regret. For the time must come when these generations of Englishmen will stand at the bar of history, before the judgment-seat of humanity, to justify their conduct to the world. What will avail then all this hair-splitting and vapour and froth? Who will be their advocate, and how will he prevail?

Will it be Sir George Birdwood, with a hundred pages of chemical analysis in manuscript tending to prove that opium is "non-volatilizable, i.e., not smokeable." Surely he will be brushed aside as brusquely as he was at the Society of Arts, and in the same words, "Sir, that is not the point."

Will it be Lord Aberdare, with his fixed idea that the Chinese are not sincere? Surely he too will meet with the same sentence, but with this addition, "You and your countrymen have played the Mephistopheles, and may not turn round upon the Faust."

Will it be Sir Charles Dilke and Lord Hartington and the other noble lords, the Secretaries for Foreign Affairs and for India, and the Governors-General of India? Will they venture to plead their slow understand-

ings and the tedious difficulty of communication? If so will they submit to answer how long it took to understand the Treaty of San Stefano, what time sufficed to order the invasion of Afghanistan, what period was required to understand in India the results of the general election of 1880, how soon was it possible to remit £1,000 towards the expenses of the North Yorkshire election of 1882? If so they must inevitably break down, and be told that, with such advocates, "in no court of equity could a plaintiff escape being non-suited by a judge or jury of honest men."

Or will it be Sir Rutherford Alcock himself, in the Oriental costume of a Maharajah with a dozen charts and a long wand, and his four pleas—that opium is delightful, that the Chinese are not sincere, that no force was used, and that a great deal happened after 1871? He surely can meet with only one reception, which may be summed up in the Homeric line,

ὁ βέλτερος δ' ἄρ' ἀνὴρ το γέλως μακρότερος ἐθέλει.

Or, lastly, will it be a more venerable figure than all these, with eager eyes and long grey hair, grown grey in the service of his country, and with the reputation of a champion of justice and liberty in every country but Ireland? And if so, what will be his plea? It may be of this nature: that his work was hard and his hands were full; that his opponents were many and fierce, and hampered him in all his ways; that his friends, though many, were not at one and could not be trusted to support him; that vested interests were hostile and uncompromising, and that time and toil were wasted in vain; that he had done what he could in his youth by opposing the war of 1840, and in his old age by emphasizing the necessity of a change; but was too much occupied with Parliamentary procedure and tenants-in-tail, and in keeping Irishmen in prison, to face this difficult question of the opium trade, and the reorganization of the finances of India;—it was not for want of sympathy.

Such a plea at least will be heard with respect and will be vouchsafed a serious reply. True, you had much to do, and much of it you did well; and no man may take upon himself the burden of the whole world. Still, much of your work was self-selected: you were an Englishman, and this blot upon your national fame affected you and your country more directly than the misgovernment of Bulgaria or the extension of the kingdom of Greece. This was not only a moral but a financial question of such magnitude that few but you could solve it. It was especially incumbent upon you to solve it, because the position was the outgrowth of the blunders of the Liberal party. In 1840, and again in 1857, it was a Liberal Government which undertook an unjust war for mean commercial ends. At the time when that Liberal party nailed to the mast the flag of international justice and morality, its very first task should have been to cast out its own devils. Was it wise, then, for a statesman to have given months of energy to a mediæval demonstra-

tion of the divine right of Anglicanism and the diabolical wrong of Vaticanism? or years of eloquence to urge into a crusade against Mahomedanism the evil passions of a neighbouring nation which afterwards vented them upon itself? It was all very well for your betitled officials to invent specious excuses and to take refuge in the law's delays. *C'est leur métier!* But with you was real power and real responsibility. These helpless Chinese deserved your consideration; they never obstructed your Parliamentary machine by a single dilatory motion. They never had the power to speak for themselves—they were delivered body and soul into your hands. Yet nothing was done. Why did you not at least carry out what your harassing opponents had initiated, what your own representative recommended? Why did you not ratify the Chefoo convention? You saw an upright public servant struggling for justice against heavy odds and an ignoble band of opponents; and, un-Hectorlike, you let him fall.

To that reply can any rejoinder be framed? Not now, but there yet may be. There is time, before that trumpet's silver sound is still, to awaken the echoes of English enthusiasm on behalf of justice to China. But, unless this be done and done quickly, that reverend court of the future must put aside the consideration of good intentions, of services well rendered and still better attempted, of a long laborious life. Upon this question at least it must find a verdict according to the evidence; and its judgment will be a sentence of condemnation.

B. FOSSETT LOCK.

EMIGRATION FROM IRELAND.

THE public mind in regard to Ireland has for some months been so entirely absorbed in questions affecting the suppression of crime and disorder on the one hand, and the action of the Land Courts as affecting landlord and tenant on the other, that there has been no chance of a hearing for any suggestions or plans in reference to other remedies which the Land Act sought to apply for the amelioration or permanent improvement of the condition of the Irish people. No doubt, questions affecting the relations of the cultivator to the soil in a country in which four-fifths of the population are engaged in or dependent on agriculture must have a paramount claim to attention. It does not follow, however, that the other remedies, small as they may appear relatively to the chief one, ought to be overlooked. Even outside the Land Act there are, as it seems to me, other and quite legitimate ways in which the Government might—nay, must at some not far distant day—seek to mitigate the present evils.

Foremost among these I should place the formation in the West Coast districts of light Railways or Steam Tramways in connection with the greater lines running from the East to the West of the island. Those who have travelled much in the West of Ireland know from experience how great an expense of time and how much bodily fatigue has to be undergone by any one who would really see the country. A journey of thirty or sixty miles a day for a fortnight or three weeks on an outside car, as is often needful, is, in fact, a greater strain upon the system than a journey from England to Manitoba. Still more serious is the absence of ordinary facilities of communication for those who may unhappily be called upon to administer justice, or form part of a flying squadron. But even these evils, being occasional, are not so serious as the economic injury permanently

sustained by the population owing to their great distance from markets, and the consequent loss both in time and in value of produce.

Thus I have known poultry eaten as the cheapest *animal* food for the poor, and turbot as the cheapest fish, while eggs were selling at the rate of 8*d.* or 10*d.* per score, in the depth of winter, in the north-west counties, though worth 1½*d.* and 2*d.* each in Dublin or Liverpool. More than half of the population of Donegal, Mayo, Galway, and other districts, are practically out of reach of any railways for their produce, being at distances of from 20 to 50 miles from the nearest station.

How inadequately many counties are provided with means of communication may be shown by stating that in the county of Galway, which is as large as Devonshire, 84 by 62 miles in length and breadth, there are only 82 miles of railway, and in Mayo—a county of the size of Norfolk—not more than 70.

The importance of promoting the planting of timber ought also to be carefully noted. Loans at a low rate to proprietors for this purpose would be of great service. The needful drainage of the land and planting and fencing of young plantations would employ a large amount of labour, and gradually the supply of timber would prove a source of great wealth to the remote hilly districts where little else than heather now grows, and in which, whenever the bog is cut, the trunks of trees of former generations may be seen.

But great as are the benefits likely to result both from increased facilities for transit and from the planting of timber, they can only be very gradually realized, and, so far as the formation of railways is concerned, can only supply labour in certain localities and for a limited time.

The question of paramount importance at the present moment is that of *Emigration*—a question dealt with indeed, but most imperfectly, by the Land Act.

Looking at the extreme impoverishment of certain districts, especially those on the West coast, it has again and again been pointed out that the condition of a population attempting to obtain a livelihood upon very small holdings of land is such that neither ownership nor non-payment of rent would help them. The normal state of a population living with their cows and pigs, or horses and asses, is so deplorable that it is impossible to allow them to remain as they are—always on the verge of destitution, and in bad seasons in an actual state of starvation.

Writing on this subject when visiting Ireland in the winter of 1880, I remarked: “In connection with this part of the subject it is of the utmost importance to recognize the fact that farms under ten, fifteen, or twenty acres, according to their quality, are too small to support a family. It matters not whether a tenant has fixity of tenure or, being a peasant proprietor, has no rent to pay; he cannot, unless he has some other source of income, live and bring up a family on a small farm under

* “Irish Distress and its Remedies,” p. 91, 5th edition. London: Ridgway.

ten or fifteen acres, such as form so large a proportion of the holdings in the West of Ireland."

It was clearly seen by many of those who are the true friends of Ireland and supported the passing of the Land Act, that it could not materially help the very large number of families who are thus attempting the impossible, and whose existence creates the ever-recurring cry of distress or famine, and its consequent discontent and crime.

How very large is the number of such families is shown by a reference to the "Returns of Agricultural Holdings for Ireland" for 1880, compiled by the Local Government Board. From these we find that there were in the whole of Ireland 660,000 holdings. Of these, in round numbers, one-third, or 218,200, were valued at £4 and under, whilst 196,000, or nearly another third, were valued under £10 and above £4. So that 415,000, or very nearly two-thirds of the whole agricultural holdings in Ireland, are under £10 a year in valuation, though by no means in rent.

That a *rental* of £1 per Irish acre for arable or for pasture land would not be an excessive estimate for the whole of Ireland may, I think, be accepted; but the Poor Law or Griffith's valuation is usually 25 to 50 or 100 or more per cent. below the actual rent; and it would be very misleading to speak of 415,000 holdings at or under £10 valuation, as only representing a similar number of acres. Reference to other Tables of Statistics (Ireland) shows that there are in Ireland 280,500 holdings of not more than 15 acres in extent; and we believe it would not be an over-estimate to place the number of occupiers of land, who are without other means of living than holdings of from 1 to 10 acres chiefly of poor bog land, at 200,000, representing one million persons at least.

We know also that at least one million persons were assisted during the period of sharp suffering in 1880.

But it is when we examine into the figures relating to the Western counties that their extreme poverty becomes really apparent. If we take five counties bordering on the Atlantic—Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Clare, and Kerry,—and look at the relative size of the holdings in these counties, as shown in the table on p. 697, and bear in mind also the opinion, strongly endorsed by the Roman Catholic Bishops and clergy, as well as by persons engaged in agriculture, that the holder of less than 15 acres cannot maintain a family in any degree of comfort, we cannot feel surprised that these counties furnished the largest number of applicants for assistance, and are now steeped in debt and imperatively call for aid for Emigration.

These figures show that a population of little over a million is living upon 158,000 holdings, of which no less than 77,200, or nearly one half, are rated under £4; whilst 47,800, or nearly another one-third of the whole, are rated at £10 and under—making together 125,000, or four-fifths of the whole number.

It may, I think, be safely estimated that a very large proportion of the occupants of the 77,200 holdings rated under £4 in the five

Counties	Population.	No. of Holdings.	40 and under	£10 and under	Over £10	Total Acres under Tillage.	Acres Meadow and lower, cultivated	1881. Total Average	Of which under Oats.	Under Potatoes	Other Crops.
Donegal	205,000	38,000	21,300	10,500	6,200	177,000	54,000	231,000	94,000	48,000	34,400
Mayo	243,000	30,200	24,700	12,800	4,700	136,500	42,500	179,000	62,800	56,700	17,000
Galway	241,000	30,000	20,000	11,500	7,500	138,700	85,000	224,200	64,300	60,500	34,000
Clare	141,000	19,000	5,000	6,700	7,600	57,000	84,000	141,000	16,500	25,800	14,700
Kerry	200,000	22,000	8,000	6,300	7,400	75,300	90,000	165,600	27,500	31,100	16,400
	1,030,000	158,400	77,200	47,800	32,400	584,700	866,000	940,700	255,100	212,700	116,500

Divide the total Acreage under Tillage by the total number of Holdings in each County and the following are the results :—

In Donegal	47 acres per Holding under Tillage	Of which 25 acres are Oats	1-2% Potatoes and 94 in other cereals
Mayo	35	16	44
Galway	31	14	84
Clare	28	825	75
Kerry	356	12	76

counties belong to the class alluded to as living in debt, filth, and wretchedness.

Look also at the facts as disclosed in the three following Unions:—

In the Clifden Union (co. Galway) there are 4,027 holdings, of which 3,246 are rated under £4, and the total acres under tillage do not exceed 10,600—of which 4,900 are under potatoes and other root crops, and 3,100 are under oats and rye, and the remainder in grass, clover, &c.

In the Belmullet Union (co. Mayo) there are 3,500 holdings, of which 3,068 are rated under £4, and the total acres under tillage do not exceed 9,500 acres, of which 4,000 are in potatoes, and 4,600 in oats, rye, &c.

In Glenties Union (co. Donegal) there are 7,055 holdings, of which 5,577 are rated under £4, and the total acreage under tillage does not exceed 17,200, of which 9,600 are in potatoes, &c., and 7,600 in oats, &c.

Through the kindness of my friend, Mr. H. A. Robinson, of Westport, the Local Government Inspector for the counties of Mayo and Galway, I am able to present returns of the actual condition of the tenants in three townlands in Mayo, which he has selected as fairly representing "thousands of families similarly situated throughout these counties." (See p. 699.)

From these figures it will be seen that in each case the total value of the saleable stock upon the townlands hardly equals the total indebtedness.

What a picture of destitution is here exhibited! Surely this is a condition of society which no statesman ought to ignore; which no moralist or political economist can contemplate without alarm, no philanthropist without seeking to remedy or alleviate it.

It would be misleading in the extreme to suggest or infer that people so steeped in debt represent the average condition of Ireland, or that there are not, even in the midst of this destitution, larger and better farms and well-to-do tenants; but the fact no less remains that there are thousands of other families equally impecunious, equally impoverished, and, if evicted from their homes, equally without any resource or hope of shelter or support other than that which the dreaded workhouse offers.

If further evidence be needed, it can readily be obtained. The Local Government officials could at once, if required, furnish volumes of evidence similar to that already given. But I believe it will almost universally be admitted that it is not evidence, so much as an evident course of action, that is needed at this juncture.

It may well be asked, Does the Land Act apply any remedy which will, however slowly, raise the condition of these people? Will reduction of rent, or fixity of tenure, or facilities for purchase, or the loan clause, be of avail to convert a miserable and destitute population—some say the most miserable and destitute population on the face of the earth—into a prosperous and contented one?

But granted for a moment that these clauses might ultimately operate

No. of Holdings.	Total number of Persons.	Total Average.	Valuation for Poor Law (Griffiths).	Actual Rental.	Rent owing, average 3½ years.	Debt to Shop.	Total Indebtedness.	Total Barrels of Potatoes.	Total Stock of Cattle.	Cows and Calves.	Pigs.	Sheep.	Horses.	Asses.	Total Value of Assets.
Some Estate.		s. p.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s.	£ s.	£ s.								
1 Townland . 25	157	57 2 2	20 5 8	85 8	333 15	372	705 15	68 Barrels = 34 Tons.	10½ atks.	33	14	92	1	8	
2 Townland . 29	146	63 2	33 0	82 18	236 0	179	414 0	153 " = 76 "	45 "	77	38	54	1	3	
Together . 54	303	120 -	79 5	168 6	569 15	550	1119 15	221 Barrels = 110 Tons 24 4 p. Barrel.	64½ atks. very small	110	52	76	2	11	Estimated Value £1,100
3 Townland . 34	210	238 - much bog land	£ s. d. 16 5 79 6 8	£ s. d. 158 15 2 yrs	£ s. 257	£ s. 415 15	£ s. 415 15	25½ Acres Potatoes.	203 Acres Data.	43	2	4	-	-	From £400 to £500

for the benefit of the people, it is at the outset incumbent upon us to ask, How can the $3\frac{1}{2}$ years of arrears of rent, and the incubus of debt which has been shown to exist, be cleared off?

The Arrears clause of the Land Act enacted that tenants wishing to apply for its benefits should pay or settle with the landlord for the year prior to the passing of the Act, and then that the landlord and tenant might jointly apply for a loan not exceeding one year's rent, to be repaid over a term of years, all other arrears being swept away. But this clause was in force for six months only, and has now most unfortunately expired. The re-enactment of the Arrears clause seems to me essential, but it must also be made wider in its scope before either landlords or tenants can avail themselves of it as freely as is needed.

On referring to the figures in the foregoing tables, we shall notice a remarkable similarity in the condition of the three counties of Donegal, Mayo, and Galway, Donegal being the best, relatively, both as regards acreage under cultivation and the proportion per acre to the population. Indeed, no one who is acquainted with the eastern half of Donegal—from Letterkenny to Stranorlar or Londonderry, for example—will have failed to notice the contrast with the western half. Just as, broadly, we may divide Ireland into east and west, for comfort or misery, so it is with Donegal. This of course makes the average size of the holdings in the western half even smaller. And it would not, I think, be unfair to estimate the 6,200 holdings in Donegal above £10 valuation at an average of 20 acres per holding. This would take 124,000 acres out of the total of 231,000 under cultivation, leaving 107,000 acres for the remaining 31,800 holdings, varying from £1 to £10 valuation; or, in other words, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres per holding. Applying the same rule to Mayo, we should have an average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres, and in Galway of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres per holding under tillage.

Small as these quantities may appear, it will be seen on reference to the instances previously given, taken from actual estates, that in one case 25 families were endeavouring to live on a total of 68 acres of tillage, or $2\frac{2}{3}$ acres only in each holding; and in another instance 29 families had 63 acres, or about $2\frac{1}{3}$ each; and in the others, although the acreage is so much greater, owing to a large quantity of bog land being included, the amount of land *cultivated* was not larger.

What, then, is the remedy? For a people so deeply indebted as the majority of this poor class of tenants are, the purchase of their holdings is an impossibility—the payment in cash of one-fourth of the purchase-money is clearly beyond their power, and to borrow it of the *gombeen* man is merely to add to the clog which, sooner or later, will certainly drown them in the swamp of debt.

What, then, remains? Reclamation of waste lands, and consequent employment of the people? Over and over again it has been pointed out that "reclamation" is too costly; that to expend from £15 to £20 an acre on reclamation, in addition to the first cost of the land

for the 15 or 20 acres required to support a family, with the needful outlay for buildings, is an utterly unprofitable investment; a game which a rich man may enjoy, but which an investor will shrink from. And now that good arable land, with homestead, may be purchased in England at £25 or £30 per acre, the chances are still less in favour of an Irish investment, to say nothing of the ill odour which Irish tenants have brought upon themselves by the "No Rent" cry.

Must, then, this mass of misery be left to fester, sending up its malaria of discontent, leaving the contagion to spread over the whole of the British Islands? Policy and humanity alike forbid.

Coming then, again, to Emigration as a means for, at least, partially remedying the evil, it seems important to consider:—

1st. What is Emigration at present doing for these districts?

2nd. What facilities does the Land Act give?

3rd. What aid or assistance has the State previously given?

As to the first question. It may be stated that, out of the 95,857 persons who emigrated from Ireland in 1880, 3,400 only were from Donegal, and that Mayo and Galway and the rest of Connaught contributed little over one-fifth of the whole, or 20,549 persons. The total numbers emigrating in 1881 were considerably less (78,400), but there is no reason for supposing that in that year, as in the past 28 years, the more prosperous counties did not contribute the larger percentage; want of funds being, no doubt, the cause of this anomaly. It therefore follows that the districts most needing relief have not hitherto found it in Emigration, owing, doubtless, to the lack of means.

As to the second question, What assistance does the Land Act offer for Emigration? I think the words of the Emigration Clause are the best answer. They are as follows:—

"32. The Land Commission may, from time to time, with the concurrence of the Treasury, and on being satisfied that a sufficient number of people in any district desire to emigrate, enter into agreements with any person or persons having authority to contract on behalf of any state, or colony, or public body, or public company, with whose constitution and security the Land Commission may be satisfied, for the advance by the Commission by way of loan, out of the moneys in their hands, of such sums as the Commission may think it desirable to expend in assisting emigration, especially of families from the poorer and more thickly populated districts of Ireland. Such agreements shall contain such provisions relative to the mode of the application of the loans and the securing and repayment thereof to the Commission, and for securing the satisfactory shipment, transport, and reception of the emigrants, and for other purposes, as the Commission with the concurrence of the Treasury approve. Such loans shall be made repayable within the periods and at the rate of interest within and at which advances by the Board of Works for the purpose of the reclamation or improvement of land are directed by this Act to be made repayable: Provided always that there shall not be expended by virtue of the authority hereby given a greater sum than two hundred thousand pounds in all, nor a greater sum than one-third part thereof in any single year."

Can any one who reads this carefully doubt that the opposition

given to emigration by the Irish party in the House has, in this case, almost, if not quite, stultified the measure? All that the Act offers is a loan of money on *good* security, repayable over a term of years, not to exceed £66,000 in any one year! There are few public companies in London who have moneys to invest who could not offer the same. It will be noticed also that the "public body" which borrows has to undertake all the risks of collection, as well as to make satisfactory arrangements for the transport and reception of the emigrants. Who, then, will be surprised to hear that no loans have been placed, that the clause is, in fact, a dead letter, and that no applications have been seriously entertained, still less granted?

As to the third question, What aid or assistance has the State previously given to emigration? It may be stated that there are several sections of the Irish Poor Relief Act which empower Guardians to give assistance for this object.

No. 1. "Section 51 enacts that the Commissioners may direct the Guardians to raise such sum not exceeding 1s. in the £ yearly for the purpose of assisting emigration of poor persons resident in the Union to the British Colonies—such amounts to be a charge on future rates extending over five years.

No. 2. "Section 18 empowers Unions to assist destitute persons who actually are or have been inmates of the house to emigrate to the Colonies—charging the same to the electoral division to which the parties were chargeable. Such rate not to exceed 6d. in the £.

No. 3. "Another section provides that if it is proved to the satisfaction of the Guardians that any occupier of land at or below £5, whether on the rates or not, shall be willing to give up his right and possession of the land to his landlord and to emigrate with his family, and the said landlord willing to pay two-thirds of the cost of emigration, then the electoral division may find the remainder.

No. 4. "A further section enacts that the benefit of assisting emigration may be extended to all destitute poor persons not being and not having been inmates of the workhouse; and still further power is given to unions to borrow and raise loans for defraying the expenses of emigration of poor persons resident within the Union upon security of the rates. Further, it is provided the loans may be charged on the rates by debentures limiting the amount to 11s. 8d. in the £ on the clear value of the electoral division—such loans repayable in seven annual instalments.

No. 5. "A further clause *extends* the places (previously limited to British Colonies) to which emigrants may be assisted to *any foreign State*."

This completes, so far as we know, the whole of the assistance in any way previously offered. The expense was intended to be repaid from the rates, either yearly or by loans at very short periods, thus rendering the burden a very onerous one to the Union or electoral division. Such being the case, we can hardly be surprised that the total number in Ireland assisted to emigrate in the 10 years 1871–1880 has not exceeded 4,600 persons (varying from 148 to 864 per annum), and that the total amount expended has not been more than £12,570, or 460 persons yearly at a cost of £1257,—say £2 15s. per head. In 1881 the number increased to 1314 persons, and the cost to £3,482.

The insignificance of the aid thus rendered will be at once made evident by recalling the fact that in the same decade (1871–80) more

than 600,000 persons emigrated from Ireland, and in the year 1880 nearly 100,000.

It might be supposed that the emigration clause in the Land Act would have been allowed to extend to Unions, or that for emigration purposes a Union, as a "public body," might have been allowed the advantage of 25 years in lieu of 7 for the repayment of the loans. This, however, was not done, and the law advisers of the Government have declined, on the application of one Union, to sanction an advance under the clause. Here, again, we see that the door is at present closed against further assistance to those, most needing help, who wish to emigrate.

But it is not unfrequently objected that the people have no desire to emigrate. I wish that one of these objectors would take a well-found ship into either Galway or West Port Bay, offering free passages to all families who might wish to leave. The result would, I think, convince him of his error. The evidence is all in the contrary direction, as any one who will visit and talk freely with these Western people may easily assure himself. "It's only the cost, sure, that keeps us at home, sir." A visit which I paid to these Western districts last autumn, and a still more recent visit in February last, especially tend to confirm the foregoing conclusions.

On visiting the workhouse at Clifden (co. Galway), I was informed by Mr. Bourke, the indefatigable clerk of that Union, that the Clifden Board of Guardians had, at the previous board meeting, held on the 22nd of February, 1882, *unanimously* passed a resolution beseeching the Government to grant some assistance for emigration. The minute is as follows:—

"Resolved,—That, taking into consideration the poverty and destitute condition of the poorer classes of tenantry of this Union, particularly those evicted for non-payment of rent, and also those along the sea-shore holding miserable patches of land caused by the subdivision of holdings, and who for three-fourths of the year are in a state of semi-starvation, we respectfully request the interference of the Government to assist in the way of emigration. Unanimously agreed to.

" (Signed)

JOHN BOURKE,

" Clerk of the Union."

Nor was other evidence wanting of the strong feeling in the district on this question. I had not been an hour in the town before I had a call from the priest and a resident gentleman of a neighbouring parish, earnestly inquiring whether any assistance could be obtained for emigration. The priest informed me that he had 15 families at least for whom emigration was a necessity. Shortly after I left the town, as I was afterwards informed, 20 or more small tenants came to the hotel asking for help to emigrate.

But what stronger proof of the necessity for help can be given than that already pointed out, showing that the comparatively well-to-do and richer portions of Ireland afford the largest number of emigrants, and the poorer districts the smallest?

The importance of the State giving some immediate :

gration is more clearly manifested when we consider the subject in connection with the question of evictions—a number having taken place during the past autumn and winter in some of the very poor districts, under circumstances most painful to contemplate.

A very brief notice of my visit to the scenes of the evictions referred to in the minute passed by the Clifden Union may not be deemed out of place here. It is not my purpose to give any description which may serve to aggravate the bitterness of feeling towards landowners in Ireland, whether as individuals or as a class, nor against a Government which, shortly after entering office, almost risked shipwreck in its endeavour to prevent evictions for a limited time in certain impoverished districts, and whose unhappy fate it has been to carry out, in opposition to its own instincts, the law which permits these evictions. What I am desirous of showing is, that without some other method of relieving these districts, a most grievous cruelty probably will continue to be inflicted, and, in addition, the Unions will become seriously involved.

The facts of the case are, I believe, as follows. Owing to the inability of the tenants to agree with their landlords as to the payment of the three years' arrears of rent and as to the future terms of tenancy, a certain number were selected for eviction, and in the early days of January a force of soldiers and police were collected, under the command of the R.M., to carry out the work. Seventy or eighty families were then removed, their furniture and belongings turned out of doors, and the doorways of their homes, which it is a punishable offence to re-occupy, roughly filled up with the stone which everywhere abounds.

As is customary, the Relieving Officer was in attendance to offer to any who chose to accept it, the shelter of the workhouse. No one accepted it, but all preferred, in such shelter as they could best obtain, to brave the winter weather—happily for them unusually mild. During the six weeks which have elapsed since this occurred, they have so remained, some in lodgings paid for by the guardians, some in their neighbours' houses, and many others under temporary shelters, which they have built in as close proximity as possible to their own homes. I have twice visited a number of these cabins,—“houseen” (pronounced “housheen”),—which show some skill and resource in the formation of a dwelling. Under the shelter of some large block of granite, a trench of about two feet in depth is dug along its base, which thus forms a wall on one side, whilst the sods dug out form the ends and the low wall needed for the other sides of the dwelling; a few timbers slanting upwards to the stone, and covered with sods or straw, form the roof. Some such cabins have chimneys, others not. The sizes vary from ten to fifteen feet in length by six to nine in width, and the heights from four to six feet. Within are found whatever relics of furniture may have been saved from the wreck; some straw forms the bedding or covers the damp floor.

In these cabins I found probably twenty families, varying from four

or five to seven and eight in number—old and young—from infants to the inevitable “crone,” or old grandmother, who so often forms part of the household of the Irish peasant. These people were temporarily supported, in part by the Union (which allows 2s. per week for a family), but chiefly I believe from the money—now rapidly wasting—which they had scraped together to pay the amount of rent which they offered, but which was refused. Most of the people spoken to desired to emigrate. If they could but obtain help for this, they would willingly go. Some were very importunate for help for this purpose. None asked for money as charity. One fine, strong man, who had four years ago built a house of a superior class, costing him £16 and labour, with windows and plastered walls and timbered roof,—now wrecked,—was especially in earnest. He could find the half of the fare, he said, if the rest was to be had. He had a young wife with an infant two weeks old, one other child, and his wife's sister, who could not be left behind. “Could nothing be done to help him?” He was *sure* he “could earn a living in America.” I hope he may have the chance ere long. Some said they must go into the workhouse: they could not bear the weather longer for their children; they were growing weak. This would, no doubt, be the wisest course for them, and I strongly urged a man whose wife expected soon to be confined to take her there.

At present the *out-door* relief given is so small that it has not become a serious burden to the electoral division; and as this is not *allowed* to be given for more than a month, except in cases of illness or emergency, the grants will probably shortly cease.

As to the eviction of tenants who, having the means, wilfully withheld the rent, I have nothing to say. The withholding of the payment of a just debt, whether for rent or otherwise, when means exist for its discharge, is simply dishonesty; and, in one way or other, it is right that the payment should be enforced. But when evictions take place among the very poor, who, when evicted from the miserable dwelling which has served as a home and has been the roof-tree perhaps of generations, have absolutely no means whatever for their support but the workhouse, there arises in my mind a most serious question as to the propriety of the State being called on to employ all its powers to enforce the debt, without some other alternative to offer than the dreaded workhouse.

It must never be forgotten that in these cases the mud or stone cabin, however miserable, the cultivation and reclamation, however imperfect, are all the work of the evicted. But for the exertions of these small cultivators—and I am now speaking of the very small holdings—the stony or bog lands which they till would in a vast number of cases simply return to the aboriginal state. It is true that the wild pasture or mountain land over which their few sheep or cattle have grazed might be made use of, and probably to better advantage, by the owner; but the small scattered patches of cultivated land for which the tenants ha

previously paid 15s. and 20s. per acre would in many cases go out of cultivation and produce little rent, unless indeed they were absorbed by neighbouring holders. The small holdings, the hunger for land, arising from the absence of any demand for labour, chiefly give the land its value for rental. No one looking back to the evictions of 1817-8, which included many small tenants, as well as those occupying larger-sized farms, can doubt that much of the bitterness existing among the Irish in America has arisen from their sense of injustice under the hardships then inflicted. And now, when the failure of the crops of 1878-80 has again plunged these poor small holders of land into the Slough of Despond, as regards both rent and other debts, it hardly seems credible that the "resources of civilization" should have no other remedy at hand than an army of soldiers and police—no other solace for their misery than the workhouse or the roadside.

Under the existing clauses of the Poor Law Act, above quoted, ample powers seem to be given to Unions to borrow money for Emigration. That which seems lacking is the power to borrow for a long term in place of a short one.

In looking at the clauses of the Poor Law Act, a gradual growth is evident. These provisions, limited at first to a 6d. rate for those who are inmates of the workhouse, and confining the assistance to those who emigrated to the colonies, gradually extend to *any* destitute poor persons within the district—give power to Unions to raise a 1s. rate, and to borrow for seven years on debenture any sum within the limit of 11s. 8d. in the pound on the annual value of the electoral division,—and leave the place of emigration to be chosen by the emigrant. Another clause, which relates to the emigration of families whose rental is under £5, provides that Unions may raise one-third, on condition that the landlord pays the remaining two-thirds.

I cannot but think that these clauses are in the right direction, and that the Poor Law Boards are on the whole the best agencies for carrying out any voluntary Emigration which is aided by the State, or jointly by the State and Union. That which seems to be needed to make them efficient and operative for the relief of certain Western Unions is that a short Act should be passed empowering the Treasury to make special advances to these Unions, repayable in twenty-five years at a very low or nominal rate of interest. This assistance should be applied solely to those who of their own free-will are desirous to emigrate. In the case of evicted tenants, it ought to be imperative that the offer of emigration or the workhouse should be made as an alternative. And the Relieving Officer who attends evictions should be empowered to make the offer, and prepare his list accordingly.

But it will be argued that the cost of Emigration will be so enormous, that if widely taken advantage of, neither Union nor landlord could bear the strain.

In reply it may be said, that the cost of maintenance in the work-

house now falls upon the Union or electoral division in which the pauper resides, and that thus the owner of the soil is at present liable, especially in the poor Unions, where four-fifths of the holdings are under £4 valuation and the poor-rates are paid by the landlord.

It is true that the unwillingness on the part of the evicted or impoverished tenant to enter the workhouse is so great as almost to relieve the Union, but this does not alter the fact of the liability for the payment, nor dispose of the necessity existing for the relief offered.

What, then, is the present yearly cost to any Union or electoral division of a family in the workhouse? Taking the average number of a family at five, and the weekly cost, including clothing, at 3s. 8d. per head per week in the house, we have a yearly cost for the family of £47 13s., which may continue for an indefinite term, and has to be defrayed in the year in which it is incurred. The annual cost, then, of five families in the workhouse, taking it at £50 a family, is £250, payable in the year in which it is incurred.

On the other hand, the cost of emigration for a family of five, including outfit and passage to Canada or the United States, could certainly be effected for £50, leaving a little margin for contingencies, and might, if the permission was granted as proposed, be levied on the district over a long term of years. Taking, then, this amount as repayable in 25 years, you have an annual charge of £2 for principal and 10s. for interest (at 1 per cent.), as the actual cost of placing in a land beyond the possibility of want, and with the probability of success, a family of five persons, whose only chance, had they remained, was beggary on their miserable holdings or the workhouse.

Let us suppose that one hundred families were thus assisted from impoverished Unions, such as Newport, Westport, Belmullet, and others in Mayo, or Oughterard and Clifden in Galway; at £50 per family we have a total of £5,000. Spread this over 25 years, as proposed, and what do we find? That for the same annual sum—£250 a year (£200 principal and £50 interest)—as would be required permanently to keep five families in the workhouse, 100 families may be helped to a land of plenty.

On the side of the Treasury, the advance for the emigration of 100 families at £5,000 per Union, supposing the number of Unions needing help to amount to 20, would be £100,000 a year,—barely the cost of a trial of a 100-ton gun, which is cast aside next year as worthless. To the whole 20 Unions this sum would involve an annual outlay of £4,000 a year for principal, or, per Union, £200, and interest in addition, if demanded. Surely it is not too much to ask that the Exchequer might lend without interest £100,000 a year for five years for the assistance of the mass of impoverished tenants in certain well-ascertained districts in Ireland,—if, indeed, a free grant is not possible of one-half or even the whole sum required for emigration.

In what way could these people be more truly helped?

During the past half-century it has gradually become evident that the attempt of these little Western holders to maintain themselves with any degree of comfort is an impossibility. Living from hand to mouth, on the verge of bankruptcy and destitution, the failure of their crops even for a single year, spite of the yearly earnings in England by which alone in many districts their rent has been paid, has caused the wail of want and hunger to ascend to heaven.

The impossibility that any of the great benefits conferred by the Land Act upon tenants of larger holdings, can render the condition of these small tenants better in the future, or make them an improving and independent race of small cultivators, has, we think, been abundantly shown. Both the worn-out soil and moist climate and the petty subdivision of the holdings are against them. And, though they are surrounded by tens of thousands of acres of waste and wilderness land, the improbability of the reclamation of soil so poor in quality that, even in spite of the demand for land in past days from a much larger population, it has always been considered worthless, has also been pointed out.

Can, then, that be true patriotism which would condemn these people to remain in their bog-huts? Surely, so far as they are concerned, the cry of "Ireland for the Irish" is one to which, as their bitter experience shows, they have already listened too long. Hope for them has been too long deferred. But in that land, scarcely a week away from their native shore, towards which they so often direct a wistful gaze, peopled in part by their own kith and kin, there is to be found, not only an abundant, nay, an insatiate demand for well-paid labourers, for men, women, and children, but also millions of fertile acres demanding for their cultivation and improvement the only article which these poor Irishmen have to sell—the bone and sinew now lying idle and worthless.

Never at any time have the inducements to Emigration, or the preparations made for the reception of emigrants of the class under consideration, been so great. The Canadian Government offers to all *bond fide* settlers free grants of 80 or 160 acres of land; and on landing at Quebec, guides are in readiness either to direct the emigrant to these lands or to give information as to the places in which labour is most in demand. Of other colonies I am not able to speak from personal knowledge, but that liberal offers are made by them for the passage and conduct of emigrants is well known.

In the United States the demand for labour is almost unlimited, and in order to meet that provision which all well-wishers for the success of the emigrant must desire, means are not wanting for placing him beyond the reach of the temptations of the great seaboard cities. The Catholic colonies of Minnesota and Iowa, under the guidance and direction of Bishop Ireland (himself an Irish refugee), offer the greatest possible advantages for the settler who, with a very few pounds in his pocket, desires to obtain land, and to assist to found in the fertile prairies of

the New World colonies of industrious and, because industrious, contented Irishmen.

Another of these Colonies is that of the Irish and American Colonization Association, under the management of Mr. John Sweetman, situated on very fertile land in the State of Iowa.

Two years ago Mr. Sweetman purchased a large tract of land for the purpose of enabling poor Irish families to purchase land and commence a new life there under the greatest advantages. Eighty acres of land are here offered to the emigrant at a very low price, and money is advanced for this, as well as for the building of the little shanty and for the purchase of the necessary implements; the repayment being spread over a term of years.

Mr. Sweetman has himself embarked a very considerable fortune in the undertaking, and personally superintends the whole business on the spot, without cost to the Association. Already fifty or sixty families have been settled; thirty or forty more have been selected this year; and want of funds for free passages alone prevents double or treble the number being taken out. Mr. Sweetman has set a really noble example of what may be done by an Irish gentleman for the benefit of his poorer neighbours.*

No man is more entitled to the gratitude of his countrymen than Mr. Vere Foster, of Belfast, for his practical devotion to the interests of the people. Deeply impressed with the importance of emigration as one means of assisting the poverty of the West, Mr. Vere Foster has, during a few recent years, at his own cost issued 10,000 assisted passage tickets of £2 each. Limiting his efforts to Donegal, Connaught, and other western counties, and to assisting young women, for whose services as servants there is always a demand in America, Mr. Foster has through the agency of the Roman Catholic clergy made his practical benevolence extend to nearly every parish in these western districts.

In a circular just issued Mr. Foster says:—

"I have recently addressed a circular to those clergymen from whose parishes the greater number of girls emigrated, asking tidings of their success in their adopted country, and I have much pleasure in appending hereto extracts from all the letters which I have received, and which are uniformly of a most satisfactory character.

"The time is fast approaching when I shall have reached the end of my resources, and, having demonstrated that the desire for assistance is widespread, that the clergy of all denominations sympathize with the poorer members of their congregations in that desire, and that the emigration of the poor girls in question has been attended with signal and almost universal success and contentment, I now desire to enlist the sympathy and active co-operation of societies and individuals on

* Any further information which may be needed in reference to this admirable instance of Irish self-help, may be had upon application to Mr. John Sweetman, who is at present in Dublin, or to the Secretary of the Irish and American Colonization Association, 12, South Frederick Street, Dublin.

both sides of the Atlantic in the providing of funds to pay ocean passages, and in the forwarding of passengers short of funds and friends from the seaports to temporary homes in the interior of the country. In the absence of any association for the purpose I would gladly take charge of and administer funds subscribed for the payment of ocean passages, and I hope that conventual communities, or lay societies, especially in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Montreal, may be generously provided with funds by the Irish and non-Irish American laity for the reception of friendless poor girls who may be recommended to them by their clergy in Ireland, and for their travelling charges into the interior, where they would receive further temporary assistance from the local clergy and their congregations. Twenty-five dollars is the sum which I desire to raise in aid of each emigrant."

In the same circular Mr. Vere Foster gives no less than seventy-eight replies from the Catholic clergy in answer to inquiries during the past autumn; and the following may be given as fair specimens of the replies:—

1. "I have made careful inquiry about them, and have to state that the accounts are good, and that they are all doing well. I have also to state that there are many girls in this parish who are very desirous of emigrating, but who are unable to do so in consequence of not being able to provide the balance which is necessary, in addition to your subscription of £2."

2. "We have received letters from those young girls who went to America from this part of the country. They give a very gratifying account of their success so far in their adopted country; almost all met their friends upon arriving there. They have expected them. They are, and have reason to be delighted, having left homes of misery and wretchedness to go to a country where honest industry receives its reward. I have no doubt many are anxious to emigrate had they means. When I ascertain their number, I'll be happy to forward their names and co-operate in every way with your benevolent and patriotic purpose."

3. "In reply to your favour to hand this morning, I beg to say that, so far as fell under my observation, the girls who left this parish, and were assisted by you, have sent cheering accounts with small remittances of, say, from £2 to £3, to their parents; very many of the girls who left in early spring this year have sent small remittances."

4. "Out of every twenty girls who left this parish for America nineteen went to join their uncles or aunts and other near and dear relatives in the 'Land of the West,' so that for them an organization of charitable and influential persons able and willing to direct and protect friendless and poor girls is not necessary, though such a body might be useful. I know not any small farmer or workman here who has not dear and near friends in America, and these in very many instances implore their poor relations to join them."

5. "I was waiting to see the parents of those girls who availed themselves of the assisted emigration, in order to be in a position to give you the desired information. I have learned with pleasure that these girls are doing well, that they had no difficulty in getting places on their arrival in America."

6. "Such an organization as you refer to would be most desirable. It is somewhat strange that steps have not been taken in that direction up to this. However, there is hardly a family of the middle or very poor classes in Ireland at present that has not sent one or more of its members to America, so that intending emigrants as a rule will have some near relatives or friends to go to."

"In reply to your several queries I beg to state:—

7. "The girls who, aided by you, went from my parish are so far doing well, and assisting their poor relatives at home, together with paying the passages of others out.

8. "I am quite certain that many, very many boys and girls are desirous of emigrating, but are prevented by want of means, and I fully concur with you that immense benefits would be conferred on poor emigrants, who are friendless in America, if the clergy, conventual communities, or others, would, at the ports of arrival and in the interior of the country, provide safe and lucrative employment for them.

9. "Many parts of the West of Ireland are overcrowded. Either migration or emigration is certainly needed, and as migration is very improbable, I am of opinion that many small and poor farmers would gladly emigrate if they had favourable prospects in other countries."

10. "The accounts which have come from the girls of this parish who have emigrated are very favourable. Some have sent money home to their parents and relatives.

"There are still a good many girls anxious to go, and most of those are of the farmer class, young and nicely educated. Some are unable to go on account of not having enough of means.

"A society such as that spoken of has been already considered by priests and religious in America.

"Nothing would afford me more pleasure than to hear that an organization to protect the friendless females in America was set on foot.

"It would be a great matter to have a 'home' for the girls in New York and other ports on landing: owing to inexperience they are often at a loss how to act and how to avoid danger."

11. "I have just returned from Canada. . . . In all cases that I have met, with one exception, the girls are happy and would not come back on any condition. . . . The want of female help is the greatest now in the Dominion. In all Ontario the cry of the people I mixed with was, Send us as many girls as you can. . . . I have received commissions to send out 250 girls, but I am straitened with means. May I expect a continuance of your grants? . . ."

12. ". . . Upon close and individual inquiry I find all those poor girls have remitted, within the past few months, small sums of money varying from £2 10s. to £5, and all have promised to send more at Christmas. With regard to the first query, I may tell you I have some experience of American life, and how people do generally succeed there. Individual members of families will still emigrate as before, and many of them may and will succeed here, there, and everywhere through the States and elsewhere; but the way I would recommend emigration would be let some one or more trustworthy persons go out to America, and carefully look round and select a settlement, get means to erect some *shanties* at least thereon, and when thus provided bring out whole families or large numbers of families, and let them settle down in their several lots, build and rebuild, till and grow provisions for themselves for the coming year, and have some means doled out to such as need them whilst the first crop is growing. By this means they one and all will be very soon independent, and set an example to others to follow and do likewise, and thus escape poverty, idleness, and enforced privation at home. The Germans thus act; they squat down, build houses, cut out farms, till and improve them, and soon you'll see church, school-house, and shops spring up as if by magic, and peace and plenty reign around.

"Permitting the Irish to flock into the towns and cities of America, they soon get a distaste for rural life, their natural, suitable, and most eligible course, and hence the failure of so many Irish to succeed, whilst other nationalities spread out, prosper and grow."

13. "I beg to state that the accounts from the poor girls who left this parish this year are satisfactory. There are a few of whom nothing has been heard

since they left. There are several girls here who are anxious to go to America, but have no means. I know five or six, some of whom I could recommend as first-class servants for any house, who have friends in America, and are most anxious to go, but have not the means. They have spoken to me for aid within the last week.

"As regards the prospects here, poverty is a fixed quantity, for Connemara is '*sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula*,' the land of wretchedness and misery."

14. "In reply to the queries in your circular, I wish to say that, as regards the girls who emigrated from this parish, they are going on well, and give very satisfactory accounts of the country. Some of them have even sent money *twice* to their friends in a very short time."

15. "I sent off, with your help, a batch of eight girls last summer to America. Seven of these wrote to say they were doing well; the other, I understand, is doing well too. These girls have sent home money, one as much as ten pounds; another paid her father's passage, and sent money home besides."

One or two speak less brightly of the prospects; *one only* in tones of discouragement; all are unanimous as to the importance of an organization at the port of landing for the oversight and protection of the girls on landing. This subject is of vast importance for all classes of emigrants, and I am glad to know is receiving much attention in influential quarters. Nearly all the letters refer to the amounts sent home to assist relations to follow their example, and Mr. Foster's calculation is that each girl who emigrates finds the funds needed to bring out another.

With so important and unprejudiced a mass of evidence before us, even if we had none other to rely upon, we must admit that the case for those who insist upon the immense importance and benefit of Emigration is fully made out. If further evidence is needed, every traveller who has visited Canada or the United States can add his testimony.

During a visit to these countries in the autumn of 1880, I made it my special duty to inquire as to the results of Emigration. My inquiries extended to Manitoba in the North-West, and other portions of Canada, as well as throughout the Eastern States. The reply was uniform. Place your Irish labourer or small farmer on the land and away from the great cities, and his success is assured. Leave him to fester in our great seaports, and he is as degraded as his fellows in your own ports of Liverpool and Glasgow.

Over and over again, I saw, and conversed with, Irishmen who, having come out in rags, are now highly-valued servants; or having landed penniless, are now the owners of land and houses, and are looked upon as most useful and industrious citizens.

I was especially struck with this in some of the more recently settled States—Minnesota, for instance—in which whole counties were formed and settled by flourishing Irishmen. I may cite the evidence given me by the Hon. Member for ——— County, in Canada, which he had represented for nearly twenty years, who informed me that a large proportion of his constituents were descendants of poor Irishmen who had fled from the famine of 1847. Very few of the older people living; a new generation had sprung up—thrifty, well to do,

vigorous, well educated, and raised physically, mentally, and morally. "Why," said my friend, as he closed his encomium upon the improvement of his constituents, "her Majesty might raise a regiment of Guardsmen among them, they are so fine a set of men."

But let an Irish emigrant, who has not been more than a year in the country, speak for himself. The following is taken from a letter from one of those who have been helped "to a better land" by Miss Georgiana Kennedy, of Dublin, who has certainly conferred upon her countrymen a greater boon than some of those ladies who claim to be considered patriots and advisers of the people:—

Letter from Joseph Conroy to Miss Kennedy.

"Curry Murry Co., Minn., U.S.A., December 1st, 1881.

"... Myself and my family are in the very best of good health at present. I have had the very best of good luck since I arrived here, my family always keeping so well and my cow and oxen and all. My crops have done well from the first day we occupied our house and eighty acres of land. I have got all my potatoes secured, about sixty bushels, which will give us plenty for winter. I also have my flax saved and in a secure stack ready for threshing. I also have my Indian corn cut and stacked and all my hay secured, and I am now after siding my house with wood, which is far better than sodding. I also have lumber to ceil it, which will make it quite warm. I am busy at present getting my stable built and hauling firewood from Tracy.

"Mr. Sweetman has given to every settler timber for siding his house and ceiling it, along with four cords of firewood to each settler, which we are busy drawing home from Tracy. I am sure that there is not a gentleman in the world deserves more praise for all his doings towards his settlers than what Mr. Sweetman does—yes, he is a most kind-hearted gentleman and smiles with joy at all our good doings. I put my trust in the Almighty God in all my undertakings, reaping, mowing, ploughing, sowing, buying, or selling. I do all in His name that guided us here across the Atlantic to our lonely but happy home. Yes, any man can make himself and his home happy if he only has a little common sense to never look back, always to look to the future; to get all his crops planted in time, and to rise early from his bed every morning and make a good day's work, he is sure to get on and do good for himself and his family; and also he will be able to give a happy return to Mr. Sweetman for all his good doings towards him. . . . Yes, my children, they are away from all bad vice, they will see nothing bad here, only the kind word of their father and mother. . . . I also feel happy to let you know that I have got my winter provisions secured, and I have got all my work done for winter, only two and a half cords of wood which lies yet in Tracy; owing to the severe frost our oxen cannot travel. Still we have a good fire burning, we burn hay to save one cord and a half of firewood that I have already at home; I shall have the remaining part when it snows some. I have got my dwelling-house sided and ceiled, which leaves it quite warm, and also a good sod house for my cow and oxen, and two pigs I bought at four dollars. . . ."

My space forbids more.

Again let me repeat, that what poor Irishmen need is to be helped to offer in the best market the only ware they have to dispose of. To deny them this, on the ground that it will lessen the number of Irishmen in Ireland, seems to me a very grave responsibility, not to say a *crime*. Better far a prosperous and contented Ireland, with four millions of people, if it were so, than a pauperized, impoverished, and discontented Ireland with five or eight millions.

And surely if any of the so-called "leaders of the people" of Ireland had any article to dispose of, at present valueless in Ireland, but priceless in America, they would not hesitate to transfer or take it there. To them "Ireland for the Irish" would then indeed be deemed a meaningless cry. But is it less meaningless when that article is labour, and the alternatives beggary, or independence and comfort?

Much false and merely sentimental talk has been indulged in by certain parties to the infinite injury of the impoverished people. Who ever affects to speak of "banishment" or "expatriation" in reference to the multitudes of Englishmen who yearly go abroad to "seek their fortunes," and who, following in the footsteps of their forefathers, have helped to colonize and civilize the world? And in the greatness of such enterprises have not Irishmen had their full share? Who regards with pity the founders of that great Western Commonwealth whose descendants welcome with open arms all comers from the Old World?

We may justly regret the necessity which the changed conditions of agriculture, or the impoverished soil and climate and small holdings, or any other causes combined, impose upon Irishmen to leave their native land; but to oppose the departure of thousands, who are unable to obtain a decent livelihood in Ireland, to a country which offers them land at the lowest price, and at the same time gives the highest price for the labour they have to dispose of, seems alike shortsighted and impolitic. Just as well might they oppose the exportation of the thousands of tons of Irish potatoes now leaving for New York, and proclaim that they should be left to rot at home.

Unpatriotic do you call it? It is the law written on the human race; the law which drew Abraham from his native land; the law which, written on the minds of the great Aryan family, led them to descend from their eastern homes to people and fertilize the plains of Europe; the law which led Columbus and Vasco di Gama, and a host of others, to search for and to point out the great New World; the law which has impelled and is now impelling tens of thousands of people of all nationalities in Europe to surge forth with increasing volume, in that great wave of humanity which breaks upon the shores of the Western World, not to devastate, but to fertilize and bless. And in that vast gathering of all European races which goes to form the great American nation, Ireland may well be proud to have contributed her full quota; and, spite of some omens to the contrary, the world may be congratulated that both the sentiment and the vivacity of the Irish race will thus be perpetuated, and will help to mould the character of the Great English Republic of the Future.

J. H. TUCKER.

THE POLITICAL CONDITION OF BELGIUM.

BELGIUM is one of the smallest countries of Europe. With its five million inhabitants and its area of 11,000 square miles, it can exercise no influence over the events which occur on our continent. At the same time, certain questions can be judged perhaps better there than elsewhere, because they stand out prominently in relief in the national life.

Among these questions, there are two to which I wish now to direct attention: the politico-religious strife between the Liberals and the Clericals, and the action of Parliamentary government.

The politico-religious contest between Catholics and Liberals exists to a greater or less degree in all Catholic countries, and even in Protestant ones possessing, like Prussia, Catholic provinces: but nowhere is political life more completely absorbed by this antagonism than in Belgium, nowhere are the lines of the contest more clearly traced. The working of Parliamentary government deserves also to be studied in Belgium because it has worked so regularly in no other continental state.

In order thoroughly to grasp the meaning of our politico-religious strife, we must cast a glance at its origin. We find this in the constitution adopted by the Congress after the Revolution of 1830. This constitution enjoins and sanctions all the freedom and liberty which has long been the privilege of England, and of the States she has founded in America and Australia. A free press, liberty as regards education, freedom to form associations or societies, provincial and communal autonomy, representative administration—all exactly as in England.

How was it that the Congress of 1830, the majority of whose members belonged to the Catholic party, came to vote in favour of principles opposed, not only to the traditions, but also the dogmas of the Catholic

Church? This singular fact is explained by the writings of the celebrated priest and author, La Mennais, whose opinions at that time exercised the greatest influence.

La Mennais's first book, "*L'Essai sur l'indifférence en Matière de Religion*," lowered all human reasoning, and delivered up society to the omnipotent guidance of the Pope. This work, enthusiastically perused by bishops, seminarists, and priests, established the author as an unprecedented authority. When, after the year 1828, he pretended that the Church would regain her former power by separating herself from the State, retaining only her liberty, most of his admirers professed themselves of his opinion. The Vatican was from the first uneasy at these new ideas, which were set forth with a vigour and enthusiasm comparable to the ardour of the Apostles of old; but, disturbed at the liberal fermentation which then agitated all Europe, the Pope dare not openly condemn the writer, whom all looked upon as its most powerful protector. Nearly all Belgian priests were at that time *La Mennaisiens*.

They accepted the separation of Church and State, and, in their enthusiastic intoxication, craved but liberty to reconquer the world. It was thus that Catholics and Liberals* united to vote for Belgium the constitution still in existence after a half-century. In 1832, Pope Gregory XVI., as Veuillot tells us, "hurled a thunderbolt at the Belgian constitution in its cradle." In a famous Encyclical, since incessantly quoted, the Pope declared, *ex cathedra*, that modern liberties were a plague, "a delirium," from whence incalculable evils would inevitably flow. Shortly afterwards, the true author of the Belgian constitution, La Mennais, having been to Rome in the vain hope of converting the Pope to his views, was repulsed, and, a little later, cast out from the bosom of the Church. The separation was effected. There was an end to that "union" of Catholics and Liberals which had overthrown King William and founded a new political order in Belgium. It was not, however, till after 1838 that the two parties distinctly announced their antagonism, after one of our most distinguished Members of Parliament, M. Paul Devaux, had very clearly defined the different principles actuating each party, in some remarkable articles published in his *Revue Nationale*.

The Liberal party is composed of all who, having faith in human reason and in liberty, fear a return to the past, and desire reforms of all sorts. They call themselves Conservatives, because they consider it their first duty to defend the Belgian constitution, which they look upon as menaced by Rome and the Catholics. In this party, as in all others, there are many shades of opinion, from the "extreme left," who desire universal suffrage combined with socialism, and who wage endless war against Catholic worship, to the "right" who continue "faithful

* When Catholics are mentioned as opposed to Liberals, it is as regards their political, not their religious opinions. The Liberals are all, or nearly all, Catholics also; at all events by baptism.

to the faith of their forefathers," rejecting all radical innovations, and who are only separated from their adversaries by their insistence on the exclusion of the clergy from politics.

The Catholic party is guided officially by the bishops. It is composed, in the first place, of all the clergy, of the convents and monasteries, and of those who from a sentiment of religious obedience do as they are directed by the bishop of the diocese and the Pope, and also of genuine Conservatives, otherwise called reactionists—that is to say, of those who consider that liberty leads to anarchy, and progress to communism. This section comprises the great mass of the proprietors and cultivators of the soil and the country populations.

Forciguers, who cannot fail to be struck by the similitude existing in so many respects between Belgium and France, must not ignore a most important difference between the dominant ideas of the rural population of the two nations, although civil administration is the same in each. In France, with the exception of some few departments, the peasant has not only broken loose from the priest's influence, he is even most hostile to it. In Belgium, on the contrary, he submits willingly to it, as in the Rhine provinces, the Tyrol, and Canada—and even to a greater degree than in those lands hitherto considered as the Church's chosen countries, Italy and Spain. The reason for the difference is this: in France, the memory of the *ancien régime*, hard and cruel as it was in its financial administration, is detested; and the peasants, purchasers, and proprietors of the soil, have always dreaded a return of the clergy and nobility. In Belgium, on the contrary, the peasant was very happy under Maria Theresa, and never purchased the *biens nationaux*; and, as a result of this, he continues till now to obey unresistingly his priest and his landlord, never having had his faith or confidence in them shaken.

The strife between Catholics and Liberals commenced at the end of the last century. At the time of the Brabant revolution against Joseph II., a certain set accepted the notions of the French philosophers, headed by a barrister, Vouck. Another set professed Ultramontane opinions, and their leader was Van der Noot. These two parties, crushed during the French Empire, found themselves face to face when liberty was restored to the country by William I. in the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Liberal tendencies were then further accentuated by the personal influence of the "Conventionnels," who, proscribed by the Restoration in France, had taken refuge in Brussels. The writings of the encyclopedists and philosophers, especially those of Voltaire and Diderot, were reprinted in cheap editions and circulated everywhere; but Liberals and Catholics united to oppose the measures of the Dutch Government—measures which, though possibly commendable in themselves, were, unfortunately, too harshly enforced.

Since the year 1838, which put an end to this momentary "Union," the antagonism between Liberals and Catholics has steadily increased,

and in the course of the last two years has found its way to the remotest village and hamlet of the country, through the revision of the law on education. It is on this ground that the combat is being waged at the present time with unprecedented violence.

From what we have just stated, we see that in Belgium parties are divided, and fight seriously for an idea; they are separated by no material, but by spiritual interests. The Liberals defend liberty, which they consider menaced by the aims of the Church. The Catholics defend religion, which they look upon as threatened by their adversaries' doctrines. Both desire to fortify themselves against a danger, non-existent yet, but which they foresee. Battles in which ideas, and, more especially, beliefs, are engaged, are certainly very violent, and are, occasionally, not unattended by peril; but, may we not add, that they honour the human species, for in such a case the coarse appetites and animal instincts of mankind are not called into play. Higher and nobler sentiments rouse and urge into action.

The educational question, which has been the centre of the political life of the country during the last two years, deserves expounding in detail. Important in itself, and more important still in its consequences, it is everywhere discussed with passion. Primary education was organized here in 1842, by a law of compromise adopted by the two parties, thanks to M. J. B. Nothomb, one of the founders of the Belgian Constitution, who died recently in Berlin, where he had been Belgian Minister for a space of upwards of forty years. This law enacted that every parish should possess schools sufficient for the number of children needing instruction; but it allowed the "commune" to adopt private schools. The inspection of the public schools and the control of the religious teaching given by the masters and mistresses, was reserved to the clergy.

Advanced Liberals began to clamour for the suppression of this latter clause as soon as they perceived the preponderating influence it gave the priests over the lay teachers. The reform of the law of 1842 became the watchword of the Liberal party, and this was ultimately effected in July, 1879; now each parish or village must provide the schools necessary for the children of its inhabitants, and must not give support to any private school. Ecclesiastical inspection is suppressed. Religious instruction may be given by the ministers of the various denominations, in the school buildings, but out of the regular hours. This system has been in force in Holland since the commencement of the present century. Lay instruction only is given by the communal masters and mistresses; no dogmas are taught, but the school is open to the clergy of all denominations who choose to enter, as it is evidently their duty to do. This system, now introduced in Belgium, has been accepted, without giving rise to any difficulties, by both Protestants and Jews, but it is most vehemently condemned by the Catholic priesthood. In spite of the exhortations to moderation constantly forwarded to them by Pope Leo XIII., the bishops have declared war to the death against

the communal schools, and, to carry on their warfare, resort to the most extreme measures. They commenced by an urgent appeal to all their faithful adherents, which was so heartily responded to, that, in less than a year they have succeeded in opening a private school in every commune and village not formerly possessing one. In this instance the Catholic party has shown a devotedness really remarkable. The large estates are generally in clerical hands, and many of the owners have built schools at their own cost, or have converted barns or out-buildings of their farms or residences into temporary school-rooms. The priests have made collections, and have given largely themselves when it was in their power to do so. Also, as in nearly every village a girls' school, established by sisters, already existed, it sufficed to add a school for boys. At the same time, in all the churches, and nearly every Sunday, the Government schools have been attacked, stigmatized as "*écoles sans Dieu*" (schools without God), to be avoided as the plague, and where parents were forbidden to place their children, under pain of committing the greatest sin. Those who disobeyed, and allowed their children still to frequent the communal schools, were deprived of the Sacraments of the Church. They were refused absolution at confession, and the Eucharist, even at Easter. All the schoolmasters and mistresses were placed under the ban of the Church, and the priests often even refused to pronounce a blessing on their marriage. It is only lately that, contrary instructions having been received from Rome, this extreme step is now very rarely resorted to. The Liberal majority in the House has ordered a Parliamentary inquiry—which is still in progress, and the results of which in this last six months, fill the columns of our newspapers—in order to ascertain by what means the clergy succeed in filling their schools. A Commission of three representatives visits each commune, and examines and questions different witnesses, who are summoned to appear to give evidence as to the persecutions exercised by the priests since the passing of the new law. This inquiry has brought to light unheard-of facts. Excited in the highest degree, and believing doubtless that they are fulfilling their duty, and saving Catholicism, the clergy have left no stone unturned in order to fill their schools to the detriment of the Government ones: spiritual threats; refusals to administer the sacraments at confession; menaces in sermons, and, more especially at death-beds; material privations to the obstinate; withdrawal of support from paupers and of land from tenants, suppression of Catholic custom from tradesmen, and of employment from labourers—all has been done to stamp out public education. We must admit that the result obtained has been in proportion to the immense effort made. In a very great number of villages the communal schools are almost empty, in others they have not succeeded in retaining more than half their former pupils. It is only in the large towns that the number of children attending the communal schools has not diminished. It would be hard to appreciate

at the present time—not more so from a Liberal than a Catholic point of view—the consequences of this strife respecting lay instruction. The arguments of the Liberals in favour of lay education, in a Catholic country, are the following: Those who instruct hold the future in their hands; if the clergy are to direct the school-teachers they will sooner or later be completely masters; and as the Church is opposed to modern liberties, we must prepare ourselves either to lose them or to take education entirely out of episcopal hands. As all sincere Catholics themselves admit that their Church condemns modern liberties, it is difficult to find a reply to this reasoning. We see, therefore, the defenders of liberty in all Catholic countries doing their utmost to suppress completely the influence of the Church on education. Only the Liberal party stumbles against two immense difficulties, the first really existing, the second full of menace for the future. The first is this: Many parents desire that their children should receive religious instruction elsewhere than at home, and as the priests refuse to give it in the Government schools, the parents take their children away, and thus exclusively Ultramontane schools are created and filled. The second difficulty is still more serious. It touches the future of liberty itself. The lay instructors, condemned, and attacked on all sides by the priests, become quite hostile to them. They are transformed themselves into what has been rightly called “anti-cures.” Official instruction is rendered gradually but effectively hostile to the Catholic religion, the only one known. The Government, doubtless, in no wise desires such a result; it in all probability disapproves of it, but it is the inevitable consequence of the present conflict, as we can already see in France, Italy, and Belgium. Those who regard all religion as a delusion and a falsehood, and believe that people would be better without it, may applaud this anti-religious movement; but for others, who consider that without morality, liberty cannot endure, and that true morality cannot exist without a religious basis; or that, at all events, in the present state of society, the ministers of the different denominations alone ever speak to the people of morals—these will be indeed alarmed when they consider the future of the public lay educational establishments. We can here clearly see how difficult is the position of the Liberals in this question. If they give way to the clergy, liberty will be sooner or later suppressed, at the command of the Pope. If they, on the contrary, declare open war against the priesthood, religious sentiment receives a severe shock, and, as a result of this, morality, the only safe basis for a free administration, is enfeebled.

As a natural consequence of the excessive heat of the conflict, the two parties end by justifying the accusations of their adversaries. The Liberals become anti-religionists, because religion is—and is daily becoming more and more—anti-liberal; and the Catholics are afraid of liberty, because it is used against their faith, which is, in their opinion, the only true and the necessary foundation of civilization.

For the clergy too the strife now going on in Belgium presents many dangers, and I dare not say who is right, from their point of view—the Pope, who desires to moderate it, or the bishops, who are in favour of the most extreme measures. These are the dangers: Firstly, for the elections. The priest forces many electors, against their will, to withdraw their children from the communal schools, which are evidently the best. These electors reluctantly obey, but at the ballot, which is now more strictly secret than even in England, they revenge themselves by voting against the Catholic candidates. The large number of children attending the schools established by the clergy does not prove that their influence in the country is in proportion. Secondly, those parents who are debarred from receiving the sacraments of the Church, begin to discover that the skies do not fall on their heads in consequence. If the present situation were to be prolonged, numbers of families would become accustomed to live outside the pale of the Church, and thus we should gradually reach the point they have already attained in France, where many of the peasants never set foot in church. This would be a very positive diminution of the influence of the priests.

But this is what the bishops hope. In a constitutional country the same party cannot be always in power. The Catholics will therefore, in the end, re-obtain a majority, and then they will at once proceed to pass a law most impartial and, as they say, most just, borrowed, in fact, from England. The law of 1842 will not be re-established; that of 1879 will be maintained, only it will be enacted that every private or communal school shall receive a grant from the State in proportion to the number of pupils attending it. In this manner the schools of the clergy will obtain millions, and the public schools, a great number of which are without pupils, will not have sufficient to maintain themselves. The Liberals are quite incapable of creating free schools as we, Catholics, have done. Therefore primary instruction will ultimately come back into our hands, and the Government schools will be replaced nearly everywhere by the Ecclesiastical. We are at a difficult pass just now, but let us only persevere. The more violent Liberalism becomes, the nearer it approaches its fall. The triumph of the Church is sure, for she is eternal.

I dare not say that these hopes will not be realized, and that the bishops are wrong. The Pope, an experienced diplomatist and a clever politician, would resort to compromise to avoid existing difficulties. The bishops, on the contrary, who have more faith, or, as their adversaries call it, more fanaticism, look for salvation to come to them from the extreme and radical logic of the Liberals. They repeat the proverb which events have already so often justified: "*Ab inimicis nostris salus.*"

On account of the attitude of the present Pope—so different from that of Pius IX.—the discord reigning amongst Catholics has been brought more to light in Belgium. On the one side are ranged the politicians,

and among these may be reckoned nearly all the Catholic representatives in both the Upper and Lower House. They lean now on the Vatican. On the other, are the fervent, the uncompromising, the men of faith. They lean on the bishops, and have as supporter of their cause a distinguished writer, M. Perin, Professor to the University of Louvain. They shield themselves, also, behind the respected name and great memory of Pius IX.

The first pretend, as did recently Lord Acton when replying to the expostulations of Mr. Gladstone, that there is no conflict between modern liberty and the dogmatic decisions of the Church. When the Liberals bring forward, in opposition to this statement, the condemnations and anathema of Councils and Pontiffs, and notably those of Gregory XVI., in his famous "Encyclical," and of Pius IX. in the "Syllabus," they make answer that hypotheses are imagined there which are not now occurring. They maintain that they can be, at the same time, submissive children of the Church and warm partisans of all the liberties consecrated by the Belgian Constitution. On the other side, taking credit to themselves for retracting not one iota from the Church's teaching, pure Catholics reproach the others for hiding the "truth under a bushel," and cowardly disowning the teachings of Rome. They say, It is not by drawing back before Liberalism that we shall succeed in vanquishing it. The nearer revolution menaces us, the more steadfastly and steadily we must hold out in opposition to it the pure Roman doctrine: *In hoc signo vinces.*

This is how the chief of the *zelanti*, M. Perin, treats the "Opportunists" of Liberal Catholicism, in one of his writings recently published, entitled, "Le Modernisme dans l'Eglise d'après des lettres inédites de La Mennais":—

"Fear, this is the last word of this 'opportunisme,' which, even at its best proceeds from the influences, at times afar off, but always recognizable, of 'modernism'; fear, which springs from a feeling of powerlessness to repress injurious freedom, or from a persistence, emanating from sectarian error, not to see that it exists; fear, which renders those upon whom it seizes hesitating and wavering to such a degree that one asks oneself if they desire good or evil, and one is even tempted, at times, to compare them to the wretched beings whom Dante met in the halls of hell, and whom the Justice as well as the Mercy of God disdains to look upon.

* Fama di lor il mondo non lassa,
Misericordia e Giustizia gli sdegna.
Non ragionan di lor ma guarda e passa."

Quite recently a sort of *political catechism* has been published at Namur, with the approbation of the Bishop, in which the duties of a Christian citizen in a modern State are explained. The following is an extract:—

"Q. The laws and constitutions of nearly all countries recognize and establish, in principle, false liberties—that is to say, liberty for evil as well as for good. What should be the conduct of a Catholic with regard to such laws and constitutions?

"A. He should not approve of, but observe them, making the best possible use of liberties for good, and preventing, in so far as it is in his power, all liberty for evil.

"Q. How should a Christian regard these laws and constitutions?

"A. As a necessary convention between Christians and the enemies of the Church, which must be mutually observed, but not as the normal condition in which society should exist. In addition to this he must look upon them as a permanent danger, whence revolution, and even social revolution, will inevitably spring."

This, then, is the attitude of the pure Catholics. They cannot approve of modern liberties as contrary to the Church's teachings, but they must take advantage of them in order to reconquer a majority, and, again in power, they will re-establish what they call a true Christian administration—that is to say, the administration that reigned at Rome when the Pope ruled there. It is the application of Veuillot's well-known saying, which he addressed to the French Liberals, "We claim from you liberty, your principles being in favour of it; but we refuse it to you, as ours are against it."

This too open attitude of the genuine Catholics is severely blamed by the political Catholics. When the Catechism, from which I have given extracts above, appeared, the principal organ of the Parliamentary Catholic party, *Le Journal de Bruxelles*, pitilessly attacked it. Such writings, it said, justify all the apprehensions of the Liberals. In reality, the language of this periodical must be merely a question of tactics, for it cannot ignore that, from a doctrinal point of view, the Ultramontane Catholics are in the right. Besides, the "opportunists" themselves owe obedience to the bishops, for it is their influence, combined with that of the priests, which gives all the Parliamentary Catholics their seats in the House.

Nevertheless, one can but recognize that Rome, at the present time, is inclined to lean towards Liberal Catholicism. This tendency made itself so strongly felt at Louvain, that it brought about the resignation of M. Perin, the eminent professor, who for upwards of thirty years has shown great talent and eloquence, in explaining and defending true Roman tradition, in the domain of public law and political economy.

At the communal elections, last October, the Catholic party gained ground in certain provinces where clericalism was already dominant, but in large towns it has become almost impossible for them to contest certain seats. An election for one-half of the Lower House will take place in the course of the year; only, as it is for the Liberal provinces, there is no fear of the present Ministry losing its majority.

I have often remarked that in England the difficulties which result from this ceaseless strife, between the partisans of religion and the partisans of freedom, for the maintenance of free institutions do not seem to be clearly understood. In France, for instance, no sooner was the Republican party in power, than measures were immediately taken against religious orders and Catholic instruction—measures which were

very little in conformity with the spirit of liberty. As a natural consequence of this, the clergy are now most hostile to all Republican institutions. In Belgium, the Constitution having precisely defined and strictly guaranteed liberty of every description, such measures are utterly impossible, but the reforms introduced in primary education are equally irritating to the clergy.

Now, it is impossible to conceal the fact that it is a grave danger for any free country to possess as an acknowledged enemy the dominant Church, and all the faithful who owe her obedience. If it is difficult for liberty to gain a firm footing in Catholic countries, the cause, in my opinion, arises from the permanent hostility—I may say, the divorce—of religion and liberty. Probably, before the close of the century we shall see more of the sad results of this.

The existence in Belgium of two parties so distinctly and clearly separated, offers, however, some compensation: it favours the good working of Parliamentary government. This is, in fact, the second point to which I wished to draw attention. It seems to me to possess an importance passing beyond the limits of our little country. People frequently complain of the evils brought about by party spirit, of the injustice it leads men to practise, of the narrowness of view it engenders, stifling at the same time the opinions of the minority. All these accusations are perfectly true, yet if opposite parties did not exist in a country, the mechanism of Parliamentary administration would turn to no purpose; it would not attain its end. It is in Italy that this phenomenon can be the best observed. The Italian Parliament counts among its members a larger number of distinguished men than any other representative assembly, and, at the same time, it is generally admitted, even in Italy itself, that the Parliamentary system does not realize the hopes that the country had built upon it. Power passes constantly from one hand to another, a Ministry seldom remaining for more than six months. The march of events may be briefly summed up as follows:—Interpellation made, anti-ministerial *ordre du jour* voted, Ministerial crisis, and change of Cabinet. Two or three months are then spent in reconstituting the different parties, another coalition is formed, and the same game begins again. One can but compare it to a sort of march past on the stage, where the actors enter, bow to the audience, and exit to reappear as before. There cannot possibly be any fixed idea or principle in the direction of either home or foreign affairs. The nation is far quieter and better governed when Parliament is not sitting. One of the most distinguished members of the Italian Parliament, the eloquent leader of the "right," Marco Minghetti, makes a profound study of this important problem in a book he has recent published, entitled "I Partiti Politici." This work deserves the attention of every statesman.

The present French Assembly offers the same spectacle as the Italian Chamber—a lack of organized parties. Especially, in the vast field existing between the Royalist and the extreme Radicals, there is to be

found a floating mass, numbering 350 deputies, forming groups bearing different names, but ready to turn either to the right or the left, to-day supporting the Ministry, and abandoning it to-morrow. Gambetta knew that he held no firm footing in this moving sand; he therefore selected the question of "*scrutin de liste*," in order to be in the minority and withdraw. If the incessant instability of the different groups tend to produce in France, as it has done in Italy, a continuous series of Ministerial crises, the country will very soon, tired to death, cry, "*Gâchis, gâchis*," and recall Gambetta, whose programme would be "*scrutin de liste*" and dissolution.

It is not at all the same thing in Belgium. We have here, as in England,—and, indeed, with a distinction even more clearly marked than in England,—two perfectly organized and disciplined parties, who march beneath the banner of a recognized chief. There is no floating element in our Parliament. Each deputy is attached to his party by cords of honour and of interest. If he were to abandon it on any important question, he would lose both his consideration and his seat. The result of this is that the Ministry has as much authority and remains as long in office, as under an absolute Sovereign. All its propositions are accepted by its adherents, and it falls only when abandoned by the country—that is to say, when the elections give the majority to its adversaries. This is why the Parliamentary administration, which we copied from England, works better in Belgium than in any other continental country.

Nevertheless, during the last twelve months a germ of division has become visible, and menaces every moment to enfeeble considerably the Liberal ranks. It is the question of the extension of the suffrage. Of late years the right of voting has been accorded either to the whole male adult population, as in France, and in Germany for the *Reichsrath*, or to a much larger number of electors, as in England and, at the present moment, in Italy. In Belgium the constitution gives a vote to every male adult whose Government taxation amounts to 42 frs. (about £1 13s. 6d.). In order to increase the number of electors, therefore, it would be necessary to revise the Constitution. Certain deputies at Brussels, who constitute the Extreme Left, clamour for this. Others desire to reform only the communal elections, prescriptions as to which are not laid down by the Constitution. The majority of the Liberal party dread an extension of the suffrage, because they feel that the lower orders of the rural populations, especially in Flanders, would vote in obedience to episcopal orders. On the other side, electoral reform was the watchword at the elections which have just taken place in Brussels, where Radicalism is dominant.

In its turn the Catholic party favours some schemes of reform. It has not yet demanded universal suffrage, because it rather dreads the result of the entire population being suddenly ushered into political life. The Catholics are more conservative than believing. Nevertheless

several members have already spoken in the House in favour of universal suffrage, and the others give it clearly to be understood that, rather than remain definitely in the minority, they would join with the Radicals in suppressing the taxation barrier, and in introducing in Belgium the system which has given them, in the German Reichsrath, nearly all the seats in the Catholic provinces.

In Italy, the partisans of the Pope will probably not make use of the right of vote to which the new law entitles them. They prefer abstaining, so favouring the Extreme Left, and thus upsetting the *Savoy* dynasty—such a revolution being the condition of the indispensable re-establishment of the Temporal Power.

In Belgium the Catholics have no desire to push matters so far; as they know that the king is scrupulously firm in fulfilling his duty as a Constitutional sovereign; all they wish is a majority in Parliament. In point of fact, as this majority would be nominated by the bishops, in obedience to the Pope, the latter would reign by interposition.

Only, if this majority were to attempt to exercise its power, as the more violent of the party desire, in definitely stamping out the Liberal party, it would lead to a most perilous revolutionary situation, and Belgium would then enter upon the painful path which France is now treading, where coercion and revolution succeed each other, and where true liberty is always misunderstood and sacrificed.

EMILE DE LAVELEYE.

THE POSITION OF THE AUSTRIAN POWER IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

I HAVE more than once of late years, both in the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW and in other shapes, tried to call attention to the true nature of the power known as "Austria," "Austro-Hungary," "the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy," and the like, and to the relation in which that power stands to the great Eastern question, the great question of the deliverance of the nations of South-eastern Europe from foreign rule. I have had occasion to approach the subject, sometimes from the political, sometimes from the simply historical and geographical side. For if the existence of the Austrian power is one of the greatest of present political difficulties, it is also one of the greatest of historical and geographical anomalies. That is to say, the historical and geographical anomaly leads directly to the practical difficulty. Nowhere has the past a more direct influence over the present; nowhere is knowledge of the past more needful for the understanding of the present. The Austrian power, looked at apart from its immediate political significance, is a singular-curiosity, unlike anything else in the modern world; it is something which might set us speculating very calmly how such a power could have had a beginning and what was likely to be its end. But our speculations take another turn, when the fates of whole nations, nations some of them which lie wholly outside the immediate range of the Austrian power, come to depend on the policy of this curious anomaly. They become more serious still, when everything leads us to suspect that the policy of the curious anomaly is largely in the hands of another power which is no curious anomaly at all, but the greatest existing embodiment of national and personal strength. The struggling nations of South-eastern Europe might perhaps be able to give a good account of their immediate enemy, if he stood alone; but how, if behind Francis Joseph stands the mightier form of Bismarck? And if that strong

hand is once stretched out, what other hands may not be stretched out from all quarters? The calm speculator might begin to remark how small are the occasions, as distinguished from the causes, which lead to great events. The moralist may be tempted to preach that small crimes—crimes, that is, small in scale, crimes which touch but a few people—sometimes lead to great punishments—punishments, that is, great in scale, punishments which touch very many people. More than sixty years ago assembled Europe decreed that a very small people, holding a very small land, should be torn away from their natural prince and their natural countrymen, and should be handed over like sheep to the rule of a foreign house. A small act of caprice and faithlessness—small, that is, in its scale and range—on the part of the present representative of that foreign house has caused the men of that small land—not for the first time—to take up arms on behalf of their rights. Their immediate kinsmen and neighbours, fellow-sufferers at the same hands, have taken up arms after their example. Greater kinsmen and neighbours are stirred at the news; so are their greatest kinsmen of all, kinsmen who are not their neighbours. And when one of the great powers of Europe is stirred, the others are apt to be stirred also. Because an European concert decreed that an Archduke of Austria should also be King of Dalmatia and Lord of Cattaro, because, in that character, another Archduke of Austria has thought fit to break his royal word to the men of the *Bocche di Cattaro*, it may be that those two faults may be avenged on millions who know not where Cattaro and Dalmatia are. Or again, it may be that, in order to escape the evil on a greater scale, the evil on a smaller may have to be borne by those few whom it immediately concerns. It may be that, to save Europe from the danger of a general war, the lands which are now in arms for freedom may by common consent be pressed down under the yoke of their foreign oppressor. Europe will then have again spoken more “last words;” she will have made another eternal settlement—warranted to last till oppression causes the oppressed to take arms yet again, and again to jeopard the repose of Europe by so doing.

It would, if the interests at stake were less serious, have been a little amusing for those who had known something of the course of events from the beginning when they see the press of Great Britain and America suddenly awaken to the existence of events the course of which they had been tracking for many months. The causes of revolt were at work, and the revolt itself might be fairly said to be beginning, in June, 1881. But hardly any attention seemed to be given to the matter by Europe in general till January, 1882. There was nothing wonderful in this. Long before this special course of events began, I had remarked in these pages that there are no people in Europe who have such small means of getting a hearing as the South-Slavonic nations under Austrian rule. Their country is little known and seldom visited. Their local press is, naturally enough, utterly unknown out of the country; and it

would be no great gain if it were otherwise. For there, under the rule of Lord Salisbury's "great constitutional power," military despotism flourishes in all its strength, and any paper which dares to utter a word of truth is at once silenced. Then few newspapers in any country keep regular correspondents in that part of the world. They have chiefly to trust to the Vienna press, which is mainly opposed to South-eastern freedom, but which the "great constitutional power" deals with as vigorously as it deals with the local press of Dalmatia, whenever the loyal capital itself ventures on a word of murmuring. Most English readers depend on the notices in the *Times*, and those who have marked the course of things for the last seven years know well that right and freedom have no enemy more bitter or more unscrupulous than the *Times'* correspondent at Vienna. The *Times* indeed has had at its call some of the very best means of finding out the truth; but it has not been convenient to make use of them. The *Times* has on its staff one correspondent at least who is thoroughly familiar with those lands, who supplied the *Times* with not a few vigorous letters from those lands when news from those lands was sought for. He is now left at Athens, where there is now nothing very special to tell, nothing that an ordinary correspondent might not tell, instead of being sent at once to Dalmatia or Montenegro, where his special qualifications would render him useful above most men. The fact plainly is that truth-telling from those parts is not convenient just now in the quarters which are represented by the *Times* and its Vienna correspondent. In short, the only really trustworthy accounts of passing events in those regions which have reached Western Europe are the full and vigorous letters which have for a long time appeared in the *Manchester Guardian*, accompanied of late by a shorter series in the *Pall Mall Gazette*. By this time at least every one knows that those letters come from the pen of my son-in-law, Mr. Arthur Evans. But I cannot help mentioning that Mr. Evans must not be mixed up with the common run of newspaper correspondents. He is not one who is sent hither and thither to write exciting tales from lands which he never saw before and of whose people he knows nothing. He is a scholar who has been specially drawn to the study of Slavonic history and languages, alike to the antiquities and to the present state of the Slavonic lands. For the furtherance of these studies he has for some years lived at Ragusa. He speaks the language well; he knows the people, and is known and trusted by them. He is a newspaper correspondent in the sense in which Mr. Finlay was one, and in no other. To the truthfulness and general importance of his communications there can be no more honourable witness than his treatment at the hands of those to whom the spread of truth was not convenient. From the measure dealt out to Mr. Evans, from its characteristic meanness and petty trenchery, we may make four inferences as to the state of the Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic mind. First, we learn the importance and danger of the movement which the Imperial,

Royal, and Apostolic sovereign has to face. Secondly, we learn the special importance of Mr. Evans and his letters. Thirdly, we learn how deep is the Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic hatred of truth. Fourthly, we may take the measure of Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic folly, in thinking that it can stop the course of events by merely suppressing their truthful record.

The truth is that the war which began in Dalmatia drew to itself but little attention till the revolt spread into Herzegovina. This again is not very wonderful. Dalmatia, as Dalmatia, has not made itself be very much talked about lately, while Herzegovina has been talked about a great deal. As soon as Herzegovina stepped in, the thing seemed to become part of the general "Eastern Question." About that everybody had heard, and about that everybody could write. It was easy to pass by the fact that the Herzegovinian revolt simply followed on the revolt in Southern Dalmatia, and that the revolt in Southern Dalmatia arose from quite distinct causes of its own. The movement in Crivoscia has its roots far deep in history, both recent and more remote; but it has nothing directly to do with what is commonly called the "Eastern Question." The Turk has no part or lot in the matter; Russians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, above all, Austrians, have had a good deal.

The way in which the *Times* has dealt with the matter is amusing at all hazards. It is so eminently characteristic. There is a kind of mind which puts on an air of extreme wisdom when it announces as a new discovery something about which there has been no doubt for weeks, months, or years, as the case may be. On January 24th, the *Times* began very solemnly:—

"There is no longer any doubt as to the existence of considerable disaffection in Southern Herzegovina. The Hungarian Premier yesterday stated in reply to questions addressed to him, that disturbances of such an extent have arisen in Southern Dalmatia and Montenegro that they will require vigorous action on the part of the Government."

The article then goes on to quote "our correspondent at Vienna" for an account of various engagements between the insurgents and the Austrian troops. It then goes on to discuss the history of Herzegovina since 1875 according to the lights of the *Times*, and winds up with a prediction in its stateliest and most judicial vein:—

"In 1875, in fact, Europe, or a considerable portion of it, was in unstable equilibrium: the Treaty of Berlin restored its stability. In Herzegovina itself there is now no force sufficient again to disturb it, for Austria, in dealing with insurrection, will be supported by the moral authority of the European Arcopagus, which established her in the provinces; whereas Turkey in 1875 had neither moral nor material force sufficient to quell a revolt caused for the most part by her own oppression and incapacity."

It appears then that on January 24th, after all the light which had been thrown on the matter at Manchester for months past, the *Times* knew no better source of knowledge about South-Slavonic matters than a Magyar Minister and a Viennese Jew. But, to do the Jew justice,

his real communication was by no means so absurd as the comment which his London employer made out of it. The *Times* seemingly thought that Dalmatia and Montenegro are parts of Herzegovina; having once copied the word "Dalmatia," it went on to talk of Herzegovina only. The correspondent describes the Hungarian Premier as being questioned about "Dalmatia and Herzegovina," and though he does talk about "disturbances in South Dalmatia and Montenegro," the whole reads as if *Montenegro* were a mistake of the telegraph-clerks for *Herzegovina*. For "disturbances in Montenegro," though the *Times* copies the words quite quietly, is pure nonsense, and the correspondent goes on to put Dalmatia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro in their proper places. He showed very distinctly, if the *Times* could only have understood him, that the war was going on in Dalmatia and in Herzegovina both. But either the *Times* really did not know the difference, or else it was thought convenient to put Dalmatia out of sight, to talk about Herzegovina only, and to slur over the fact that the Herzegovinian rising was simply the completion of the earlier Dalmatian rising. For the Herzegovinian business might be stowed away among generalities about the "Eastern Question," while the Dalmatian business could not be discussed without meeting the fact that the revolt in Crivoseia has nothing to do with the "Eastern Question," but that it was provoked by a direct breach of faith on the part of the Apostolic King of Dalmatia and Lord of Cattaro. And in face of that fact, it would be hard to talk about "Austria" being "supported by the moral authority" of anybody. A writer who thinks that the Treaty of Berlin "restored the stability" of anything, and who shows that depth of ignorance which is involved in chatter about "the European Atropagus," will doubtless go a long way; but he could hardly set down the true history of the dealings of Francis Joseph with his Dalmatian subjects, and then venture to speak of his having any part or lot in "moral authority" or moral anything.

It is well to look back to this article in the *Times*, though it is now a little old, as a specimen of the kind of information on these matters which is all that a great part of the English public ever comes across. It is most important for a right understanding of the whole matter to distinguish two movements which, closely connected as they are in other ways, are wholly distinct in their origin. The people of Herzegovina, handed over from the Turk to the Austrian, revolt against the Austrian, because they find him, to their thinking, at least as bad a master as the Turk. But, before they revolted, the people of Crivoseia, who never were under the Turk, had already revolted on account of grievances of their own, which were of purely Austrian making. These things are connected in the way that all South-Slavonic things are connected; they are connected so far as both alike bear on the general position of the Austrian power in the South-eastern peninsula. But both the immediate and the remote causes of the two are wholly distinct. To jumble them together

as the *Times* does, at once hinders any understanding of the whole story. And the "disturbances in Montenegro" which the *Times* blindly copies, without thinking whether the words are sense or nonsense, and which the *Times* seemingly thinks it is the business of the Austrian Government to see to, are, it is needless to say, purely fictitious.

For the real origin of the movement by the Bocche di Cattaro we must go back to days which are not very remote, days which a few old people can still remember, but which are at least older than the new-fangled, but very successful, imposture which calls itself the Austrian "Empire." The wrongs of the Crivoseians begin in days when one presumptuous duchy had not taken to itself the style or the badge of Caesar; the first offender on our list was indeed a nominal Duke of Lorraine through his father, a real Archduke of Austria through his grandmother; but he was also King of Germany and Roman Emperor-elect. Francis, last of Emperors, he whose meagre titles so pertly flaunt themselves in the peristyle of Jovius, had, besides his elective Empire, inherited the family estate of odds and ends, a scrap of a nation here, a scrap of another nation there, torn away from the kinsfolk to whom they would naturally be joined, in order to swell the titles and the coffers of a single man. The last Augustus of the West was not ashamed to ally himself with the upstart commonwealth of France, to despoil the city which was at once the most venerable of commonwealths and the power on which, more truly than any other, the mission of the Eastern Caesars had fallen. The infamy of Campoformio, more than recalling the infamy of Cambray, forms the beginning of our story. The thing is characteristically Austrian; the doings of the Francis of that day thoroughly forestall the doings of the Francis of ours. To despoil a weak neighbour without striking a blow was then the very height of Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic policy; it is so still. "Austria" poses herself before the world as an ancient, venerable, conservative power. In very truth no power has risen more steadily by setting its face as a flint against everything that was ancient and venerable, by trampling on every historic right and every national memory. The last five years of the eighteenth century beheld the wiping out of the two powers which had guarded Christendom against the barbarian. The deliverance of Vienna by Polish swords was rewarded by the share of the House of Austria in two of the partitions of Poland. Cracow had hardly received her new master before Venice was to pass away like Poland, and the estates of the encroaching House were to be enlarged by a plentiful share in her spoils also. Part of this share took in the Dalmatian possessions of the Republic, and among them that small land whose gallant struggles for freedom, now and thirteen years back, form a page in the history of patriotic strivings against fearful odds as noble as any of those which have won a higher place in general remembrance.

The first thing to be borne in mind is, that the lands of Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Southern Dalmatia, are in truth one land, parted

into three only by political accidents. Their inhabitants are one people in the very strictest sense. They have always felt and acted as one people. Whenever any one of the three has had any fighting to do, the other two have always come to help. *Tzernagora*, Montenegro, is simply that part of the land which has been able to keep its independence through all trials. Till less than thirty years back, the mountain principality, diplomatically unacknowledged, had no defined boundaries. Montenegro was that extent of soil, sometimes greater, sometimes less, out of which its people were able by constant warfare to keep the invading Turk. Before the end of the fifteenth century, the Slaves of the sea-coast found themselves unable to keep their independence; the next best thing to independence was to become a dependency of an European instead of a barbarian power. The men of the *Bocche* commended themselves to Saint Mark and his Commonwealth, stipulating that their ancient customs and privileges should be respected, and that, if the Republic should at any time be unable to protect them, they should not be ceded to any other power, but should be left to shift for themselves as they could.

For three hundred years this agreement seems to have been fairly kept. Under the guardianship of the winged lion the commended lands enjoyed safety from barbarian rule, and their local privileges seem to have been respected by their distant protectors. At last the very case came which had been foreseen so long before. Saint Mark could no longer protect them. He had defended them against the Turk; against the twin conspirators from Corsica and Lorraine he could not defend them. If any people had a twofold claim to freedom, by natural right and by solemn engagements, it was this small folk of the coasts and hills by Cattaro. But natural right and solemn engagements went for nothing when the Austrian House wished to enlarge its family estate, and when it suited the momentary policy of Buonaparte to back it up in enlarging it. In the division of the spoil at Campoformio, the people whom Saint Mark had so long guarded, instead of receiving the freedom which was their lawful due, were torn from the rule of protectors whom their forefathers had chosen and were handed over to the rule of a master whose only claim was that he wished for the possessions of a neighbour, and found himself strong enough to take them.

It must be remembered that the division of Campoformio did not give the House of Austria the unbroken possession of the whole Dalmatian coast. That coast had up to that time been very unequally divided between the republics of Venice and Ragusa. The last-named city had, by a dexterous policy, by the admission of a certain external and nominal overlordship in the Turk, contrived to maintain her independence of the Venetian power which gradually swallowed up all her neighbours. The city itself, with the coast on each side from Kieck to Sutolina—a narrow strip of Christendom indeed between the sea and the mountains—together with the long peninsula of Sabioncello, the great island of Meleda and a few smaller ones, formed the dominions of the common-

wealth of Ragusa. So deep was Ragusan jealousy of Venice that the lesser commonwealth preferred to be isolated from her dangerous neighbour, even at the expense of letting the infidel come down to the sea. At each end of the Ragusan territory, an almost invisible patch of Turkish sea-coast divided the dominions of the two republics. Ragusa was one of those city commonwealths in which an aristocracy, exclusive but not oppressive, knows how to keep on its dominion for ages. At any rate, if Ragusa had any public sins, they were all of a domestic kind; towards her neighbours she was wholly guiltless. As yet she was spared. The House of Austria took only what had belonged to Venice. Its Dalmatian possessions therefore lay in two parts, with the Ragusan territory and the patches of coast held by the Turk parting them asunder. But, with this exception, the Austrian now held the whole Adriatic coast on both sides, from the borders of Albania to the borders of the States of the Church. The acquisition of Dalmatia, of Venetian Istria, of Venice itself and the Venetian lands at the head of the Gulf, did indeed nobly round off the maritime estate of the King of Croatia and Lord of Trieste.

As all the world knows, the agreement between the two despoilers of Venice did not last long. The year 1805 saw the signature of a document memorable on many grounds, not the least because it was drawn up between two personages described as the "Emperor of the French" and the "Emperor of Germany and Austria." Charles the Great, or Charles the Fifth either, would have stared a little at this description of their degenerate successor who had so strangely forgotten who he was. By the Peace of Pressburg, "the Emperor of Germany and Austria" withdrew altogether from the coast, and his Dalmatian possessions passed, as far as treaties could make them pass, to "the Emperor of the French." Ragusa thus remained pent up, with the dominions of France on either side of her, as she had before been pent up between the dominions, first of Venice and then of Austria. The Corsican went a step beyond either of his predecessors; three years' endurance of an oasis of independence was too much for him; one day in the year 1808, without provocation, in the sheer wantonness of tyranny, he put an end to the Ragusan Republic. But he was far from quietly keeping the whole of the Dalmatian coast. In 1797 Austria and France together had had their own way; it was otherwise when, first England and then Russia, appeared as enemies of France, and when neither England nor Russia despised the help of Montenegro. Between 1810 and 1813 a number of points were delivered from the French. Curzola, under English protection, believed itself to be enjoying freedom for the first time. Tzernagora again reached to the sea; Cattaro, freed from all foreign masters, became the capital of the one free South-Slavonic State, the dwelling-place of its Vladika. The freemen of the privileged districts, finding themselves again in the position contemplated by the old treaty, formally united themselves with their independent brethren. The people of Crivoscia adopted the Vladika of

Montenegro as their prince, and his people as their countrymen. The wrongs of ages were undone. The unconquered home of freedom, the one land whose people had never bowed to the barbarian yoke, had at last won the enlargement which was needful for its very being, partly by the voluntary commendation of a free people, partly by honourable warfare against the common enemy of Europe.

It is hard to conceive a better right than that by which the Vladika of Montenegro held Cattaro and the neighbouring lands. Or rather it is hard to conceive a better right than that by which the men of the privileged lands had united themselves with their independent brethren. It is hard to conceive any tie of international honour and duty more sacred than that which bound England and Russia to the small but gallant people whom they had helped to win back its ancient rights. The small power had been, to put things on the lowest ground, a useful helper to the two great powers; it would have been the mere honesty of the tradesman, to say nothing of the honour of the gentleman, for the two great powers to see that their small ally was not defrauded of possessions which were in some sort their own gift. Nor is it easy to conceive any better claim than that which Ragusa had to receive back again, at the hands of those who had overthrown the common enemy, the freedom which the enemy which they had overthrown had been the first to filch from her. But neither honesty nor honour, neither common gratitude nor common shame, went for much when the great powers of Europe came together to mete out the lands of Europe, above all when the princes of Europe came together to mete out the possessions of its commonwealths. Francis of Austria, he who had had so much experience of partitioning and being partitioned, found that his time for partitioning had come again. With that peculiar brazen-facedness which seems to come of the union of Lorraine and Habsburg, the man who had been an Emperor stood forth in the face of mankind to ask, not only for his old stealings back again, but for leave to make new stealings as well. The Dalmatian kingdom he had been unable to keep; over Ragusa no Austrian duke had reigned for a moment; Cattaro and the neighbouring lands had been restored to their natural prince by the worthiest of titles. But Francis of Austria wanted them all; it was not enough to press his yoke again on Venice and Trent and Milan; it was not enough to press it on Zara and Sebenico and Spalato; Cracow had been torn from his grasp; a new commonwealth had arisen at one end of his estate; he could not endure the restoration of an old one at another end; so Ragusa, instead of winning back the freedom of which she had been so cruelly spoiled, was handed over from one foreign master to another. And as for Cattaro and Crivoscia, if Peter of Montenegro had been an useful ally to England and Russia, Francis of Austria had been an ally more useful, because more powerful, in the latest times of all. Before such claims, right, honour, gratitude, went for nothing; what the Austrian asked for he got; the new-won

freedom of Crivoscia was cancelled; the independent principality had again to draw back within its barren mountains; the brethren so happily united after so long a severance were again forcibly parted asunder. And all was done to gratify the greed of dominion of a single man, a man who seemed unhappy as long as anything ancient, anything free, anything that by either freedom or antiquity could rebuke his own upstart tyranny, remained in being within sight of his borders. Ahab at least offered Naboth the price of his vineyard; Francis of Austria could enjoy the satisfaction, so purely Austrian, of despoiling a weaker neighbour, of overthrowing the liberty of a free people, and that without striking a blow or spending a kreuzer.

Now, if the word usurpation has any meaning, it is hard to see to what recorded transaction it better applies than to the Austrian possession of Ragusa, Cattaro, and the districts which took up arms last year. A foreign intruder, with no excuse beyond his greediness of other men's goods and his hatred of other men's liberties, takes possession of lands to which he had no claim, either by descent or by election, lands part of which had, under the provisions of ancient treaties, formally chosen a sovereign of their own race. He might perhaps have been said to have the "moral authority" of "the Arcopagus of Europe" on his side; only people had then hardly begun to chatter about the "Arcopagus of Europe." But right he had none; the rule of the Austrian in the Dalmatian lands is simply the rule of brute force, the rule of might trampling upon right. It is simply because one side of the Adriatic is so much better known than the other, that the wrongs of the Italian subjects of the Austrian power have awakened so much of sympathy, while the wrongs of its South-Slavonic subjects have awakened so little. In both lands alike the rule was that of an alien master; in both alike the people handed over to the alien master were unnaturally parted asunder from brethren of their own stock. Montenegro was more to Southern Dalmatia than Piedmont was to Lombardy and Venetia. Piedmont indeed gradually came to be the model Italian State to which other Italian States wished to join themselves; but Lombardy and Venetia had not been violently torn away from Piedmont, as Cattaro and Crivoscia had been violently torn away from Montenegro. The Lombard at most looked forward with hope to union with Piedmont as the good State of the future; the Crivoscian looked back with sorrow to union with Montenegro as the good State of the past. The rule of the stranger is very much of the same kind on both sides of Hedria. The Austrian rule in Dalmatia is dull, wearisome, ingenuial, unnational, utterly unscrupulous in case of opposition; but it would be unfair to speak of it as a rule of habitual gross outrage, like that of the Turk. But then it would be equally unfair so to speak of it in Italy. Two points of difference indeed may perhaps be noticed. In Dalmatia the Austrian rule had at least the advantage of having something worse than itself hard by in the shape of Turkish rule. The man of Ragusa at least did not wish to change places with the man of Trebinje. And again,

while in homogeneous Italy the Austrian had no supporters but actual traitors, in Dalmatia, a Slavonic land with more or less of an Italian fringe along its border, the foreigner could from time to time command a certain measure of support by playing off as suited him either the Italian against the Slave or the Slave against the Italian. But, except these shades of difference, the Austrian rule in the two countries was essentially of the same kind. In both it was essentially wrongful in its origin; in both it was of a kind which, even when it abstained from gross oppression, could never call forth those feelings of loyal attachment with which the free Italian looked to Victor Emmanuel of Piedmont, and with which the free Slave looks to Nicolas of Tzer-nagora.

When the South-Dalmatian lands were for the second time thrust under the yoke, the betrayed people went crying to their late ally, Alexander of Russia, praying that, if he could not hinder their separation from their own prince and their own people, he would at least procure that their foreign master should guarantee to them their ancient local privileges, which had been always observed under the rule of Saint Mark. Some such guaranty was given, and I have no reason to think that the pledge was seriously broken till the present reign. The chief point of privilege to which the Crivosciaus have ever clung has been their exemption from military service at Austrian bidding. This burthen, sometimes spoken of as *landwehr*, sometimes as *conscription*, but which is not exactly the same either as the German *landwehr* or as the French *conscription*, is a burthen specially hateful to them. This is assuredly not from any dread of fighting, but from a dread of being made to fight on the wrong side. The German *landwehr*, even the more galling French *conscription*, is, at all events, a service which a man pays for the real or supposed defence of his own country. But *landwehr* or *conscription* forced on a man of Crivoscia by his Austrian master comes to him simply in the light of a tribute of blood paid to a foreign usurper. If he takes up arms at the bidding of the usurper, to use them at the usurper's caprice, he may presently be bidden to turn the badges of his slavery against his national prince and his independent brethren. Conceive the men of Hampshire liable to be ordered to march against the men of Berkshire, and against the castle of Windsor, at the bidding of a French master, and we may better understand the real cause of the present movement the true nature of which is so carefully hidden from the British public by the *Times* and its Vienna correspondent.

The peculiar circumstances under which the present ruler of Austria, Hungary, and the kingdom and duchies to the south of them, came to his crowns cannot yet be forgotten. He holds them emphatically by a base tenure. Rejected by Austria, rejected by Hungary, he was enabled to win those lands as conquered countries by the help of two Slavonic patrons, within and without. It is owing to Nicolas of Russia and Jellachich of Croatia that Francis Joseph kept a single crown on

his head. According to the common rule in such cases, it is the race which conferred the benefit which has come in for the hardest measure at the hands of him who received it. The Italian lands, crushed down again into bondage after the struggle of 1848-9, were kept under the foreign yoke till their deliverance in consequence of the events of 1859 and 1866. Milan and Venice were now free; Gorizia and Aquileia, and the more modern stealing of Trent, were left in bondage; and no one thought for doing anything for enslaved Dalmatia. The day of Lissa can hardly be called a day of Austrian victory. It was rather a day of victory for Slaves and Italians fighting for an Austrian master against Italians fighting for their own king and people. On that day there were Italian flags in Spalato ready to be hoisted, and which actually were all but hoisted, under the belief that the ship which came with the news of the defeat of Italy was in truth fleeing from Italian victors. Last year, when there was no immediate Italian movement, but when there was a Slavonic movement, the Italian party in Spalato were pouring over with phrases of loyal devotion to the "August Monarch," who had just, in the exercise of Royal and Apostolic caprice, suppressed the municipal constitution of their city. It is by thus dodging backwards and forwards that the foreign master gains the little influence that he ever has beyond the strength of his foreign bayonets. Anyhow Lissa and Custoza were won, and it must be on the strength of them that the defeated of Solferino and Sadowa is graven with a laurel wreath around his brow. But from that time the bearer of that wreath has changed his policy. The defeated of Solferino and Sadowa had had quite enough of meeting powers of his own rank in the open field; he has since given himself to the easier task of insulting and oppressing his weaker neighbours, and that, as far as possible, without ever striking a blow. Reconciled with the lands which had once cast him forth, he has carefully turned his hand against the race whose sons had turned the tide in his favour in his day of need. He has found his tools for his devices against the freedom of other nations in the men whom he once sought to slay when they were striving against him for the freedom of their own nation. Now came the great system of "dualism;" that is the *condominium* or joint tyranny of the German and Magyar minorities over the Slavonic majority in the dominions of the Austrian House. I must confess to having been one of those who were altogether deceived by the Hungarian coronation of 1867. Without pledging ourselves to the doctrine that the royal unction wipes out past sin, we certainly believed that the man whom that rite changed from a tyrant to a king honestly proposed to lead a new life in his kingly character. I was even so far deceived as to dream that a King of Hungary, king of the realm which was the first to be set free from the Turkish yoke, might cast aside the shackles of German and Italian dominion, might place himself at the head of the Slavonic majority in his kingdoms, and might, as such, become the deliverer of South-eastern Europe. I, and any others who thought as I

did, had hardly taken in that the freedom of the Magyar meant the prolonged and deepened bondage of the Slave. We had not fully grasped the fixed purpose of the dominant Magyar minority in the Hungarian kingdom, to allow nothing that could tend to the advantage of the Slavonic majority. The forefathers of the Magyars had been the vassals of the Turk, like the forefathers of the Greeks and the Servians. They were now free from his yoke; they had not indeed kept their freedom like the Montenegrin or won it back like the Servian; it had been won back for them by valiant men from Poland, Lorraine, and Piedmont. But, free anyhow, they grudged to others the deliverance which they had themselves received. Themselves Asiatic intruders on European soil, they were not ashamed to boast of their sympathy and kindred with the Turk, their partners in the bondage of European nations on their own soil. In looking for any interference on the right side from a King of Hungary, we forgot how completely a King of Hungary was a King of Magyars, and how hopeless it was to look to a King of Magyars to do anything for Slavonic freedom. Yet, vain as the dream was, the subject of it had, before many years had passed, a path of righteousness and honour opened to him in another character. The head of the Austrian house bears so many characters that he may play the part of *Proteus* as well for the better as for the worse. What was hopeless in a King of Magyars might not be hopeless in a King of the *Threefold Realm* of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. A chance of better things was presently offered to him, and it was offered to him by the grace of a forgiving people who had deeply suffered at his hands.

The events of 1866-1867 drove Francis Joseph out of Italy, but made him safer than ever in his Austrian duchy and his Magyar kingdom. The first marked act of the new dual power towards the Slavonic majority of its subjects came two years later. It took the form of an attempt to force the hated military service on the privileged districts. Hereby hangs one of the curiosities of recent history. One of the great powers of Europe planned an attack on the rights of a free people whom it called its subjects. The attack was utterly fruitless; the great power was thoroughly beaten by the handful of valiant warriors whom it thought that it could deal with as bondmen. Never was there a more gallant or a more successful strife for freedom than that in which Francis Joseph and his dual monarchy were brought low before the righteous resistance of a little band of patriots. The Apostolic King indeed, notwithstanding his wreath of laurel, is used to defeat. Some of his defeats are known to all men, those defeats, namely, which he has suffered at the hands of powers of his own size. But a defeat at the hands of a small people, a people whom he called his subjects, might easily be hid. A "great constitutional power" which suppresses all the newspapers in its dominions whenever they speak a word of truth, can do great things in that way. And great things have been done in the way of stifling all knowledge of the ill success of the Apostolic armies in 1869. I have found that the best informed men in both hemispheres, some who well knew the story

of 1813-1815 knew nothing of the story of 1869. I feel sure that I should never have heard of it myself, if I had not gone a little out of beaten tracks in the way both of reading and travelling. The plain fact is, that the attacks of Francis Joseph on Crivoscian freedom in 1869 met with exactly the same fate as the like attacks of his predecessors at Morgarten and at Sempach. In the land itself this thrilling page of its history is not forgotten. I have seen in Dalmatian homes little pictures of the defenders of their rights hurling the foreign invaders down the mountain sides with hearty good will. The Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic intrigue was utterly baffled. The ancient privileges of the land were again restored to it; and the man who called himself its Sovereign, found it wise to keep his royal word till a more favourable opportunity offered itself for breaking it again.

Up to this time, the affairs of Southern Dalmatia stood quite distinct from the affairs of South-eastern Europe generally. They had nothing directly to do with the "Eastern Question." The Turk was at least guiltless of the successive betrayals of Dalmatia; it was not an infidel Sultan but an Apostolic King who broke his faith to the men of Crivoscia. For seven years later the greater stream of events and the smaller flow together; since 1875 the history of Dalmatia cannot be kept apart from the general history of South-eastern Europe.

It was in that year that I for the first time saw the Dalmatian lands, and got a slight glimpse of the seat of war in Herzegovina. The insurrection in the last-named land, which was the beginning of all the changes which have since taken place, was then in its first stage. That insurrection was closely connected with the visit which Francis Joseph, in his character of King of Dalmatia and Lord of Cattaro, paid earlier in that year to his Dalmatian kingdom. That visit was understood to be a visit of reconciliation. The King was well received, as kings commonly are. It is hard not to cheer a king; he must be an unusually hateful tyrant indeed who is met even by the rebuke of mere silence. There can be no doubt that the South-Slavonic people fully believed that they had won the King of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, to their own side. And there can be just as little doubt that a noble future was at that moment open to him, if he had been the man to grasp it. King of a crowd of kingdoms in which the Slavonic element forms a vast majority, he might have put himself at the head of that majority; he might, as a Slavonic King, have come forward as the deliverer of South-eastern Europe; he might have done all that Russia afterwards did, without awakening anything like the same jealousy which was awakened by the interference of Russia. To look for all this was but dream-work; but in sober earnest the Austrian power did, for a while, show itself a good neighbour to the patriots of Herzegovina. When I was in Dalmatia in 1875, the insurgents received every kind of help from the Austrian side, short of actual warfare against the Turk. In 1875, I had myself never heard of the

events of 1869: I was still under the delusions of 1867. I openly argued, and Mr. Evans argued also, in favour of an Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I argued in favour of it, chiefly on the ground that a great power like that of Austria could better deal impartially with Christians and Mussulmans than Serbia or Montenegro could do. And I am inclined to think that an annexation in 1875 by Austria, as Austria looked in 1875, would have been accepted by the Christians of those lands as a deliverance. But the next year everything changed. The fact was that the King of Hungary could not dare to do what the King of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia might have been tempted to do. The Magyars grudged the slightest favour to the European race which they so largely held in bondage. The policy of the dual monarchy accordingly became Magyar. No more help was given to the patriots of Herzegovina; but instead of help, every kind of discouragement. Above all things, the patriot leader, Liubibratich, was, by a characteristically Austrian piece of treachery, foully kidnapped on non-Austrian ground. Still it is well to record even the slightest improvement. Francis Joseph at least did not give up Liubibratich for the Turk to behead or impale, as his predecessor gave up Rhégas in an earlier day.

By this time every man of South-Slavonic stock, whether within the family estate of the House of Austria or out of it, had taken the measure of the chief of that house. Every one saw that the realities of 1869, not the hopes of 1867 or of 1875, were to be the standard. At the Berlin Treaty of 1878 the Austrian policy showed itself in a light most thoroughly Austrian. For a power which had stood by and done nothing, to step in to strip a heroic people of the fruit of their valour and their toil, was distinctively Austrian; one cannot think that any crowned head which did not bear the archducal coronet could have sunk quite so low as the filching of Spizza. If one must sin, surely sin on a greater scale; at least take something worth the sinning. But the unutterable meanness of this small stealing was not too base for the lord of the dual monarchy. The dealings of Austria with Montenegro in 1878 looked black enough at a distance; but I never fully understood the whole mystery of iniquity till I found the key on the spot in 1881. At this stage the events of 1875-1878 are closely connected with the events of 1813-1815. It will be remembered that the general outcome of these last was that Montenegro extended her borders and again reached her own sea, by honourable warfare at some points, by free commendation at others. Then the selfish greediness of the Austrian thrust back the delivered lands into bondage, and again shut up the free principality in its barren mountains. Montenegro, thus hindered from extension in the right quarter, by the free annexation of brethren, was driven to extension in the wrong quarter, by conquest of those who were not brethren. In the war of 1876-1878 the Montenegrin arms delivered part of Herzegovina from the Turk; they also won from him the three Albanian havens of Spizza, Antivari, and Dulcigno.

A great outcry was made by those who loved the rule of the Turk over unwilling Greek and Slavonic subjects against the wickedness of Slavonic Montenegro holding unwilling Albanian subjects. It was carefully kept out of sight that the wrong came about wholly because a Prince of Lorraine or Habsburg insisted on holding unwilling Slavonic subjects. One cannot doubt that Montenegro would gladly exchange her Albanian conquests for Cattaro and the Bocche, and then all nations might be suited comfortably. It is also kept out of sight that the Albanian subjects of Montenegro are perfectly satisfied under Montenegrin rule, while the South-Slavonic subjects of Austria show by the clearest of proofs that they are not satisfied under Austrian rule. But let us hasten to the Berlin Treaty. By that treaty the mountain principality was shamelessly robbed of its Albanian conquests, not for the profit of a native Albanian State, but for the profit of the foreign oppressors on either side. The Austrian now enjoyed in all its fulness the specially Austrian luxury of robbing and insulting the weak without exertion on his own part. Of the three havens, Dulcigno was given back to the Turk; Montenegro was allowed to keep Antivari, but only under insolent restrictions within her own waters which Francis Joseph would hardly agree to in his waters of Trieste and Pola. And Spizza, poor little Spizza, Spizza from which he had not so much as taken a wife, Spizza where not a single grandmother of his had ever reigned—he asked for it, as his predecessor had asked for Ragusa, and the “Areopagus of Europe,” in the exercise of its “moral authority,” was not ashamed to give it him. The Turk himself must have sneered in his heart at such petty larceny as this. Surely neither Midhat nor Ahmet Aga would stretch out his hand to pick his neighbour’s pocket of a halfpenny.

But why was Antivari left to Montenegro, while Spizza and Dulcigno were filched from her? It needs a visit to Antivari fully to understand. Montenegro was despoiled of Spizza and Dulcigno, because, small as those havens were, they were valuable to so small a power as Montenegro; she was allowed to keep Antivari, because Antivari had been carefully made valueless. In the Montenegrin siege, the Albanians of Antivari made a gallant defence. In truth they fought on when resistance was quite hopeless, so that Montenegro, in winning Antivari, won, not a city, but only a heap of ruins. But why did the Albanians thus keep on an useless defence? Because they were buoyed up by false promises of Austrian support. This fact, we may be sure, is not written in any official book, blue, green, or yellow; but it is perfectly well known on the spot. Thus was the Austrian, at no greater cost than that of a few false promises, enabled to do damage to two weaker neighbours, with a beautiful impartiality between creeds and races. Injury combined with insult was equably dealt out to Slave and Albanian, to Christian and Mussulman. Surely the day of such a triumph as this was marked with white in the private annals of Lorraine and Habsburg. The delight of wronging both sides alike must have been as keen as the delight of Macaulay’s Puritans, when in their zeal against bear-baiting,

they enjoyed the twofold pleasure of tormenting both spectators and bear.

It is the policy of the *Times* and of writers of that class to keep out of sight facts of this kind which are the very essence of the whole story, and to speak only of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. I have before me the *Times* of February 23rd, which chatters away in exactly the same vein as it did a month earlier. It is all about "annulling the Berlin settlement"—which, the *Times* must know, settled nothing and unsettled everything—about "reopening the Eastern Question"—which, the *Times* must know, never has been closed, and never will be closed till all South-eastern Europe is free. The Dalmatian business, the cause of the whole immediate stir, is still carefully left out; though the Austrian way of doing things is gently blamed, yet the blame comes to this that "Austria has been too rapid and too systematic in her attempts to introduce civilization into the provinces which she holds in trust." Not a word about Austrian doings in the provinces which are not held in trust, but which have been stolen out and out. Or it may be that the infamous breach of faith towards the men of Crivoscia is also an attempt to "introduce civilization." "Austria," it may be as well to remember, once tried to "introduce civilization" into Italy also; but, somehow neither Italians nor Dalmatians nor Herzegovinians like Austrian civilization or Austrian ways of introducing it. But, according to the *Times*, whether they like it or not, they are to have it. The *Times* allows that "Austria" has ruled "vexatiously," that the hatred of the people towards Austrian rule is "not unnatural." But for all that the oppressor is hounded on to do as he pleases with his victims. "What the interests of Europe demand is perfectly plain. It is that the insurrection should be as speedily as possible "put down." Now we know all about this "putting down" of things. I think it is Dickens who has a story of a London magistrate who was determined to "put down all fatherless children and widows." So, from the beginning of the world, all tyrants and abettors of tyrants have been anxious to "put down" all insurgents, all creators of disturbance, in a word, all patriots. But sometimes they have over-reckoned their strength to put things down. In 1875, Lord Derby wrote to the Turk to put down—or, in finer words, to "suppress"—the revolt of Herzegovina. But the revised map of Europe shows how little either the Turk or Lord Derby was able to do anything of the kind. The story is a very old one. The *Times* would have been all for "putting down" Washington and William the Silent; it would have been for "putting down" the men of Morgarten and the men of Sempach; it may be that, as Oriental research spreads, we may light on the exact words in which some Midianitish *Times*, some Midianitish Derby, foretold the "putting down" of Gideon and his three hundred. Experience is lost on people of this class; but experience shows that it is not always so easy to "put down" patriotic movements, and that

speak. First of all, Dulcigno was restored to Montenegro—a bitter pill this for the filcher of Spizza. It is important to insist on the word “restored;” for the line taken by the enemies of freedom was to speak as if Dulcigno had been taken from the Turk for the first time in 1880, instead of being one of the conquests of Montenegro in 1877 taken away from her in 1878. I once met a member of the diplomatic trade, a fine gentleman who talked big about “my friend Franz Josef,” who stood me out that Montenegro had never held Dulcigno at all till 1880. Thus one of the wrongs of the Treaty of 1878 was undone; Mr. Gladstone next went on to carry out one of its few good provisions, a provision which the former Government of England and the hostile powers out of England had up to that time carefully hindered from being carried out. He won the freedom of Thessaly. It is not hard to guess at the influences which hindered Epeiros, which above all hindered betrayed and mourning Jôannina from partaking in the boon which had been twice promised. A power which is bent on making its way to the *Ægean* can have no more pleasure in the extension of the borders of the free Greek than in the extension of the borders of the free Slave. To a power whose very being is founded on the denial of all national rights the strengthening of any national power must necessarily be hateful.

In the matter of Dulcigno right wholly triumphed; in the matter of Thessaly the triumph of right was only partial. But, between the two, the cause of freedom and of national rule had made great advances. And those advances had been made in a shape which must have been specially annoying to the Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic mind. In the matter of Dulcigno above all, Francis Joseph had been made directly to help in undoing his own mischief. The position of the House of Austria among the powers of the world was distinctly lowered when, instead of any free people being despoiled without fighting, first one and then another free people had its borders extended without fighting, the House of Austria itself being constrained to help in the good work.

The time was therefore now come to do something, something which could be done at home, quite quietly, without diplomatic interference from other powers. There was still, within the dominions of the Austrian House, a people who had chartered liberties which might be attacked, a people at whose hands the House had received its last signal military humiliation. It is surely not without significance that the very moment of the deliverance of Thessaly was chosen for a renewed attack on the liberties of Crivascia. Nor is it without significance that when, a little earlier, the lord of so many kingdoms, duchies, and lordships, went through several of them to receive the applause of their people, he did not dare to show himself in any of those South-Slavonic lands where mighty little applause was likely to greet him. Last summer I passed from Corfu, saddened at the betrayal of the opposite shore, by ransomed

Dulcigno, by stolen Spizza, to Cattaro and Ragusa, and the other Dalmatian cities. When I came away the edict for the enforcement of the loathsome military service had gone forth, and the people of the hills were arming to withstand invasion, just as in 1869. During the rest of the year those who chose to know what was going on might learn it from the letters of Mr. Evans in the *Manchester Guardian*; those who trusted to the *Times* and its Vienna correspondent could of course learn nothing. Suddenly both British and American papers woke up to the fact that something was going on. But they hardly fully took in the fact till the revolt had spread from Southern Dalmatia to Herzegovina and Bosnia. Those were names which the *Times* knew at least enough to blunder about; of the affairs of Dalmatia the *Times* had not reached that degree of knowledge which is needful for the generation of a blunder.

What is going to happen I decline to guess. What is happening I have but small means of knowing on the banks of the Mississippi. Now that Mr. Evans is silenced, it will be very hard to know anything. One day a telegram spoke of Francis Joseph and his Ministers as crowing over the complete occupation of Crivoscia; another telegram the same day spoke of the armies of Francis Joseph as undergoing a severe defeat from the patriot arms. One telegram came from Vienna, the other from Tzetinje. The Vienna telegram warns us to put no faith in telegrams from Tzetinje, and I am certainly not disposed to put implicit faith in them. But then I most certainly put no faith in telegrams from Vienna, and the very warning sounds as if the Tzetinje telegram had some truth in it. But we may at least believe, when the *Times* itself reports, days after Francis Joseph had been congratulating himself on the complete occupation of Crivoscia, that the war in Crivoscia was going on all the same. And some things we do know. One is that in Crivoscia Francis Joseph found the armed resistance of those whom he calls his subjects so dangerous that he thought it needful to call in the mediation of their natural prince, the man whom he had himself despoiled, the lawful lord of Crivoscia, Nicolas of Tzeruagora. So low can a man of Lorraine and Habsburg stoop to gain his ends. But the ends were not gained. As the Austrian could not withdraw any of those points of his tyranny which had driven the people to arms, the mediation naturally came to nothing. And I know further, that in Bosnia and Herzegovina Christians and Mussulmans have forgotten their old quarrels in common loathing of the foreign oppressor. When the attempt was made to force the military service on Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as on Crivoscia, the men of both creeds rose. Men of Slavonic stock, however divided in creed, were united in the fixed purpose not to let the stranger take tribute of their blood. The chiefs of both religions have sworn the old Slavonic oath of brotherhood, and they go forth side by side, fellow-soldiers in the national cause against the hated foreigner. Such an

union as this can hardly be "put down" in a hurry, even though the best-turned sentence in the *Times* decrees that "put down" it shall be. Anyhow, the end is not yet. The end will not be till the South-eastern lands are free alike from the Turk and the Austrian. Seven years back they might have been freed from the Turk by the Austrian; Francis Joseph might have made himself a Slavonic prince, he might have forestalled Russia by himself putting on the mantle of Bulgarian Simeon or Servian Stephen. Those days are now passed. The Austrian power has definitively put on the character of the disturbing element, the anti-national element, the power which will leave nothing in peace, which will leave nothing to its natural growth, throughout the South-eastern lands. Now it leads to confusion of thought if we attribute all these doings to an ideal being called "Austria," as though "Austria" were a national power like the other five, alongside of which it is allowed to sit in the "European Arcopagus." Austria itself, and the people of Austria, the people of a respectable German duchy, are doubtless quite innocent in the matter. And be it remembered that, in the matter of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Magyars themselves are quite innocent. Their occupation, their retention, is wholly against all Magyar policy. "Austria" in the diplomatic sense, the "Austria" which is ever troubling the world with some small intrigue, some small stealing, is not the name of a land or a people; its policy is not conceived in the interest of a land or a people. "Austria" in this sense means simply the master of all those odds and ends of lands and nations which have so queerly come together to make up the family estate of a particular man. The "policy of Austria," the "interests of Austria," does not mean anything which in any way concerns Austria and its people; it does not mean anything which concerns any of the other lands which have a common master with Austria. Those phrases mean simply the intrigues by which the particular man who is their common master strives to keep together and to enlarge his family estate. Within the bounds of that family estate there have been, there still are, fragments of nations unnaturally parted from their brethren, which yearn to be joined to their natural countrymen and their natural princes. In one case, in the case of Lombardy and Venetia, those yearnings have become realities; may they soon be realities in the case of those lands which have shared in the bondage of Lombardy and Venetia, but do not yet share in their freedom. We know not what may be coming, but we may at least wish for those lands a good deliverance, and for their master and his family estate a good *Zersplitterung*.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN

DISESTABLISHMENT IN SCOTLAND : A REPLY.

I HAVE been reluctant "to entertain the suggestion" of making a reply to Principal Rainy's paper on Disestablishment* for several reasons. There are moods when one feels argumentative and disposed to resent attack. There are other moods in which one feels wonderfully quiescent in the face of things calculated to provoke offence or even danger. I have not been moved, nor indeed much interested, by Dr. Rainy's winter and spring campaign against the Established Church of Scotland. I do not think that the public has been moved by it, or cared for it much. Any response there has been to his reiterated appeals—from Hawick to Inverness—has been of a lagging character. There has been no popular stir, and laymen of influence have kept aloof from the agitation.

It was said pretty often some years ago, that if the representatives of the Establishment would only leave the question of the Church alone, nobody was stirring it: it was their own voices that made all the commotion. I did not think that this was a just criticism at the time, and I do not think so now. The advocates of the Established Church have been willing enough to leave its defence alone. The question has been forced upon them rather than urged by them. But whether this be true or not, it must be admitted that they have been marvellously patient under Dr. Rainy's attacks. They have made little or no sign, whether conscious of the strength of the Church, or wearied with controversy, statistical and logical. I have great sympathy with this attitude of passive resistance, and have shrunk in consequence from taking up the weapons of active controversy.

I am free to confess also that I dislike the purely political and sectarian region into which Dr. Rainy and others have dragged the question. He has chosen to assume that the time has gone by for the larger

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, March, 1882

argumentative treatment of the subject, and the vital national interests it involves. He has become—the statement is simply one of fact, whether he likes it or not—a political propagandist on behalf of an issue which he has settled beforehand. Dr. Rainy is entitled to do what he likes. He is the best judge of the usefulness or importance of the public career on which he has embarked. I can only wonder at and envy the fecundity of strength and store of leisure of which he and Dr. Cairns seem possessed in the midst of their professional labours as theological teachers. It is a testimony of unabated vitality which must be a joy to their friends, and gives warning of a long career of polemical activity. But men who have neither their agility of mental vigour, nor their superfluity of leisure, may be excused from following them. The political issues, besides, of the struggle—grave as they are—are not those which chiefly interest me. One must learn to bear all things politically, and to face the inevitable changes of the modern world whether one approves of them or not. There are infinite resources in the future which may turn the worst apprehended results into unexpected good. But no such eventualities can change principles, and convert what is wrong or mean in argument into what is right. It is in the region of principle and of intellectual argument that I feel the question to be a great one and worthy of discussion. It is here alone that there is a fair issue between reasoners on one side or another. I can understand the grounds of controversy with men like Dr. Hutton and Mr. Frederic Harrison—with the latter of whom I once had an argument in this REVIEW. One knows where he is in meeting such opponents, and interest is kindled by the conflict of principles bearing on national life. But it is a trying and not an elevating task to pursue Dr. Rainy through the sinuosities of his political game. The game has meanings for him, probably, that it cannot have for me, or for any outside of his circle. At any rate, he himself cannot claim for his agitation any urgency of principle. He still professes to believe in the Free Church Claim of Right, which holds to the ground of Establishments if only they can be got of the right sort. He has never renounced this ground, and is careful to distinguish himself and his party from the voluntary Dissenters. "I am no Dissenter," he exclaimed lately, in a moment of forgetful enthusiasm, while inviting the co-operation of Dissenters in his Disestablishment crusade.

In such circumstances one may be pardoned for being reluctant to take up a controversy which does not rest on intelligible principles, nor, in the meantime at least, seems likely to issue in important practical consequences. All the same it is not desirable that any direct indictment against the Church of Scotland, and the claims which it still makes to represent the people of Scotland, should pass unnoticed in the pages of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. These pages lend a significance to statements more than would have belonged to them if merely vented on a political platform or in a sectarian assembly.

In turning to Dr. Rainy's paper itself, I feel a new difficulty arising out of its desultory and special character. It is pitched throughout in the same key to which his campaign has been attuned. It plays a varied note, but the note never rises into grave argument or touches any high strain. It is of the nature of a manifesto rather than a reasoned discussion. It is full of explanation of the Free Church position and of the mixed motives which animate the combined forces moving against the Church of Scotland, but he nowhere faces nor apparently recognises the seriousness of the national change which he advocates, either as to its means or its consequences, still less as to the principles which it involves. His paper is entirely in the vein of our new school of politicians, more distinguished for zeal than knowledge or experience. It bears throughout "the light heart," which makes nothing of such a problem as Disestablishment. "Any one," he has said, "could draw an Act of Parliament for the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland in half an hour."* This spirit of jaunty audacity pervades Dr. Rainy's paper. He jumps from topic to topic with an airiness of touch which insinuates where it is afraid to strike. Clear in detailed statement and mere diction as his writing generally is, I have yet found the paper singularly confused in substance. It goes forward and then turns backward, and then advances on the old lines, till the reader loses all thread of connection. It is never done with defining the Free Church position, even to its "minor sections;" it takes up the question of the relative strength of the Establishment and the other Presbyterian bodies, and drops it, and then resumes it; it deals in various insinuations without decidedly supporting any of them; it pays a passing compliment to Dr. Kennedy of Dingwall, Sir Henry Wellwood Moncreiff, Professor Bruce; pats the voluntaries on the back; and even holds out the flag of invitation to the Established Church itself. And all is done with the smiling confidence of a controversial artist accomplished in party stratagem.

It would be useless even if it were possible for me to take up all these details. As to the position and interior politics of the Free Church, Dr. Rainy is entitled to speak with authority—or at least with an authority which I have no wish to challenge. He necessarily knows such matters better than I do. Whether or not he is a true interpreter of Dr. Begg and Dr. Kennedy, or speaks correctly for Sir Henry Wellwood Moncreiff and Professor Bruce, I have no claim to set him right. Nor does it matter much to the public or the question in hand whether he has defined accurately all the *outs* and *ins* of the Free Church position. Such matters are really, as he himself admits, of a rather parochial order. Nor need I concern myself with the relation in which he stands to Dr. Hutton and the voluntaries who had made

* We learn this from an admirably reasoned pamphlet on 'Established Churches,' just published by Messrs. Blackwood, which quotes this remarkable saying from some "tract" by Dr. Rainy.

this question their own before he was heard of as a Disestablishmentarian. If Dr. Hutton is pleased to have his battle fought for him with less tempered weapons, this is his own concern. He has been comparatively mute while other voices have been resoundant during the winter. It is a pity that he should fall to the level of the present agitation; for, if his tone is reckless, he has had the merit at least of dealing with the question on some basis of principle—unless when he meddled with statistics!

I shall best accomplish my object, and at the same time traverse the main lines of Dr. Rainy's paper, if I turn the attention of my readers to three points, and in the order which seems to me properly to belong to them—viz., first, the position of the Established Church in reference to the Patronage Settlement of 1874; secondly, the numerical strength of the Established Church; and thirdly, the political situation in the light of all that has been said on the subject. These are the chief topics handled by Dr. Rainy; and all that is important in his paper gathers round them, while there is an obvious sequence between the first and second and the third. Any conclusiveness that there may be in his plea for the urgent overthrow of the Established Church comes entirely from the validity of his assertions under the first and second heads. If, as I hope to be able to show, these assertions have no value, the way will be cleared for a calm consideration of the political question on general grounds of public interest.

I. Few matters have been more persistently misrepresented than the abolition of Patronage in the Church of Scotland in 1874. It has been confidently said that the chief *motif* of this well known event was, so to speak, "to dish" the Dissenters. Dr. Rainy does not say this in as many words; he even allows that it is unnecessary "to impute any but the best and fairest intentions." All the same he conveys the impression, as he uses the language, that the changes were made "to lure Free Church members by an illusory profession of Free Church principles;" while he also speaks of those who hoped "to manipulate the convictions of others" to suit their own purposes.

There is too much of this unworthy suspicion among ecclesiastical parties in Scotland. It seems hardly possible for these parties to be just to one another. That anything can be done by one of them save with the view of injuring another, seems never to be imagined. This jealousy is a base inheritance of Scottish ecclesiastical feuds, happily unintelligible save to those who have breathed their atmosphere. And I do not think there ever was a greater illustration of this unhappy tendency than the manner in which the abolition of Patronage was received by some who had never had a good word to say for it while it lasted. All at once—because it was abolished not by themselves or in their favour—it seemed that there must no longer be evil in the system, but evil in its abolition, and that sinister motives could alone have accomplished it.

It is impossible, of course, to say what may have been the motives of all who engaged in the movement for the repeal of the long-denounced Act of Queen Anne. There may have been deeply-laid schemes behind the action of some. I can only say that, if any cherished such schemes, it was a poor account both of their intelligence and their craft. If they had known anything of the Scottish people and of their religious history, they would have known instinctively that they would fail, as they deserved to fail. "Manipulation" of other people's convictions is a miserable device of statesmanship anywhere; but in Scotland it is an absolutely hopeless device, which none but a lunatic Tory, who had never learned anything since the time of the Stuarts, could entertain. The Church of Scotland has certainly no responsibility for any such policy, and can only repel the thought of it with scorn. If ever there were a movement on the part of the Church without any concealed motives, it was that for the removal of Patronage. The system had for years become disesteemed by all (with a few significant exceptions). As far back as 1866, a Committee on the subject was agreed to by the General Assembly. In 1868 there were three motions before the Assembly, and the second and purely negative motion proved so unpalatable, that it was withdrawn on behalf of a third motion, which I had the honour to make, in favour of proceeding in the movement with caution and deliberation. This motion was carried after long debate by only four of a majority against a motion for the direct repeal of the Act of Queen Anne. By the following year (1869) the movement had greatly accelerated, and the party for immediate abolition of Patronage had grown to 193, as against 88. Next year it had swollen to 241, as against 68; and a letter from the Duke of Argyll received at the same General Assembly may be said to have stamped the movement as authoritatively indicating "the settled feeling and deliberate opinion of the Church." This was the language of the letter in which his Grace expressed his willingness to abandon his numerous patronages, in the exercise of which, as he said, he could "feel little satisfaction, after the system had been condemned by the general voice."

It is impossible to show in any more convincing way how entirely Patronage was discredited long before 1874. It had indeed a few faithful friends and supporters—one especially, Dr. Cook of Haddington—*clarum et venerabile nomen*, I may surely say, as Dr. Rainy has said of a living name that all respect. If anything could have saved a condemned system, the name of Dr. Cook would have done so. There have been few wiser or more statesmanlike men in any Church; and the very fact that his influence was altogether powerless to stem the growing current against Patronage is the strongest possible evidence how general, spontaneous, and undisguised the feeling against it was. Of its wisdom I do not now judge. I had done so two years before to steady the advance of the movement. The Church to realize the gravity of the crisis it was now in, and the wave had risen with accelerating rapidity.

drowned all opposition. In 1872, 1873—and finally in 1874, when the Bill for the Abolition of Patronage was already laid before Parliament—no party in the Church ventured to invite a vote against the movement.

In the face of this simple statement of facts, is it not ludicrous, as it is mischievous, to insinuate that the abolition of Patronage was a mere Tory device for the discomfiture of Dissenters and the advance of Tory interests? Where was there so sound a Tory as Dr. Cook? and the movement was all in his face. It was a real pain to him, and touched him more deeply than many knew. Was the Duke of Argyll a Tory? and no statesman did so much to help the result as he did. Who thought of "luring Free Church members by an illusory profession of Free Church principles"? There is not a single word of Free Church principles in all the motions on the subject, but only of the old "evils of Patronage" and the "advantages of its abolition." And who can deny the right of a national institution to deplore the evils which it feels, and to seek their redress? Can it be reasonably maintained that because the Church in 1843 accepted Patronage, it had no right in 1870 and 1874 to vote for its abolition? Had the Free Church or any other body obtained a vested interest in an abuse simply because they had left it behind? Having obtained freedom for themselves "with a great price," which the world admired, was this any reason that those whom they left in bondage should be compelled to remain in bondage when a time of awakening had come to them? Still more, would it have been reasonable to refuse to a new generation of Churchmen, most of whom knew nothing of the "Ten Years' Conflict," an opportunity of removing old grievances, simply because the statesmen of a previous generation had refused to touch them? A movement thus spontaneously begun, and carried forward in the light of day for a period of eight years, surely needs no sinister key to interpret it.

But the movement was carried out "without any recognition of rights or interests external to the privileged Communion"! This is the gravamen. But what does such a charge mean? Does it mean that no approach was made to the Free Church leaders at the time to consider as "to the revision of the situation" as Dr. Rainy phrases it? *Can Dr. Rainy honestly say that such an approach was not made, and that the difficulties that were thrown in the way came from the Established Church?* Or does the charge mean that the Free Church were not invited once more to share in the privileges of a liberated Establishment? But does not the Free Church continually boast—a boast once more repeated by Dr. Rainy—that the condition of separation from the State is too happy a one to be "renounced under any manipulations by dexterous persons in Church or State"? Is it not further said that the abolition of Patronage is a small matter, hardly touching the fringe of the great controversy which culminated in 1843? As I write, I find in the newspapers of the day a statement by Sir Henry Moncrieff, to the effect that "it is childish and trifling, after Parliament had rejected

the Claim of Right and the principle of spiritual independence, to say that the abolition of Patronage had removed the obstacles that separated the Free Church from the Established Church. The dispute of the Free Church leaders, it is added, "is not mainly with the Established Church, but with the British State." Wherein then is the Established Church to blame? If the Free Church would neither help "to revise the situation," nor after the revision was made did they see any importance in it as touching their own position, in what respect have they received injury?

It is perfectly true that the Free Church, and that any and every body of Dissenters, had a right to advise or take a part in the revision of the Establishment—if the abolition of Patronage can be called by so large a name. As a national institution, they were entitled to have a say in any readjustment of its affairs. But it is impossible at once to stand aloof with averted eyes, and yet to complain of non-recognition—to maintain in the same breath that nothing has been done touching Free Church principles, and yet that injury has been inflicted, or at least intended. The loaves and fishes may not be worth much; they are, indeed, of very moderate value; but we cannot at once flout them and have them. If there is an enviable freedom in standing apart from "the entanglements and responsibilities of an Established Church," then why make a stir at not being made parties to a new bargain with the State? Why, above all, deny to those who are content with their position upon the whole the right to improve it? Because they had clung to the loaves and fishes when others cast them away, were they to be bound for ever to eat them with the bitter herb of Patronage? Because they prized an Established Church when others forsook it, were they to be prevented from lifting a finger to free themselves from "entanglements" which neither they nor their fathers were able to bear?

The truth is that all the rhetoric prevalent on this subject is founded on preconceptions which we must strongly repel, to the effect that conscience and self-sacrifice for principle were all on the side of those who left the Established Church in 1843. No one whose opinion is of any value will ever depreciate the sacrifice of the ministers who then quitted the Church. But it is possible to do justice to them without depreciating the motives and acts of others. 451 ministers seceded, of whom only 289 were parish ministers; 752 remained, of whom 685, or more than double those who went out, were parish ministers. It may have suited the heat of an unhappy crisis to speak of a "residuum," but such language has long since ceased to be respectable; and there is no one who knows anything of the real history of the time who does not know that in some cases as much courage was needed to remain in the Church as to go out of it. And who now can doubt that the large body of ministers and elders who remained were animated by equally conscientious motives with those who left? They had an equal right to their own convictions, if it cost them less to be true to them. And

they and those who followed them had a right to all the traditions of the Church which they refused to abandon. They tried the modified Patronage law of Lord Aberdeen for a quarter of a century, and found it wanting; and in yielding to a new movement for sweeping away lay Patronage altogether they were merely obeying impulses which were traditional, and had been more or less moving the Church all along. To maintain that, in the circumstances, there was anything illegitimate or sinister in such a movement seems to me the very hallucination of party feeling. The movement was amply and even wearisomely discussed; it was plainly popular. Whether it was wise or not, it was inevitable, and it was certainly innocent of any injurious intention to any party or any Church in Scotland.

I have dwelt at some length on this point because it is constantly reappearing in Free Church discussions, and crops up ever and again in Dr. Rainy's paper. It is implied that the Established Church of Scotland has become especially obnoxious since 1871. It was comparatively harmless previously in its torpidity and self contentment with its chains, but since the abolition of Patronage it has become aggressive and intolerable by a sudden activity and proselytizing zeal. I venture to say that all this is a mere fancy picture, without any foundation in fact. The present activity of the Church of Scotland is a very gradual growth, the result of many causes with which the abolition of Patronage had nothing to do. After a period of weakness following 1843 it rallied its strength in some degree from the very decline of the heats which had tended to consume it; it opened its heart to higher impulses, both of Christian philanthropy and liberal thoughtfulness, than had hitherto moved it; it caught a new hold of the national mind, every year losing its narrower zeal, and spreading out broader arms of catholicity. And so it has grown in many directions in quietness rather than in noise. It is this obvious growth and popularity which make the real danger to Dr. Rainy and others, and have raised their voices to such a pitch of shrillness. Let us look at the facts.

II. Dr. Rainy admits that "the Established Church has made progress in the number of her adherents, and that a portion at least of the increase has been well earned." "Church extension operations," he adds, "have been carried on with great spirit. The Church, therefore, has won adherents from the numerical increase of the population, and from the out-field." But he immediately proceeds to detract from the grace of this admission. He has, in fact, done so beforehand by very unworthy insinuations as to the returns of communicants given by the Established Church in 1874, and again in 1878, on both occasions in obedience to Parliamentary order. These Parliamentary Returns have, no doubt, been a sore trial to the enemies of the Church of Scotland. They were invited to curse the Church; they have ended in blessing it. According to the Parliamentary Return of 1874 the number of communicants in the Established Church was 160,000; by the end of 1878 they

had grown to 515,000. Calculating the same rate of increase during the last three years, as that shown during the previous five years, they cannot be less now than 550,000. The Free Church and the United Presbyterians together enumerated their communicants in 1878, according to Dr. Rainy, at 403,097. Taking their own official returns, and allowing for the Free Church in the Highlands (for which they give no returns) the same proportion as seems allowed by Dr. Rainy for 1878, they may now be reckoned as 407,000—thus yielding a numerical majority to the Established Church, over both, of 143,000. But, says Dr. Rainy, all this is moonshine. The figure given for the Established Church "is preposterous." It was "received in Scotland with general incredulity;" and he offers "certain considerations bearing on the question." These are—first, some general statements as to the keeping of communion rolls; second, certain test cases, so extraordinary in his view "as at once to suggest a non-natural explanation;" and third, the alleged results of certain newspaper attempts at a census of Church attendance. We shall look at these "considerations" in succession.

1st. Dr. Rainy implies that the keeping of communion rolls is necessarily a lax business. All names of those "who die or who lapse" should of course be removed from the roll, but this is apt to be neglected; "and, in point of fact, there is nothing wonderful, and nothing very discreditable, in a roll coming to be swollen in that way to twice its proper dimensions." We need say nothing of the obvious fact that if lax communion-roll-keeping be a general infirmity it must be found elsewhere than in the Established Church. For bad as that Church may be, we have never heard that its session clerks were of looser principles than session clerks in general. In fact, as in all the larger congregations, where the communion rolls have swollen to unusual dimensions, they are a class of men of superior position and character, the presumption is strongly in favour of their doing their business with more than usual strictness and formality. "The returns of communicants by the Free and United Presbyterian Churches have never," Dr. Rainy says, "been impugned as to their accuracy. In fact the Free Church return is made for a financial purpose, and every congregation has a specific financial interest in keeping its roll properly purged." "A financial purpose" may accomplish sometimes what honesty cannot do, but it is rarely, we fancy, that it helps people to tell the truth more than honesty. The simple fact is that the keeping of the communion roll in the Established Church is not only the part of honest men who do their work well, and with fairly scrupulous care, but it is the subject of minute and careful regulation by the General Assembly. Kirk-sessions are under law to revise their lists of communicants at least once a year, and to strike off not only the names of those who have died or passed to another communion or congregation, but also the names of those who have been "absent for three consecutive years" (without sufficient reason for absence) from the Lord's Supper; and the roll, after being duly

revised or purged (in many cases twice a year), is duly certified by the Moderator or Clerk of Session, and afterwards submitted at least annually to the Presbytery, which is bound to report to the Synod any Kirk Session that neglects its duty.

No person will of course maintain that these conditions or rules are in all cases strictly observed, or that even where they are observed there are not possible inaccuracies. But no reasonable person will imagine that, apart from a certain obvious contingency, there is any likelihood of a more prevailing irregularity in the Established Church than in other Churches. The obvious contingency to which we allude is that in an Established Church, and especially in large burghal parishes, there is a natural accretion of communicants, the relation of some of whom to the worship of the parish church cannot be at once or so distinctly traced as in the case of Dissenting congregations. The parish church is theirs of right, and their names may survive on the communion roll while their attendance at Divine worship is neither regular nor exclusive. Their names are rightfully preserved where they are till withdrawn; and it is just one of the excellences of an Established Church that it does not cut a clear circle round those who exclusively worship in it, or who are financially available for its support or the support of its schemes. It would not deserve its name if it did. There is no class more valuable to a Christian Church than those who, so to speak, hang loosely to it—those who, in Dr. Rainy's language, "do not attach importance to Church principles or Church distinctions." Such as these were the peculiar care of our Lord Himself, "the great Shepherd and Bishop of souls;" and the work of a parish ministry often finds its most fruitful and living impulse among such. It is one of the least interesting features of Dissent that all on the congregational list have a special congregational and financial value,—that half members and lax members (lax in attendance, I mean), and members not given to distinctive denominational principles, are apt to be lopped off. This is the only respect—in my estimation, one greatly in favour of Established Churches—in which (so far as certain parishes are concerned) there is the least likelihood of the process called "purging the communion roll" being at all less rigorously carried out in the Scottish Establishment than in the other Presbyterian bodies. The idea of a greater prevailing laxity in the one case than in the other is quite incredible, save to a strong party spirit.

2nd. But the best evidence of this I have fortunately to hand. Dr. Rainy has been pleased to indicate certain test cases, where he says "simple inspection is enough. Four congregations in one presbytery are credited this year with 9,800 communicants among them;—a thing portentous to a Presbyterian eye, and at once suggesting some non-natural explanation." I have been at pains to inquire into these "four congregations." They are all in the Presbytery of Edinburgh—at Dr. Rainy's door. Their names are, "St. Cuthbert's," "St. Stephen's"—both in

Edinburgh itself—and the two large parish congregations of North and South Leith. All of them, with the exception of St. Stephen's, are old burghal parishes, such as I have been speaking of, where the communion rolls necessarily exceed the numbers communicating at any one time. In these congregations I have ascertained, on evidence that admits of no question, that the numbers on the communion rolls are for the present year as follows:—St. Cuthbert's, 2,798; St. Stephen's, 2,169; North Leith, 2,189; and South Leith, 2,905: or, in all, 10,361: larger even than Dr. Rainy's total! The aggregate may be "portentous" or not. I have the fact certified under the hand of the session clerk in each case; I have further tested the rolls by every means in my power, —by inquiries of the parish minister, and by ascertaining the number actually participating in the Communion year by year, which closely corresponds to the numbers represented on the rolls; I have it also certified that the rolls are duly kept according to Act of General Assembly—that is to say, that they are carefully revised and corrected every year. The session clerks are in each case men of business, whose accuracy it is no more competent to doubt than it is the accuracy of business men as to any piece of work within their competent knowledge. And if Dr. Rainy's test cases break down in his hand so completely, the reader may infer what value attaches to his general impeachments. Dr. Rainy and others can hardly realize how grave is the imputation of sweeping inaccuracy which he brings against the Parliamentary Returns of 1874 and 1878. It is nothing wonderful, and nothing very discreditable, he says, that communion rolls should be represented as *twice the size that they ought to be!* I can only say that I cannot conceive of anything more discreditable to a minister or session clerk than such a thing, involving as it does falsehood and misrepresentation of a very bad kind. In the only case—a notorious one—where such misrepresentation was attempted—a case which, however gross in itself, had, from the smallness of the alleged number, no bearing on the general question—the clergyman has been prosecuted by his presbytery, and found insane. Such an exception as this may be said to prove the rule; and whatever insinuations may be made in newspapers or elsewhere, I hazard the assertion that no one will venture to challenge in any court of investigation the general accuracy of these Parliamentary Returns.

It is, moreover, to be borne in mind that if the names on the communion rolls of the Established Church have no such definite financial value as those in the returns of the Free Church, they have a definite value of another kind. Every communicant is now entitled by law to a vote in the election of the parish minister. And if there is anything that a congregation or body of Scottish people may be entrusted with, it is the duty of seeing that no one enjoys a privilege who is not entitled to it. The congregational, which is practically the communion roll, is specially "revised and corrected" on the occurrence of every vacancy; and most surely no names will be allowed to remain in such

a case which have not a right to remain. What is the result? It is found that the rolls thus made under the operation of the Patronage Act are over all fully equal to those made in the Parliamentary Returns. With the view of testing this as well as other matters, Lord Minto obtained a special return, in April, 1876, which showed that at seventy-six elections (which had taken place under the new system up to that time) the numbers in the lump were fully maintained. In forty parishes there was a slight decrease; in thirty-six an increase; and the net result of all was an increase of 803. This process of verification has, of course, greatly advanced since 1876; and in the case of such a parish as North Leith—which shows, as we have seen, one of the largest communion rolls in the Church, so large as to be a portent in Dr. Rainy's eyes—the numbers have been twice over verified in this way in the course of the last half-dozen years.* In what way is it possible more clearly to establish facts or to banish incredulity?

3rd. But "the newspapers," it seems, "have employed themselves in taking and publishing a census of the church attendance in a good many places," and "in almost every instance they throw a questionable light on the returns of communicants, and give, on the whole, a decided preponderance to the non-Established Presbyterians." It was hardly worthy of Dr. Rainy, I think, in the course of a grave argument to appeal to the results of a newspaper census of church attendance. These returns have furnished amusement and gratification to certain newspapers and their readers, but they certainly have achieved no higher object. First of all, they have no authority. No census of any value can be taken save by authorized persons, to whom appeal can be made in the case of obvious mistakes. Secondly, in their nature they cannot be accurate; no number of boys or young men or old men either can enumerate correctly the numbers of a large congregation collecting or dispersing. There is liability to miscalculation in the individual enumeration; there is further chance of error in combining the results, and where the parties are unknown and unauthorized—still more, where they are employed by a hostile agency—it may be held without any breach of charity that there is further liability to error. What would be the value of such an enumeration in any court of inquiry? It would simply be of no value at all.

The Churches are, no doubt, grateful to the newspapers for the kindly

* To suppose that these rolls are in any way falsified, or kept so carelessly as to be deceptive, is to suppose the existence of a dishonesty or a carelessness which is more incredible than even their largest numbers appear to Dr. Rainy. In the case of North Leith, for example, the roll is not adjusted in the aggregate, and by a single functionary. The parish is divided into twenty-six districts for the return of communicants, in each of which the "elder" who superintends that district is primarily responsible. His summation is checked by the session clerk, and the twenty-six returns are finally revised by the combined kirk session, with its clerk and moderator. It is inconceivable that these twenty-eight men, chosen for their special fitness for their respective duties by the congregation—chosen also either by negligence or by design the publication of "preposterous inaccuracies. The returns from these twenty-six districts, varying from 44 in the case of the smallest to 145 in that of the largest, are before us, and show that the total number of communicants was in 1876, 2,212, and is now (as given on the previous page) 2,489.

interest they take in their prosperity; and one result, concerning the ministers of all denominations, may be fairly established from their laudable efforts. Not nearly so many attend church as ought to do. Considerable sections of the population, it is to be feared, do not go to church at all, and so far as the definite ascertainment of such a fact (which was, indeed, well enough known before) may stimulate in all Churches home mission work, and also (although this aspect of the matter is little spoken of) may lead all Churches to consider whether their present formal services, with their undeviating routine, are adapted for attracting and interesting certain classes of the population, the work of the newspapers will be useful. But it has no accurate statistical value, and still less any political value. Even the average attendance at any given church cannot possibly be certified by counting or attempting to count heads on any given day; and still less the number which really belong to any given congregation. One illustration is better than many statements in such a matter. A census of church attendance was professedly taken in St. Andrews, as in other places. The day was stormy, and there was a pelting rain just as the congregations were gathering for the forenoon service. Not only fifties, but hundreds in the habit of attending the parish church, with its chapel-of-ease in a different part of the town, did not on this occasion go to church. There is an extensive land-ward, or country part of the parish, and nobody, of course, was in attendance from this wide district. Why should they? The people of Scotland are supposed to be a church-going people, but they are not superstitious on the point, and they would be surprised if their Christianity was to be estimated by their attendance at church on any particular day of the year, or any half-dozen days in the course of the year. The result of the census at St. Andrews was to show an attendance of only 636 at the parish church and its chapel-of-ease out of a communion roll of at least 1,750, and an average attendance, I should say, of between twelve and thirteen hundred (in both churches).^{*} I do not, of course, say nor insinuate that the census of the newspapers—of only one class of newspapers, it should be borne in mind—was as valueless in every case as in that of St. Andrews. I write of nothing which I have not been at the pains to verify for myself. The facts in this case are as I have stated them, and my only object in stating them has been to illustrate by a case within my own knowledge, and

* I have purposely taken the numbers of communicants at the lowest average. In 1875, when the communion roll of the parish of St. Andrews was made up for the election of a minister, the numbers were 1,741. According to the Parliamentary return of 1878 they had then increased to 1,902. But, for the purpose of my argument, the numbers of 1875 are quite sufficient.

In further illustration of the uncertainty of any such census of church attendance as that conducted by certain newspapers, it deserves farther to be mentioned that in almost all churches one of the services—in some cases the forenoon, in other cases the afternoon service—is the chief service of the day, and often twice as numerous as the other. This is assuredly the case in burghal parishes like St. Andrews, where the afternoon service is always more numerous attended than the forenoon. Yet the census here was deliberately taken for the forenoon service only, in such exceptional circumstances as I have mentioned in the text.

not necessarily exceptional, how little Dr. Rainy, or any other person, is justified in contrasting the results of such a census of church attendance with returns obtained under Parliamentary authority and certified by responsible persons.

The result of the Parliamentary Returns is to show as nearly as possible that the Church of Scotland, after all it has suffered by secession and its confessed weakness in certain Highland districts, still retains about a half of the entire population of Scotland. It is moreover rapidly growing year by year. Conscious of this, and assured of a favourable result, the Church strongly urged two years ago the necessity of a religious census by Government. The Nonconformist interest, however, was powerful enough to defeat this useful measure; and it is therefore difficult to state the exact proportion of the population belonging to the National Churches and to the various Dissenting Churches. But the Report of the Registrar General for 1878, the latest date for which the separate figures can be obtained, shows the proportion of marriages in Scotland celebrated according to the rites of the several religious denominations as follows:—

	Marriages.		Percentage
Church of Scotland	11,330	...	46.52
Free Church	5,431	...	22.30
United Presbyterian Church . .	3,013	...	12.37
Roman Catholic Church . . .	2,181	...	8.95
Episcopal Church	653	...	2.68
Other Denominations	1,350	...	5.54
Denomination not stated . . .	12	...	0.05
Irregular Marriages	388	...	1.59
Total	24,358		100.00

This quite accidental, and absolutely unexceptionable, corroboration of the truth of the Parliamentary Returns of communicants admits of no dispute. It requires a singular hardihood of assertion to gainsay a conclusion borne out by such a variety of evidence.

III. But it is more than time to leave these details, which I would not willingly have forced upon my readers, if Dr. Rainy's statements had not rendered them necessary. With the political question of Disestablishment I must deal with comparative brevity. It is Dr. Rainy's opinion that "Disestablishment in Scotland is a question of practical politics." This is the first and most significant sentence in his article,—its key-note throughout. This is the text from which he has preached on many platforms during the winter. Dr. Cairns has done the heavier and more didactic work of explaining to the country and the Established Church itself how good a thing Disestablishment would be. Dr. Rainy has played the part of political orator—with a word now for the Dissenters, and those who demand "religious equality," and now for the

"minor" and more restive sections of his own denomination. He has a word also in his article for Lord Hartington and Mr. Gladstone, or at least on their behalf. I do not think that either of these distinguished politicians require Dr. Rainy as a commentator or interpreter. They are quite able to speak for themselves; and nobody at all interested in the question of Disestablishment has forgotten what Lord Hartington said in 1877 in Edinburgh, or Mr. Gladstone in 1878 in the House of Commons. It was unnecessary to occupy a page and a half of the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW* with a quotation from "Hansard." It was of more importance, perhaps, to recall Mr. Gladstone's letter to certain Scottish Liberals connected with the Scottish Establishment in 1879—in order that Dr. Rainy might distinguish, or try to distinguish, between making the Scottish Church question a "main issue" at a General Election, and what he calls, following Mr. Gladstone's words, "a distinct and intelligible expression."

In 1879, Mr. Gladstone, as he himself says, did "not fall within the description of leader of the Liberal party"—and it is surely then far more important to know what Mr. Gladstone said a year later, during his Midlothian canvass, when he had virtually assumed that position which he still holds. It is well-known that Mr. Gladstone then, as well as all who had any pretension to represent the Liberal party, disclaimed any intention of judging the Scottish Church question by the results of the election. The question was carefully put aside as out of time. It was not only not "a main issue;" it was not "a side issue." I do not say that it was not virtually the latter, or even the former, to some who were fighting zealously on behalf of the Liberal cause. I believe that there were many who had such an issue in view—although not ostensibly. But no leader of the party, and no organ of the party, of any weight, put forward the question as one which should determine votes at the election. On the contrary, all insisted on putting it as much as possible out of sight. It is a question, Mr. Gladstone said, at Dalkeith, "for the people of Scotland," which others, not Liberals, were "endeavouring to stir." He recognized distinctly that there were in the Established Church "a considerable number of good and sound Liberals," who should be valued all the more for the difficulties surrounding them. This is language very unlike that which is sometimes used in regard to these Liberals on both sides; and there can be no doubt that one of the results of Mr. Gladstone's visit to Scotland in 1880 was to convince him both that there were more such Liberals than he supposed, and that they were deserving of more consideration, on the lowest grounds of political action, than he had been led to believe. He recognized that it was "a great and fair anxiety," on the part of such Liberals, to know how he felt on so important a subject; and what he felt and said was this:—

"That their cause should be fairly tried; that if the Established Church, so

much respected, and so justly, for long services, for the character of its ministers and for the good they do, and for the suitableness of the institution in many respects to the habits of the people, if it is to be put upon its trial, it shall have a fair, full, and open trial—that it shall not be condemned without having been thus fairly tried. They hope, if I understand them rightly, that no Parliament will dispose finally of the case of the Church of Scotland, unless that Parliament has been elected under circumstances when the people of Scotland had the whole case put before them. *I think that hope, gentlemen, is a reasonable hope.*

These words of Mr. Gladstone are surely more to the point than anything said by him in letters private or public a year before, and when he had none of the responsibilities of Liberal leader. And if these words do not mean that the case of the Church of Scotland is not to be disposed of till the people of Scotland have had the case fully before them and *pronounced upon it*, words have no meaning. In the meantime the case has not been “put,” and cannot therefore be within the range of practical politics. Nor can it be said to be so on any intelligent calculation of the political forces moving Scotland. No doubt there is a considerable body of Liberals demanding Disestablishment; but there is also a large section of Liberals strongly opposed to it. It may suit the purposes of faction to ignore this; but the fact is beyond question. I have the best means of knowing that Mr. Gladstone’s majority in Midlothian was in no small degree owing to the cordial support given him by Church Liberals in the county, some of whom were conspicuous by their activity on his behalf, relying on his clear statement that the Church of Scotland would not be touched without “a fair, full, and open trial.” Notoriously the question of Disestablishment will introduce a dislocating element of unknown potency into the Liberal party in Scotland, and especially any attempt to foist the question irrelevantly and under disguise before the constituencies. Even for extreme Liberals the only fair course is to leave the question to time and circumstance. If the “religious equality” which they demand be really a principle of genuine Liberalism, they need not fear, and they ought to wait with patience, the result. The cry, “Now if ever,” and therefore “Now or never,” has a ring of genuine Toryism in it at which Dr. Rainy would stand aghast if he were not still young as a Liberal. It is an old watchword of faction, eager to do some dirty work, before its opportunity is gone. Nobody with a grave and right sense of national well-being would hurry on so great a change in the face of all the complexities which surround it, the violently contradictory opinions within the Free Church itself, the certainty of schism in the Liberal ranks, and the utter indifference of the people outside of our ecclesiastical factions. The question is one for Dr. Rainy, or Dr. Cairns, or Dr. Hutton, or Mr. Dick Peddie (I have tried to find the name of another lay politician identified with the cause of Disestablishment, but no other occurs to my mind) to enlighten the people of Scotland about. No one can deny their right to agitate the question, or to agitate any question that they deem of public importance. If they are strong enough to bring this

question "to the front," let them do it. But they mistake their own wishes for facts when they suppose it already brought to the front. They have called, but the public has not answered; they have piped, but the electors have not danced. If the question were one of practical politics, would the people remain so indifferent as they are, and a winter's oratorical campaign bear so little fruit as it has done?

No Liberal can doubt that the continued existence of the Church of Scotland must depend upon the people of Scotland; but no true Liberal will allow that the voice of the people can be declared by a few zealous ecclesiastics. This voice can only be known in response to a distinct question in the open court of public opinion. There can only be "a fair, full, and open trial" when the case is clearly put, fully understood, and resolved on a fair issue. If there have been Liberals who have made a strong stand on the side of the Established Church it is of their very liberalism that they have done so. It is easy, of course, to impute motives. It is easy also to pronounce one's own side of a great question the only liberal side, and all who do not stand on that side as half-hearted or indifferent to their principles. But it is of the very essence of liberalism in politics, as in everything else, to settle nothing save on the grounds of fair and free discussion, and to resent every attempt to filch opinions as much as to filch votes. If the people of Scotland, in the name of justice, or a prospective, national good, have made up their mind to disestablish the Church of Scotland, they will let their mind be known. But this mind is not to be assumed to be on one side because some people make a considerable noise, or because certain public bodies, elected with no view to the discussion of such a question—may vote by a majority in favour of Disestablishment. These are, so far, expressions of public opinion; and no expression of public opinion is to be despised. But it is a simple truism, which every meeting called by those in favour of Disestablishment has illustrated, that the heart of the people has not yet stirred on the question, with all the noise some have made about it; and that there are large sections of the Free Church, and even many among the United Presbyterians, who do not wish to see the overthrow of the old Kirk.*

It is difficult to meet a plea of injustice, which is always as much a matter of feeling as of fact. But there is certainly no more force in this plea now than there has been any time these forty years. The Church is the same; it embraces the same parties which it has embraced since its establishment at the Revolution of 1690; all the talk which has been so rife of Broad Churchism and Ritualism is the talk of partisanship and not of historical insight or knowledge. If the Established Church did not reflect in its corporate existence those

* This is becoming more evident every day in the course of Dr. Rainy's agitation. It is impossible to mistake the significance of such votes as those of the Convention of Royal Burghs in Scotland in which the motion for Disestablishment was defeated by 39 to 25 and of the London Presbytery on the 11th of April, which refused to extend any countenance to Dr. Rainy's movement by a majority of 26 to 19.

elements of liberal thought and of æsthetic culture which have been growing in the country during the last generation, it would be far less a National Church than it is. It is related both "actually and historically" to the population, and to its "religious life and activity" more powerfully by far than it was forty years ago. There has been a large growth of national intelligence and Christian work within it. There are evils no doubt—and grave evils—in the voluntary separation from its pale of many who equally represent phases of the national life, or characteristic features of its religious history. But is Disestablishment the only remedy for this? "No other remedy," says Dr. Rainy, "that is worth discussing has been propounded by any one."* But is this mainly the fault of the Established Church? No one can honestly say this. And it is surely the crudest of all remedies for any or many imperfections in a national institution to destroy it. This may be a sufficient argument with those who disapprove of National Churches, and consider them deleterious to the progress of true religion, but surely it is a poor device with those who "quitted the Establishment," as Dr. Chalmers said, "on Establishment principles," and who still declare, by the mouth of Dr. Rainy, "We are not voluntaries!"

Disestablishment will not only "do no harm," it "will do good," he urges in conclusion. We can only say we deeply differ from Dr. Rainy in this conclusion, for which he assigns no adequate reasons. His lightness of heart avails him here as throughout; and the matter seems easily settled by a few strokes of the pen. But the destruction of the National Church of Scotland is a graver step than he and many imagine. There is really no analogy between the cases of the Irish Church and the Scottish Church, as Mr. Gladstone clearly admitted in his speech at Dalkeith, already cited. "I have never said," were his words, "that the case of the Irish Church was like the case of the Established Church of Scotland." No one could say so who knows anything of the matter, and no analogy can be drawn as to the results in the one country and the other. There is absolutely no practical grievance connected with the Church of Scotland, or none that could not be remedied in "half an hour's" legislation—and no exceptional political privileges are accorded to its clergy.† The Church would, no doubt, survive its disestablishment, as the Irish Church has done; possibly it might survive with a well-filled purse. But that which has made it the Church of Scotland to thousands would be gone. It would no longer be a territorial Church; and the parish, while

* I have no pretensions to the facile pen which can draft "in half an hour" a measure for the abolition of the Established Church, but I believe that a sketch could be made for a restored Church of Scotland worthy of the attention even of Dr. Rainy. There is not much encouragement, however, to this kind of work in the face of the purely hostile polemic in which he is engaged, and in a time when, between Tory obstruction on the one hand and Radical excess and destructiveness on the other, it seems likely that creative statesmanship will soon become a lost art.

† This is clearly pointed out in a paper in the *Scotsman* (March 15) the third of a series of papers on "Disestablishment," marked by rare sense, temper, and knowledge of the subject.

it might legally continue, would lose its Christian character and its circle of Christian activities. The Kirk would no longer be a sacred national home, consecrated by law and traditional usage, and forms of judicial equity and decency, as well as by an inherited faith and worship. Many in the Free Church have had recent bitter experience of what comes from the loss of such safeguards of religious freedom. Not merely the Kirk itself, in its historical character, but the religious, social, intellectual, and academic interests of the country would be invaded at many points. The ancestry of common associations, which mean more even to Dr. Rainy than he supposes, would be rudely broken. Any statesman worthy of the name will, I believe, think once, twice, or thrice, before he undertakes such a revolution. To many now concerned for the issue, it will not matter much; but the welfare of our ancient Scottish commonwealth is at stake, and I do not envy the man who rashly lays his hand on the old ark of our Scottish Christianity. A chaos of ecclesiastical parties can never make a Church, nor even mould into any fair unity our national Presbyterianism. The gain of a destructive policy would certainly, in the end, not be any form of Presbyterianism; nor would it deserve to be. For the destruction of the Church of Scotland would be a perpetual memorial that Presbyterianism had failed in the national task assigned it in 1690; and, amid all the heroisms of its history, had never learned "to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace."

JOHN TULLOCH.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO, OR SABAH.

THE incessant comment and criticism, during the last few years, of the English, Continental, and Eastern press have testified to the interest felt in an undertaking which, over and above its intrinsic importance, possessed no small dash of the romance of Eastern adventure. The story of the British North Borneo Company had, however, been very imperfectly told in these fragmentary chapters. Neither the nature and extent of its grants from the native princes, the diplomatic questions to which they gave rise, nor the condition and capabilities of the country and its inhabitants have been well understood; while an undefined capacity for involving us in future trouble has been attributed to the Charter of Incorporation, which has been freely discussed from this and other standpoints. The papers recently laid before Parliament throw a flood of light on the subject, and the complete explanation they afford of the Company's position and prospects will be generally welcome.

The idea of developing the northern portion of Borneo by foreign energy and enterprise seems to have originated in the mind of a former United States Consul at Brunei, who, so long ago as 1865, obtained from the Sultan concessions of territory of a very similar scope and nature to those with which the British Company is now dealing. This gentleman proceeded to form a commercial partnership, having its head-quarters at Hong Kong, to carry out the design. But the enterprise did not flourish, chiefly from want of sufficient capital. The American Trading Company of Borneo, as it was called, entered upon some trading operations on the coast, and, with the assistance of Chinese workmen and coolies imported from Hong Kong, formed a settlement on the Kimanis river. But this broke up, after a few years' struggling existence; and the scheme had practically collapsed when, about 1876,

it was suggested to Mr. Alfred Dent, the head of a British commercial house in London and China, that it might be worth while to buy up the lapsing rights and start the undertaking afresh on a broader and firmer footing. Satisfied with the result of his inquiries, and of the willingness of the Sultan to continue and transfer the grants in question, Mr. Dent formed a private association to acquire the rights they conferred; and to him and Baron von Overbeck as representing this association, all the rights, titles, and interests of the American partnership were shortly afterwards transferred; the native princes readily acquiescing in the change, and formally confirming to their new vassals the grants of territory, powers, and privileges which have since been recognized in the Royal Charter. These grants practically delegate to the Association, in the person of its chief representative, complete sovereign powers over the whole northern section of the island (known by the local designation of Sabah), down to the Kimanis river on the west, and the Sibuco on the east coast, with the immediately adjacent islands,—a territory comprising in the aggregate some 20,000 or 25,000 square miles, with a population variously estimated at from 100,000 to 150,000 souls,—in consideration of the annual payment of twelve thousand five hundred dollars, or, roughly speaking, about £2,400.

There are in all five distinct leases. Two, from the Sultan of Brunei, relate to districts in the north-west; another, from his Prime Minister and Heir Apparent, to a tract in the same neighbourhood declared to be his private property; while a fourth, also from the Sultan, leases the territory on the east coast from the river Paitan to the Sibuco. The Brunei grants, in fact, convey the whole territory now in possession of the Company; and comprise, as we have said before, the northern portion of the island, from the Kimanis river (in about 5° 25' N.) on the west, to the Sibuco (in about 4° N.) on the east, with the exception of a few small and unimportant districts which, it is apprehended, can be obtained without difficulty when desired. The Sultan of Brunei, however, if the chief, was not the only potentate concerned. The Sultan of the neighbouring archipelago of Sulu claimed a rival, if in some degree subordinate, right over the same territory; and this brings us to the fifth document, which we shall shortly find of special interest, as affording the key to an animated contention by Spain. At some period, apparently about the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century, the then Sultan of Brunei, having to contend with a serious rebellion, applied for help to the Sultan of Sulu, and, in return for the assistance given, ceded to the latter more or less complete sovereign rights over the very district now granted by his successor to Mr. Dent. These rights have, in fact, been recognized by European Powers in various dealings with the Sulu Sultan, and were found by the Company to be active over at least the eastern portion of the ceded districts, while the western seemed to have more or less fallen back under the influence of Brunei. However this might be, the Sulu claim was sufficiently real and

comprehensive to make it necessary to obtain a grant also from this potentate, in order to substantiate their position; and during a visit to Sulu, in which he had the unofficial assistance of Mr. Treacher, then H.M. Consul-General for Borneo, Baron von Overbeck seems to have had no difficulty in attaining this object. In a document bearing date the 22nd of January, 1878, the Sultan of Sulu, on behalf of himself, his heirs and successors, and with the consent and advice of his Datoos in council assembled, assigned to Messrs. Dent and Overbeck as representatives of the Association, his rights and powers over the territories tributary to him on the mainland of Borneo, with the islands off the coast, in consideration of an annual subsidy of \$5,000, which was taken to be a fair equivalent of the revenue they were yielding him in their then undeveloped condition.

In order formally to complete the transfer, each Sultan now issued a supplementary document explaining and delegating the powers and privileges to be exercised by the Company in the granted territory, and conferring certain local titles on their chief representative in Borneo. Both these instruments, which are similar in purport and very nearly so in language, recite first the grant and the boundaries of the granted territories, and go on to enumerate the powers conferred in the following exhaustive terms:—

"Now, therefore, know ye that we, the Sultan . . . have nominated and appointed, and hereby do nominate and appoint . . . Supreme Ruler of the above-named territories, . . . with power of life and death over the inhabitants, with all the absolute rights of property vested in us over the soil of the country, and the right to dispose of the same, as well as the rights over the productions of the country, whether mineral, vegetable, or animal, with the rights of making laws, coining money, creating an army and navy, levying customs rates on home and foreign trade and shipping, and other dues and taxes on the inhabitants, as to him may seem good or expedient, together with all other powers and rights usually exercised by and belonging to Sovereign Rulers, and which we hereby delegate to him of our own free will."

And, in order further to convey to the inhabitants information of the grants, each of the Sultans deputed a high officer to accompany the representative of the Association on a voyage round the coast. At each of the places touched at, these officers assembled the chiefs and people, and read to them a solemn proclamation announcing the grants and exhorting and commanding them to obey the new authorities. This, we are informed, was done at six different places, and everywhere the news was received without mark of opposition and in a friendly spirit.

So far as the native princes were concerned, then, the title of the grantees and the transfer of authority were complete. In addition to the four grants from the Sultan of Brunei and his Prime Minister and Heir Apparent, they had a grant from the Sultan of Sulu of what rights soever he possessed; and the grants had been published and explained with all possible emphasis. They proceeded accordingly, without further delay, to give effect to their powers by stationing residents at various

places on the coast, to cultivate friendly relations with the natives, administer justice as far as practicable, and gradually acquire information regarding the country and its resources. And, having thus definitely asserted their position, they applied to the Marquis of Salisbury, at the close of 1878, for the formal recognition which they deemed essential to the success of their undertaking. Nearly three years were to elapse before they fully gained their point, in the grant of the Charter; and the opportunity is convenient for glancing at the political questions to which their scheme gave rise, in the interval.

It was not to be supposed that the advent of the new rulers would escape jealous criticism by other Powers interested in the great archipelago of which Borneo is the centre. For nearly 300 years, Holland, Spain, and England have been asserting and exerting, more or less directly or indirectly, and with ebbing and flowing energy, rights of suzerainty, of possession, and of exclusion over these fertile islands; and neither Spain nor Holland was willing to see pass under English influence the most fertile portion of the largest island of the group. Remonstrances against the alleged annexation were promptly formulated, and a correspondence ensued in which records of almost forgotten adventure come quaintly to relieve the dry record of treaties made, broken, and lapsed, begun, abandoned, and disputed, which furnish the chief materials of the tangled story. Fortunately, the contentions raised at the Hague and at Madrid were entirely distinct in their nature and origin, and it is possible to deal with each case separately, without mixing up the other in the narrative.

We need not, in the case of Holland, go farther back than a treaty negotiated at London in 1824, which was designed to settle all differences arising out of our occupation of the Dutch possessions in Asia during the Napoleonic wars, and to effect a final division and demarcation of territory in Malayan waters. Nor is it necessary to quote more than the twelfth article of this agreement, which, after recognizing the cession of Singapore, goes on to stipulate that "no British establishment shall be made on the Carimon isles, or on the islands of Battam, Bintang, Lingin, or any of the other islands south of the Straits of Singapore, nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the chiefs of those islands." There seems to have been an inclination at the Hague to include Borneo among the "other islands south of the Straits of Singapore" from which we are thus specifically excluded; but the pretension has always been emphatically resisted by Great Britain, and a glance at the map certainly justifies our contention. The islands specially named are situated close to and round about the entrance to those Straits, and immediately on the highway to the Dutch colony of Java; whereas Borneo does not lie to the south of Singapore, but some 350 miles to the east, and a full half of the island is north of the parallel on which Singapore is situated.

Borneo is now practically divided into four separate Govern-

ments. The Dutch hold the whole southern portion of the island as far, on the west coast, as the frontier of Sarawak, while a Resolution of the Governor-General of Java in Council, passed in 1846 (their last official declaration prior to 1877), declares the river Atas, in lat. 3° N. to be their northern boundary on the east. The remainder is divided between the State of Sarawak and the independent Sultan of Brunei, on the west coast, and Sabah, the ceded territory of the British Borneo Company, in the north. Holland has, in fact, never claimed any political rights over the territory under discussion. On the contrary, the Resolution of 1846 expressly states that she does not claim to exercise any influence over the territory belonging to the Sultan of Sulu, which is there defined as having for its boundaries the river Limanis on the west, and the river Atas on the east. Nor has she seemed disposed to press too closely the argument that Borneo was one of the "other islands" contemplated in the Treaty of 1824 which we recently quoted. The contention of her Government during the recent controversy has rather been the general one, that the starting-point of that treaty was the principle that it would be desirable to avoid any mixed possession by Great Britain and the Netherlands of one and the same island in the Indian Archipelago, and that the latter would therefore have the right to object to the establishment of a settlement under British authority in the island of Borneo. Even in Holland, however, public opinion was by no means unanimous on the point. We find, for instance, in the course of a debate in the States-General in December last, M. Van der Hoeven, whose voice carries weight in colonial matters, not only denying that the Treaty of 1824 was at all intended to exclude England from Borneo, but affirming that Holland had quite enough territory already, and that "he considered it fortunate England should have established herself directly or indirectly in Borneo, thereby shutting out other foreigners." It is unnecessary to enter further into the course of the discussion between the two Cabinets, which eventuated in a perfectly friendly solution, in the disclaimer by England of any desire of annexation; Lord Granville, however, re-affirming, in what is virtually his final despatch, that the Netherlands Government would not, "as a matter of international right, have any ground whatever" to object to our annexing North Borneo, were such a project in contemplation; while Baron Rochussen repeats his contention equally as a matter of principle, that, "the Treaty of 1824 having for its object to prevent any conflict of influences in the Indian Archipelago, it is not compatible with the bearing of that arrangement that the authority of Great Britain should be established over the island of Borneo, a great part of which is subject to the Netherlands." He accepts, however, Lord Granville's assurance that the contemplated measure is in no sense a measure of annexation, but that the territories ceded to Mr. Dent will be administered by the Company under the suzerainty of the Sultans to whom they have agreed to pay a yearly tribute; finds

in the consistency of these assurances "a sure guarantee that the provisions of the Charter will always be carried out in the same spirit; and trusts that the new undertaking may contribute to the happiness of the native population, and be fruitful in useful results, without causing trouble or prejudice to the neighbouring districts subject to the domination of the Netherlands."

The contention raised by Spain was of a totally different character, and turns upon the claims of the Sulu Sultan which we explained in relating the grants under which the Company hold their territory. The Madrid Cabinet, in short, affirm that North Borneo belongs to Sulu, that Sulu belongs to Spain, and therefore North Borneo belongs to Spain also: whereas Great Britain having always declined to recognize Spanish sovereignty over Sulu, and still less over its North Bornean dependencies, repudiates altogether the claim of Spain to any right of interference in the matter. There could be little hope, from the outset, of reconciling views so utterly divergent; and the chief purpose served by the correspondence which ensued between the two Governments is the thorough elucidation of their respective cases. The position taken by the Madrid Cabinet is concisely expressed in a despatch from Señor Calderon Collantes, dated the 14th of November, 1876:—

"Since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, during which Spain took possession of those territories, and more especially since the solemn stipulations of the 23rd September, 1836, 30th August, 1850, and 19th April, 1851, she has the right to treat as her subjects the Sultan of Sulu, as well as the inhabitants of the Archipelago submitted to his authority. By the first of the said Treaties, the Protectorate of Spain over the whole Archipelago in which the Sultan exercises authority was recognized; by that of 1850 the anterior one was explained and amplified, it being laid down that the Sultan could not, either by himself or by agreement with his 'Dattos' or other principal men, cede to any foreign power any portion of the territory which constitutes the extent of islands which are situated within the limit of Spanish rights; and finally, by that of 1851, the sovereignty of Queen Isabella II. and her successors over the said Archipelago was expressly recognized, the Sultan and the Dattos promising solemnly to maintain the integrity of the territory of Sulu and its dependencies as part of the Archipelago belonging to the Spanish Government. By the third Article was recognized the incorporation of the 'Island of Sulu with all its dependencies into the Crown of Spain, and its inhabitants as forming part of the great Spanish family which peoples the vast Philippine Archipelago,' and other Articles of the same Treaty confirm the same, the Spanish flag, according to the fifth Article, being adopted thenceforward in Sulu as the only and exclusive flag of that territory."

This despatch was written before the North Borneo Company's entrance upon the scene, and has reference to the protests which were then being made by England and Germany against the interference of the Spanish authorities with trade in the Sulu group. The point raised, however, is the same, and it will at once make clear the drift of the whole controversy if we quote Lord Derby's prompt reply:—

"It should be borne in mind that the Spanish claim to sovereignty is utterly repudiated by the Sultan of Sulu, and that it has never been established, the

Sultan still enjoying practical independence and exercising authority over all but a very small portion of the Archipelago. Until the last expedition the Spaniards had no footing whatever in any of the islands, their operations having been confined to bombardments and occasional raids. Even now, if Her Majesty's Government are correctly informed, the Spaniards only hold one small fortified post in the Island of Sulu itself, and they exercise no authority in any part of the Archipelago beyond the range of the guns of that post, and of their ships at war. For these reasons Her Majesty's Government have never felt bound to recognize the sovereignty of Spain over the Archipelago,—and they do not recognize it,—although they are not desirous to raise the question unless they are forced to do so by the conduct of the Spanish Government."

The Sulu Islands, which thus form the kernel of contention, stretch in a continuous chain over a distance of some 250 miles, from the north-east corner of Borneo to the south-east corner of Mindanao, the southernmost of the Philippines; Sulu itself, the residence of the Sultan, being situated nearly in the centre of the group. It is easy to understand, from this geographical position, that the islanders should have been considerably mixed up with the affairs of Borneo on the one hand, and been subject to the frequent attacks of Spain on the other. It is equally clear, however, that these attacks have been constantly resisted, and that a state of intermittent warfare has prevailed, culminating ever and anon in the imposition of fresh treaties, to be broken and repudiated directly pressure was withdrawn. If mere paper claims were to be taken as evidences of right, England could put forward an excellent title to the very territory in dispute. For when, in 1762, we captured Manila and obtained control over the Philippines, we released the Sultan of Sulu, whom we found there in prison, and replaced him on the throne, on the distinct understanding that the whole of the territory in North Borneo which had then recently been ceded to him, together with the south of Palawan and the intermediate islands, should be transferred to the English East India Company. And a treaty embodying these terms, which were willingly agreed to, was duly signed the following year. But, as Lord Derby admits, that treaty, together with others concluded in 1761 and 1769, must be considered as having lapsed for want of *de facto* assertion. And, if the language of the Spanish treaty of 1836 permitted the most shadowy claim of territorial right to be founded on it, precisely the same objection might be urged to it also, with equal force. The extent, however, of the sovereignty there asserted is an offer by Spain and (we presume compulsory) acceptance by Sulu of the friendship and "protection" of the Spanish Government—from which protection, however, "Sandakan and the other countries tributary to the Sultan on the continent of Borneo" are, in the very first clause, specially excepted. Thirteen years later the English again appear upon the scene; and, in ignorance it appears even of the existence of the Spanish treaty of 1836, and in the absence of any sign of Spanish protection or occupation, negotiate with the Sultan a treaty dated May, 1849, by the seventh article of which, "in order to avoid all future occasions of difference, he engages not to make any cession of territory

within his dominions to any other nation, or subjects or citizens thereof, and not to acknowledge the suzeraineté of any other State without the consent of Her Britannic Majesty." But this treaty, although duly signed and sealed at the time by the Sultan and by our then Consul-General, Sir James Brooke, did not come into force owing to a delay in the exchange of ratifications. The mere fact of its having been concluded, however, again to quote Lord Derby's language in 1876, "seems to have induced the Spanish Governor of the Philippines to fit out an expedition to punish the people of Sulu for having attempted to elude their engagements"—which expedition resulted in the signature at Sulu, in April, 1851, of a fresh document, wherein the claims of Spain are quite unmistakably asserted. The treaty itself is styled "An Act of Re-submission;" and in it "the island of Sulu and its dependencies" are declared "an integral part of the Philippine Archipelago which belongs to Spain." This document affords the only ground on which, at the time of the Borneo grants, Spain could possibly base a claim to interfere in the affairs of "Sulu and its dependencies;" and we find Lord Derby admitting, in the course of his correspondence with the German Government, that if the Spanish Government had, "in virtue of that treaty, established settlements there and made proper provision for the government of the islands and for the encouragement of trade under reasonable regulations, Her Majesty's Government might perhaps not now be disposed to dispute the sovereignty claimed by Spain." So far from that being the case, however, the "Spaniards had never, at any time since the treaty of 1851, been able to exercise the rights claimed by them or to obtain any footing in the Sulu archipelago. All they had done to maintain their right of sovereignty had been to despatch from time to time expeditions to chastise the inhabitants for alleged acts of piracy, and to issue orders prohibiting foreign trade." Treaty or no treaty, in fact, they seem to have been no nearer the possession of real sovereignty than before; and a painful picture is drawn, in reports which were then reaching our Government from its officers in that quarter, of the cruel nature of the hostilities being carried on by the Spanish gunboats. "Numbers of fishing and trading boats had been destroyed, and their crews sent to Zamboanga and Manila to labour on the public works for life; the villages near the coast had been frequently fired upon, and the town of Sulu had been twice bombarded." It was the complete interruption of trade caused by these proceedings which led to the emphatic interference by England and Germany to which we have before referred. But it would seem, to judge from the indignant language used by Lord Carnarvon in moving the Foreign Office on the subject, that a desire to put an end to these "atrocities" in the interests of humanity was nearly as potent as the desire to restore freedom of trade and have redress for grievances, in prompting that intervention.

This, then, was the position of affairs when Mr. Dent appeared on the

scene. A protocol from which the question of sovereignty was excluded had been agreed on between the three Governments in 1877, recognizing the principle of absolute freedom of trade for their ships; and the Spanish gunboats seem to have been temporarily withdrawn from the waters of the archipelago. The lease to Mr. Dent was granted by the Sultan in January, 1878. A renewed attack was made on Sulu by a powerful expedition from Manila a few weeks later; and in July of the same year the Sultan was compelled to sign a fresh treaty, acknowledging unreservedly the sovereignty of Spain over the archipelago and its dependencies, and accepting a pension at her hands. Whether steps were taken this time to make the occupation effective, it is beyond our purpose to inquire. Bearing date six months later than the cession to Mr. Dent, the new treaty would obviously not be recognized in bar to his claim when an attempt was made to appeal to its provisions. It is sufficient to note that the same assurance which had been given to the Cabinet of the Hague was given to Madrid: Her Majesty's Government had no intention of establishing any British dominion or rights of sovereignty over any portion of Borneo; but they declined with equal emphasis to admit the sovereignty of Spain. It is seldom, even in cases where the data are less complicated, that either party to a controversy can be persuaded he is in error. In cases such as the present, where points are brought to light of almost forgotten history, and issues based on some record of almost forgotten adventure, there must be still greater difficulty in imposing conviction. As Lord Granville remarked to the Marquis de Casa Laiglesia, in reference to the Spanish protest against the issue of the Charter, "there was on either side a denial of the validity of the titles and arguments advanced by the other, and it was difficult under the circumstances to see how a continuance of the discussion could lead to any satisfactory conclusion." A speech made by the Marquis de la Vega de Armijo in the Spanish Senate, a few days later, seems practically, even if somewhat unwillingly, to accept this view; and an exhaustive despatch from Lord Granville to Mr. Morier ably winds up the discussion in the following words:—

"North Borneo lies in the fairway of an immense British maritime trade between China, Australia, India, and the United Kingdom. Its occupation by a foreign Power would be a source of disquietude to this country, and for that reason clauses were inserted in the British Treaties of 1847 and 1849 with the Sultans of Sulu and Brunei, under which they respectively engaged not to make any cession of territory to any other nation than Great Britain without the consent of Her Majesty's Government.

"Thirty years ago, in consequence of a report that Spain laid claim to a portion of the north east coast of Borneo, under a recent convention with the Sultan of Sulu, Lord Howden, then Her Majesty's Representative at Madrid, was instructed, in a despatch dated the 11th May, 1852, to remind the Spanish Government that as early as the years 1761, 1764, and 1769, Treaties of Friendship and Commerce were entered into by Her Majesty's Government with the Sultan of Sulu, and that by one of those treaties cessions of territory were made to Her Majesty's Government, including the Island of Balambangan and the several dependencies of the Sulu Empire on the eastern coast of Borneo;

and that on repeated occasions some of those ceded territories had been militarily occupied by British troops.

"No record can be found of the claim of Spain to this territory having since been renewed, but on the contrary, in January 1877, shortly before the signing of the Protocol of Madrid, the Spanish Foreign Minister declared to Her Majesty's Representative that his Ministry had no designs on Borneo, and limited the claims of Spanish sovereignty to Sulu and the adjacent islands. It was therefore with feelings of no little surprise that in the following year Her Majesty's Government received the announcement of the claim of Spain to sovereignty over the north-east coast of Borneo, under the new Treaty of 1878, and reports of attempts on the part of the Spanish authorities at Manila to plant their flag in that territory."

Diplomacy, however, generally succeeds in finding some outlet from an apparent deadlock; and we observe in one of Lord Granville's latest letters a hint that a more complete solution may yet be found, in the recognition of Spanish sovereignty over Sulu, subject to the stipulations of the protocol of 1877, in return for the formal withdrawal by Spain of her pretensions on the mainland of Borneo.

To return, now, from our survey of the political questions which its formation had conjured up, to the dealings of the Company itself in its new territory. Two years elapsed between the date of the application to Lord Salisbury and the receipt of an intimation that the request would be favourably entertained. Mr. Dent's agents had, in the meantime, been gradually acquiring a knowledge of the country, gaining the confidence of the natives, and establishing the elements of civilized government. Their success seems to have been rapid and remarkable. Their presence had been everywhere welcomed, and their authority admitted. Supported by no force, but by mere personal influence, they had succeeded in evoking comparative order out of chaos, in laying the foundations of commerce, and in establishing a degree of security for life and property long undreamt of in Bornean philosophy. So long ago as March, 1880, less than two years after their settlement in the island, Admiral Coote specially remarked upon "the influence for good manifestly possessed by them over the natives."

"The people," he wrote, "apparently look up to the agents as their lawfully constituted governors, and seem most willing to be led by them into the paths of industry and commercial enterprise. Should the political aspect of the question permit of Her Majesty's Government recognizing at an early date the status of Messrs. Overbeek and Dent in the country, I am of opinion that it would add materially to the prosperity and security of the people, to the development of the country, and open up new markets for our home and colonial produce."

In September of the same year, and in February and again in May, 1881, visits were paid by our cruisers to the new settlements, and the reports made were each time satisfactory and encouraging. The testimony thus given confirms that of the agents themselves, to the steady improvement of the districts under their rule—an improvement so marked that, without this independent confirmation, we might fancy the reports tinged by the sanguine disposition of the writers. A letter from the Company's Agent at Sandakan to the Governor of Labuan, dated June,

1880, draws a striking picture of the change effected even at that early date; and may well be quoted at length, both for its intrinsic interest and for the light it sheds on the actual condition of the country and its inhabitants:—

"When I arrived here in 1878 I found the only place in this bay to be a small village hidden away in an obscure corner in the far end of the bay. The entrance was frequently blockaded by pirates, and the reason I had assigned to me for the small trade with surrounding islands was the danger of the navigation caused by them. There were two Chinese traders only. The important River Kina Batangan was blocked by a jealous and suspicious chief.

"The knowledge of and trade with the interior of the country was virtually nil. The coast-line was in the hands of the rapacious Sulus, by whom the Indians of the foreshore (Bajaws) were ground down and oppressed in every way. The Indians of the forest (Boolydopies) were forced to yield to their exactions to such an extent that but very few years more would have witnessed the extermination of large sections of them. They had all but abandoned their fields and orchards. (The Indians of the interior, Dyaks, of whom virtually nothing was known, did their best to keep themselves to themselves, as far from the Sulus creeses as possible.) As for the trade of the districts at that time, the little *Tar East* left intervals in her calling here sometimes of two or three months' duration, and when she did come brought very little cargo, and once none at all, and took away nothing to speak of except the bird-nests from one locality alone. Slavery was rampant, slave boats containing cargoes of unfortunate, starved wretches, in such a state that it turned one's stomach to look at them, covered with sores and ulcers, and many of whom certainly died, were frequently to be seen here or in the Kina Batangan; robbery was rife, creeses were drawn upon the slightest occasion, there was no security for either life or property, debts were unrecoverable, slaves were used in the most atrocious way, being occasionally cut down or thrashed, and afterwards having mashed green chillies rubbed into the wounds. The rich soil of the country was all but entirely uncultivated, as the proceeds would certainly have been taken by the nearest man with any power when ripe; and, in fact, it is simply difficult to say in what way matters could have been in a more deplorable condition.

"Now, Elopura, placed on a commanding and carefully selected site, at the very entrance of the harbour, monthly gains in population and importance. Over a dozen Chinese traders do an increasing trade with all the rivers of the coast: the Kina Batangan, opened by me to traffic in 1878, sends away 10,000 bundles of rattans a month, besides other produce. I have communicated with the chiefs of the interior, who are anxious to receive the new Government, to send their goods down for sale on an open, free market. The Indians of the foreshore, freed from their Sulu oppressors, and consolidated, as far as their habits allow them, into a powerful body, offer to place 100 creeses at my disposal for any emergency. The Boolydopies, able to cultivate their crops in peace now, have wide and every season increasing paddy-fields. Slave-boats are a thing of the past; two steamers call regularly monthly. The price of rice is reduced to less than half what it was. Crime is simply unknown; the Chinese do not even require to fence their kitchen-gardens. The now hard-working Sulus are beginning to clear away the forest for farms, with the knowledge that they can sit down in their houses without fear of being kidnapped in the middle of the night and sold as slaves, or, at the best, that a considerable part of their crops will be taken by some one else. As to the pirates, the people of these parts, disgusted with the state of anarchy, and finding a strong helping hand behind them, put such pressure upon them that they have moved off, bag and baggage, to Palawan."

Having, then, satisfied itself of the validity of the native grants; having brought to an issue the elaborate correspondence with Spain and Holland,

and having ascertained through its own and the Company's agents the results of the first experimental years of rule, Her Majesty's Government resolved to grant the Charter sought. The 2nd December, 1878, is the date of Mr. Dent's first application to Lord Salisbury. On the 16th December, 1880, he learned that, "after a careful consideration of his statement and of all the conditions of the proposed undertaking, Her Majesty's Government were disposed to recommend his application to the favourable consideration of the Queen;" and on the 1st November, 1881, the Charter was at length signed and issued. By it (Baron von Overbeck having in the meantime retired from the undertaking) the then members of the Association, Messrs. Alfred Dent, Sir Rutherford Alcock, Richard Biddulph Martin, Richard Charles Mayne, and William Henry Macleod Read, were erected "into one body politic and corporate by the name of the British North Borneo Company," with perpetual succession, a common seal, and all the various powers, privileges, and responsibilities set forth in the subsequent clauses. The Company is to be and remain British in its character, and the Directors are to be British subjects. None of its grants and commissions are to be transferred without the consent of the Secretary of State. In case of differences with the Sultans of Brunei or Sulu, the difference is to be submitted to the Secretary of State. The dealings of the Company with any foreign power are to be subject to the control of the Secretary of State. The Company is to discourage to the best of its power, and abolish by degrees, any system of domestic servitude existing among the natives, and no foreigner is to be allowed to own slaves of any kind in its territories. The religion of the people is to be respected. Careful regard is to be had to their existing customs and laws, in the administration of justice. The Secretary of State may interfere in respect to the treatment of the natives at any time he thinks fit. In case at any time the Government wishes to make provision "for the exercise and regulation of its extra-territorial jurisdiction and authority in Borneo, and to appoint any of the Company's officers to discharge judicial or other functions thereunder," the Company is to provide court-houses and bear all incidental expenses. The appointment of the Company's principal representative is to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. It is to give all requisite facilities for British ships of war in its harbours, and to hoist such a distinctive flag as the Secretary of State and the Admiralty may approve. The Company may extend its possessions; and acquire by purchase, cession, or other lawful means further powers over the lands it already holds. General and detailed powers are given for doing all things necessary to the administration of the country. A deed of settlement is ordered to be prepared. And the usual order is addressed to all Her Majesty's officers whom and where soever, "to recognize and be in all lawful things aiding to the Company and its officers."

It was inevitable that a document of so much importance should be made the subject of inquiry and debate in both Houses of Parliament,

and equally certain that objection would be taken to some of its provisions. It would be foreign to our purpose to review in detail the criticisms which have been passed upon it. The papers we have quoted are in themselves a sufficient answer to many of the strictures; and the whole official correspondence justifies the resolve to foster an enterprise which had already proved itself effective for good, and promised, in the words of the Charter itself, to "be productive of much benefit to Her Majesty's dominions and to many of her subjects." It was fitting that, if such an undertaking were to be launched, it should be placed on a footing commensurate with its scope and purpose. Nor, indeed, beyond protest against the extension of our responsibility, has the policy of recognition been seriously disputed. The cry of finality is always raised when the extent of our colonial possessions and the weight of responsibility they entail are brought by circumstances into prominent notice; and there can be no doubt of the general feeling that the load is as great as we care to bear. But to elevate that principle into an absolute maxim is to presuppose that Englishmen have altogether lost the spirit of energy and enterprise which formerly characterized the race; and this is a supposition decidedly opposed to fact. As Mr. Gladstone remarked, Englishmen will not be restrained within prescribed limits; they will push forward and onward in search of new fields for enterprise and adventure; and, whatever may be said, the will of their countrymen at home is that they should be protected when these undertakings seem likely to redound to the national credit and advantage. The Government therefore wisely decided to recognize and control at the outset an enterprise commendable in itself, and from which it would have been extremely difficult to keep altogether aloof. Instead of increasing our responsibility by this recognition, we have more probably lessened it by forestalling and restricting within diplomatic lines questions that were certain to arise, and with which it might hereafter have been more difficult to deal. The enterprise was likened by one speaker to that of the French in Tunis. The remark hardly deserves serious notice, except to indicate one feature of marked difference. The rule of the British Company has been established in North Borneo with the free assent and goodwill of the inhabitants, and without a blow struck or threatened. This is a sufficient contrast to the experience of the French in North Africa; and the fact is noteworthy because it meets another objection which has been raised, namely, the danger of collision with the native races, in which our troops would be required to sustain the intruders. So far from this being the case, the natives appear only anxious for the confirmation and extension of the new rule. We have already noted the willing submission shown to the Company's agents on their arrival, and on their inland journeys; and a message received not long ago from the Chief of Sibutu (an island on the east coast, lying about eighty miles south of Sandakan), begging to be allowed to place himself and his people under their authority, shows the continued goodwill with which their presence is regarded.

There seems, then, little danger of our being entangled in Borneo in one of those colonial wars at which we have so often had occasion to chafe. The new territory seems, indeed, more likely to be a source of convenience and strength. As pointed out by Lord Granville, Borneo lies in the fairway of an immense British maritime trade between China, India, Australia, and the United Kingdom. Its occupation by a foreign power would be such a source of disquietude to England that we should have been impelled to avert such a contingency; while its possession by a British Company constitutes it a neutral territory and useful place of resort for our ships as well as for those of other nationalities. The bays of Gaya on the west, Marudu on the north, and Sandakan on the east, are as spacious and commodious as their geographical position is convenient and strategically important. Midway between Singapore and Hong Kong, on the one hand, and between China and Australia on the other, these harbours, or the one of them which may be selected, will form a valuable coaling station and place of call for our ships, either in time of peace or war. The want of such an intermediate station was the chief incentive to the acquirement of Labuan, while there was the further hope that the coal found on that island would form a local source of supply. But ships have to refit at times, as well as take in stores of fuel; and Labuan has the disadvantage that our ironclads and larger ships cannot get near the shore, so that not only have the coals to be carried out a considerable distance in lighters, but it fails in other important respects to meet the requirements of a naval station. Even the coal has proved a disappointment. Nearly £1,000,000 has been sunk in the mines, and three companies have been successively ruined by the great cost of working, with the result, we believe, that the works are at present deserted, and English coal has to be sent for the use of our steamers. To equal or greater advantages than Labuan in point of situation, the harbours of North Borneo add those of infinitely greater commodiousness. That of Kudat especially, an inlet on the western side of Marudu Bay, seems to fulfil every requirement in depth of water, convenience of access, and perfect shelter in all weathers. The position is, in fact, one which policy would have compelled us to assume under more difficult conditions, had it been sought to effect a settlement in North Borneo by other than British enterprise. Whatever additional responsibility, therefore, the Charter may be held to involve, seems to be of a moral rather than a political nature. We make ourselves responsible for the right exercise by the Company of the great powers with which it has been invested. But the convenience of the harbours to which we gain access will fully compensate for our implied promise of protection and support.

The North Borneo Company is, then, an established fact. It has emerged from the difficulties and troubles of its infancy, and is launched with powerful support upon its future career. It becomes interesting now to see what information is before us regarding the future prospects of the territory it has acquired. In a despatch to the Foreign Office,

dated January, 1878, Mr. Treacher, then acting Consul-General for Borneo, wrote of it in the following terms :—

"This portion of Borneo at the present time, from want of a settled Government, is very sparsely inhabited, and for the most part still clothed with jungle, much of which, however, would become valuable as timber for exportation; but the soil in many places, notably up the Kinabatangan River, is known to be of excellent quality, and well adapted for tropical produce, while everything, reports of natives and the character of the country, &c., is in favour of the existence of valuable mineral resources, and the trade in birds' nests, rattans, camphor, and pearls, has been ascertained to be valuable, and only to require development. Such being the case, and a settled Government being established, in no long time Chinese and others would flock into the country; and if the British Government gave its moral support, there need be no fear of any great difficulty in dealing with the natives, who, from the operations undertaken by Her Majesty's naval forces in the time of Sir James Brooke, have been taught the power of Europeans, so that the way is in a measure prepared for a Company undertaking the development and the civilization of the country."

Subsequent experience has tended fully to confirm the accuracy of this estimate, and Mr. Treacher has given proof of his confidence in the prospects of the enterprise by accepting the post of Governor under the Borneo Company's rule. The territory whose development he has thus undertaken to promote is estimated, as we have already shown, at from 20,000 to 25,000 square miles—an area somewhat larger than that of Ceylon, somewhat less than Ireland. It is sparsely populated, and almost totally undeveloped, but we have evidence, in its previous history and in the testimony of recent explorers, of its high natural capacity. It has a coast line 500 miles in extent, with several excellent harbours. A range of mountains varying from 5,000 to 8,000 feet in height traverses the western portion of the country, and culminates near its northern limit in the lofty eminence of Kina Balu, which the natives regard with superstitious reverence, 13,700 feet above the level of the sea. The slopes of these hills are fertile, and we have the testimony of Mr. Dobree (a Ceylon planter, who visited the country shortly after its acquisition), since substantiated by others, that they are suitable for the cultivation of tea, coffee, and cinchona.

The range forms a watershed in which numerous rivers take their rise. Those on the west coast are small and navigable only for a few miles, as might be expected from the proximity of the hilly country to the coast: the principal are the Pappar, the Tampas-uk, and the Kimanis, which latter forms the southern boundary in this direction of the Company's concession. The Bongon and the Benkoka may be named among those which fall into Marudu Bay on the north; while on the east we find the Paitan, the Sugut, the Kinabatangan, and the Sibuco watering large tracts of country and capable of becoming useful channels of trade. The Kinabatangan, which appears to be the principal of the four, has been ascended by Mr. Pryer, and found navigable for river steamers, for upwards of 200 miles, into the heart of the country. The Sibuco, which marks the southern limit of the Company's

territory in the east, has not yet been explored, nor its situation well defined. The rivers appear, on this side of the island, to run through large tracts of virgin forest, broken by oases of cultivation. The natives grow rice, millet, tapioca, sago, Indian corn, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, and pepper; and for these products, as well as for cocoa, the soil is declared to be eminently suitable. The forests promise, however, to become in themselves sources of wealth: they are full of valuable timber, some of which is declared equal to teak in quality. Camphor, ebony, and gutta-percha are among their products; and edible birds' nests, a valuable article of commerce with China, and beeswax, are also procured in their recesses. The east coast of Borneo has for many years been famous for the export of these birds' nests, immense caves of which have been found near the Kinabatangan river. Gutta-percha, too, promises to become an especially valuable item of trade. Recent returns for the neighbouring State of Sarawak give \$320,000 as the value of one year's export; and the fact that such a quantity is still being collected, after the jungles have been worked between thirty and forty years, gives some idea of the great value of the practically unworked forest in the new territory.

The Company has had little opportunity, as yet, of developing these great natural resources. There has been enough to do in laying the foundations of settled government, and preparing the way for future operations. It is interesting, however, to note, in some figures obtained by Captain Mende, of H.M.S. *Modeste*, during a recent visit to Sandakan, the gradual beginnings of a future commerce. The total exports from Elopura, as the settlement at that port is now called, were valued in 1878 at \$25,000, and the imports at \$18,000. These figures rose in 1879 to \$39,000 and \$25,000 respectively; in 1880, the exports had reached \$99,912, and the imports \$54,733; while we are informed that the latest report received places the aggregate value of the whole trade for one month alone (August) last year at \$25,000. The exports appear to be chiefly gutta-percha, tortoise-shell, rattans, and birds' nests—principally, in fact, what is locally known as "jungle produce;" and this is made to pay a royalty to the Government of 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, while imports are charged 5 per cent. on the east coast, and admitted free for the present on the west. Rice, as a staple of food, is free. Opium is farmed out, so far as regards the manufacture and sale of the drug; but this applies only to the imported article, as we understand that there is no opium cultivation carried on within the Company's territory.

The oppressive taxes formerly levied by the native chiefs, where their hold was firm enough to exact them, have been abolished, and the above are the only imposts at present in force. These, however, must of course be regarded as purely tentative, in the present elementary condition of trade; it will be time, when the resources of the

country are far better developed, to elaborate a fiscal system. There appears, as pointed out by Mr. Treacher, good reason to suppose the existence in the interior of considerable mineral wealth. Gold and diamonds of good quality are found in other parts of the island; but their existence within the Company's territory, however probable, has yet to be discovered. There are, however, pearl fisheries on the north-east coast which promise under proper management to be richly productive. At present, the natives are content to dredge for them in a very primitive way; but they occasionally obtain handsome and valuable specimens. An excellent oil has been discovered at the mouth of the Sekuati river on the west coast, specimens of which have been chemically investigated at South Kensington with favourable results. It burns well, and is commonly used by the natives for lighting purposes. A peculiarity is, that there is a slight camphoric odour. Coal is understood to exist, but only surface specimens have yet been examined, and it remains to be seen whether the main supply is of sufficiently good quality.

But, whatever mineral or other treasures may be disclosed by further exploration and research, the principal source of future wealth is looked for in the fertility of the soil; and with this object in view the Company purpose holding out every inducement to immigration. The country is much too sparsely peopled for the natives themselves to be able to supply the necessary labour. Intertribal fighting, poverty, and disease have reduced the population till it is estimated there remains a proportion of not more than six to the square mile of soil; whereas Java, under the influence of settled government and careful cultivation, supported at the time of the last census (in 1865) no fewer than 368. A great part of the east coast of North Borneo, which has been most subject to the ravages of the Sulus, is practically uninhabited—a fact, by-the-by, illustrated by the frequent presence of the orang-outang, which is said always to retire before civilization. The condition of the people in the districts which have been explored is very variable; at some spots in the interior have been found tolerably settled communities; at others they are almost in the condition of savages. In one respect the Company's experience is certainly more favourable than that of Sir James Brooke, on his first coming, in Sarawak. However uncivilized, the people show none of the ferocity which once made the name of Dyak a by-word; on the contrary, it is remarkable that, wherever the Company's officers have penetrated, they have been well received and their administration has been willingly accepted. It seems, however, more than doubtful whether they can be relied on for the steady work required in systematic cultivation. In Ceylon, as is well known, the planters have to import all their coolies from India; and, like the Cingalese, the North Borneans, though well-disposed and amenable to authority, do not promise to take kindly to regular labour. This difficulty, then, is another reason, besides the sparseness of population, for looking to China to supply the want.

Sir Spencer St. John, when Her Britannic Majesty's Consul for Borneo in 1862, wrote:—

"There is but one people who can develop the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, and they are the Chinese. They are a most industrious and saving nation, and yet liberal in their households and free in their personal expenses. They are the only people to support an European Government, as they are the only Asiatics who will pay a good revenue. In Sarawak there are not above 3,000 Chinese, and yet they pay in indirect taxes more than a quarter of a million of Malays and Dyaks pay all together. There is room within the Sarawak territories for half a million of Chinese cultivators, without in any way inconveniencing the other inhabitants; and these Chinese could pay without difficulty £2 a head in indirect taxes, as those levied on opium, spirits, tobacco, and other articles. I believe if England were to try the experiment of a Chinese colony, where they had room to devote themselves to agriculture, to mining, and to commerce, the effects would be as great in proportion as those displayed in our Australian Colonies. The Indian Isles are not far distant from China, and emigrants from them are always ready to leave on the slightest temptation. I have lived so many years in the Archipelago that I hope my information may be found correct. I certainly expect much from the future of Borneo if the experiment be aided or adopted, as it possesses the element of wealth and prosperity, and can obtain what is essential to success—a numerous and industrious population."

The British North Borneo Company are about to make the experiment here advocated, and look, we believe, to attract not only Chinese labour but Chinese capital to the country. Sir Walter Medhurst, late H.B.M. Consul at Shanghai, has been induced to proceed to China as their agent, to explain the position and objects of the new undertaking, and introduce a regular system of free emigration. With the example of the Straits Settlements and Sarawak before their eyes, the Company cannot be accused as sanguine for hoping the best results from his mission. When, in 1819, Sir Stamford Raffles hoisted the British flag at Singapore—an island 224 square miles in extent—the site of the present capital was only a fishing village; it has now a population of 120,000, of whom the greater part are Chinese, and a yearly revenue of £255,000. The Straits Settlements altogether, containing a total area of only 1,200 square miles, have a population of 423,500 and a revenue of £172,000. Sarawak, founded only in 1841, has now a trade of \$1,000,000 annually, a population of some 240,000 (of whom 8,000 are Chinese), and a revenue of £30,000. Even Labuan, with an area of only 80 square miles, has gathered, under thirty-five years of British rule, a population of 4,898, and yields a revenue of £7,500 a year; while Hong Kong, which at the time of its cession to Great Britain was only a barren rock, has now a population of more than 110,000 and a yearly revenue of £250,000. The English are well liked by the native races in the East. They have confidence in our fairness, and in our ability and our will to maintain order and security. There is no reason to doubt that the Chinese will flock as readily to North Borneo as they have to the other colonies we have named, and will be as useful as elsewhere in developing and contributing to the resources of the country. It will

not be the first time in their national history that they have fulfilled this task. When the Portuguese first visited Borneo in 1520, the whole island is said to have been in a most flourishing condition; and it is to Chinese trade and Chinese industry that this prosperity was mainly ascribed. We might, indeed, call in etymology to our aid, if its help were needed to sustain the report of the visitors. The word "Kina" in the Malay language means "Chinese;" and we have in the words Kina Balu, the name of the principal mountain, and Kina Batangan, that of the principal river in the Company's territory, a sufficiently clear proof of the deep impression the Chinese had at one time made in districts where this nomenclature survives as a record of their presence. In an official paper communicated to Sir Stamford Raffles in 1812, Mr. J. Hunt writes: "The number of Chinese that had then (in the sixteenth century) settled on her shores was immense; and the products of their industry and extensive commerce with China in junks, gave her land and cities a far different aspect from her dreary appearance at this day; while her princes and courts displayed a magnificence which has long since vanished." We will not enter on a review of the causes by which the decay was brought about. Suffice it to say that the Dutch had not yet adopted the system of administration which has made Java a garden, nor had the Portuguese been circumscribed within the island of Timor, which is the sole relic remaining to them of their early possessions in these seas. Commerce was ruined by violent interference. Industry died out under oppressive exactions. The native princes, finding their revenues dwindling away, tried piracy and extortion to fill their depleting coffers. Rebellions, Sulu intervention, piracy, and intertribal fighting completed the work; and the country sank back from the high level of prosperity it had reached, to the condition in which we find it at the present day. Yet every visitor who has attempted to describe North Borneo seems to fall under a local fascination. From Mr. Dalrymple in 1763, to Spencer St. John a hundred years later, the tale is always the same. No language seems glowing enough to describe the natural capabilities of the soil and the beauty of the scenery. Mr. Hunt is no exception to the rule:

"Should," he exclaims in the paper from which we have just quoted, "so fortunate an occurrence ever fall to the lot of Borneo,—should a strong and wise Government ever be established on her shores; a Government that will religiously respect property and secure to industry the fruits of her labour; that will, by a wise system of laws, protect the peaceable, and punish the violator of the laws; a well-organized society; that will direct the industry of the people to useful purposes, and check their propensities to violence and plunder,—such a Government, in a short series of years, would behold, as if by magic, a paradise burst from her wilds, see cultivation smile upon her jungles, and hail a vast and increasing population, blessing the hand that awoke them to life, to happiness, and to prosperity."

The words were penned at a time when English power had temporarily superseded the rule of Holland in these Eastern seas, and there appeared no immediate likelihood of our surrendering the position we had

gained. The whirligig of fortune has once more brought a section at least of Borneo under English influence, and once again the words become appropriate of Mr. Hunt's closing aspiration. Now that her destinies are once more transferred to Englishmen, let us "hope that a happier order of things will speedily restore these extensive shores to peace, to plenty, and to commerce." The Company has undertaken a great task, and there is reason to suppose it may have a great future. It has undertaken great responsibilities towards the people placed under its sway; but there is every reason to suppose, from the information before us, that its agents are dealing with them wisely and kindly. It found a Government, if Government it could be called, powerless to maintain order, and capable only of harm. By the influence of their presence, and the respect and liking they have acquired, its agents have done much to establish a degree of peace and security which the natives seem to appreciate in proportion to its novelty. Judging therefore from the past, and with the example of Sarawak before us to show what can be done by a wise and firm administration under even more difficult circumstances, there seems fair reason to anticipate for North Borneo an era of peace and prosperity to which it has for centuries been a stranger.

R. S. GUNDRY.

VIVISECTION:

AN EVOLUTIONIST TO EVOLUTIONISTS.

"The good action then is a mode of action which
distinguishes organic from inorganic nature, and
which makes the creature thing more organic or
more inorganic, . . . my object is not to
regard the good or bad according as the thing
is more or less organic, but to make the creature
further away from these intermediate forms through
which my race has passed."

"If I am unable to find any person, there may be to
be found in the mere transfer of possession to
myself the only way of doing good. . . . But I cannot help long-
ing towards Man, that I might do it
for good. . . . why we ought to do it
is a question of fact, not of duty. . . .
and we have no duty to do it. . . .
The end of life is not to do it, but
to be the greatest number. . . .
The end of life is not to do it, but
to be the greatest number. . . .
W. K. CARRUTHER, *Science and Society*,
Vol. II.

I FEEL myself entitled and obliged to write the following pages, because the discussion of the legitimacy of vivisectional experimentation has, after long harassing my mind, left me in a position of moral and mental isolation very painful, inasmuch as it debars me from full sympathy with either side, and creates reservations in my best intellectual comradeships; but enabling me, on the other hand, to see the much disputed question in a manner not given to others: not merely as an urgent practical concern, but also as an almost unique psychological anomaly, the study of which can afford facts and suggest theories which will be interesting and useful when the question of vivisection shall have received its final hearing and judgment. And while seeking to analyse the phenomenon presented by this question, both with a view to its practical settlement and to whatever knowledge and warning its comprehension may afford, I wish at the same time to spare to at least a few others situated like myself the long and sickening hesitation through which I have myself passed; and even more to avert from them the lamentable final alternative, either of gradual disgusted alienation from scientific belief, or of self-complacent sophistication of moral judgment; the degrading mutilation either of reason or of conscience.

The question of vivisection is not the question of an evil which has been inherited as the inevitable result of past conditions, and in which all the difficulty consists in the possible production of a worse evil by an over-zealous and bungling interference. It is not a question of how to do this desirable thing or how to check that undesirable thing; but it

is a question whether a certain thing is desirable and to be furthered, or undesirable and to be suppressed; it is a question not of expediency, but of abstract right and wrong. And it is as a question of right and wrong that it appears to me well-nigh unique in the anomaly which it presents, and in the anomalies to which it gives rise, because it consists of two parts, each separately most singular in the history of moral dilemmas, and combining in confusion and contradiction to form a tangle of good and bad most painful and difficult to unravel. The first half of this anomaly compounded of anomalies consists in the fact that, in the question of vivisection, we are dealing with the relations of creatures so separate in their interests and so unequal in their power, that the victimized party receives no benefit while suffering the whole pain of the sacrifice; whereas the victimizing party is at once sole culprit, accuser, and judge in the matter. And the second anomalous half of this most anomalous question is, that the evil is not one inherited from more barbarous times and certain of being abolished by the mere general movement of progress; but is, on the contrary, a thing of modern development and infinite future extension, and that it is entangled by a whole network of scientific solidarity with that very new philosophy which is securing for us not only a more prosperous future but a more reliable conscience. Such is the complicated and contradictory nature of the question; and being what it is, it has naturally called forth much that is complicated and contradictory in its treatment; so that there present themselves for analysis not only the main question, but its various solutions; and we are enabled and required to study the moral principles involved not only in the practice itself, but in the admission or refusal of its legitimacy.

And, first of all, what is vivisection? Vivisection, by which I mean, like every one else, all manner of painful physiological experiments upon living creatures, is a scientific practice exactly analogous in its intellectual character to the experimental methods of every other existing science. Science endeavours to discover the manner in which things happen, the circumstances which determine their happening in that manner; and the whole of every science consists in observing facts (however carelessly at first), having ideas, observing facts again; a perpetual round of seeing, thinking, and seeing again. All sciences are identical in their speculative dealing with facts, and differ only in the different mode of obtaining the facts; the intellectual method is the same, the physical method various. Some sciences seek their facts by the mere observation of real phenomena, in the past or present; by the mere watching of how bees build hives, or how rances supplant each other; but others require for the obtaining of their facts that the objects of their inquiry be subjected not merely to observation, as in reading a chronicle or watching an ant-hill, but also to experiment; that is to say, to the artificial production of circumstances which will expose that which the ordinary course of nature does not leave bare. In these more physically analytical sciences the consequences of the constituent parts the result of whose union is attracted

our inquiries ; we must undo the mechanism to understand the action ; we must seek for the reason of a movement or the trace of an action by placing the objects of our examination in conditions differing from those of everyday experience. The chemist, by means of complicated machinery, by the action and reaction of a thousand substances, must divide his earths and fluids and gases into their component elements, and reunite these into new compounds ; the geologist must lay bare the strata of rock and soil, examine by the microscope the broken fragments, seeking in this the trace of fire, in that of water ; the botanist must cut up his plants, examining their different organs, and subject them to strange processes of artificial fertilization and crossing. Now what is the fact-collecting and theory-testing process for the man who studies the properties and functions, not of gases and minerals or of plants, but of animals and animal man ? What is, for the physiologist, the experimental process corresponding completely to the experimental processes of chemist or botanist ? Evidently the opening of the body, or the subjection of its organs to given conditions. Accordingly the physiologist places on his table a corpse, opens it, examines its contents, subjects it to various chemical or mechanical conditions, and argues from the structure the manner of the functions. But the parallel between this *modus operandi* and those of the other men of science is not, as yet, correct. The chemist has his gases just as they exist in the laboratory of Nature, the geologist has his inorganic masses just as Nature has left them ; the botanist has his unsentient plants, growing as they grow in the field. But the physiologist, so far, has only the corpse ; he has the living thing without its life, the sentient thing without its sensation ; the organism with its functions stopped, the vast organic laboratory with its chemistry suspended. Visibly he has not in his domain that which corresponds to the possessions of his fellow-workers in theirs : where they can test, he can only speculate ; where they can see, he can only infer. What more is needed ? On his table no longer death, but life ; the organism with its processes going on, with its cunning system of concatenated action and reaction, sensation and motion, in full work ; no longer the corpse, but, as in the studies of the contemporaries of Celsus, as in the workrooms of the predecessors of Harvey, the living slave, the living felon ; as in the laboratories of the more easily satisfied, or less easily gratified, men of science of our own day, the living animal, the strapped-down monkey, the poison-paralysed dog. This is the equivalent, to the student of the body and its workings, of the gases and minerals of the chemist, of the stratified stones of the geologist, of the plants of the botanist ; and the equivalent to this student of organism and functions—of the relations of process to process, of sensation to movement, of the whole animal fabric to the atmosphere, the heat and cold, the electric condition, the drugs of surrounding Nature—the equivalent to the physiologist of that well-nigh complete manipulation, that tested speculation, which to the chemist is passing gases through black-lead, or pouring liquids on to solids ; which to the geologist is testing his pounded

fragments and placing them under the microscope; which to the botanist is slicing his bulbs and fertilizing his flowers; this physiological equivalent, this complete physiological experimental process, consists in opening the living stomach, removing fragments of the living brain, injecting the living veins with drugs and purulent matter, tying up the living viscera or cutting them out; ulcerating the living tissues, and sending streams of electricity through the living nerves; baking or boiling the living cuticle; watching which way flows in the opened chest the living blood; how shrink and twitch the ripped-up living muscles; how impressions are received, and writhings and yells are ordered, by the uncovered living brain-mass.* This is, or rather this would be, if the human subject could be vivisected instead of being merely intellectually manipulated by analogy, the physiological equivalent for the unhampered experimentation of the sciences which deal with lifeless things or un sentient; and this is the mechanical process which is called vivisection. Now let us see the mental process by which this mechanical process is governed; the necessities of proof and verification by which this experimentation is distributed and systematized. The various sciences differ solely by their manner of acquiring facts, due to the difference of the materials with which they deal; but they agree exactly in the manner in which such facts are intellectually dealt with, because the laws of evidence are in every science the same. Hence in physiology, as in chemistry, mechanics, botany, nay, even history, a man does not always know exactly that for which he seeks; he seeks knowledge in this or that direction, and as the chemist, or physicist, or botanist, or historian, turns to his instruments, his gases and metals, his plants, or his chronicles and statistics, to see whether his mental eyes may see some facts or groups of facts (and hence some law) unperceived by his predecessors; so also the physiologist turns very often to his live subjects, and does something to their circulation, or nerves, or brain, and waits for what results may appear and what ideas may suggest themselves, at least as often, or rather far oftener, than he goes intending to find the confirmation of some preconceived idea. And again, like every other man of science, the physiologist has often a vague inkling of something somewhere; and, on the principle which made Cook or Vancouver set sail not knowing for what coasts, he also does something to an animal, and watches whether some effect will not manifest itself in some particular set of organs, which happens to be the guessed-at unknown Polynesia of his mind. Moreover, as the physicist.

* Experiments of Prof Schiff; experiments of Profs. Goltz, Gerrens, Tegel, Schreiber, Ferrier, &c.; experiments of Dr. Burdon Sanderson, of M. Thiry, of Prof. Ludwig, of Dr. Cripp, of Volkmann, and Dr. Savory, &c.; experiments of Magendie, of Dr. Legg, of Profs. Tiedemann, Camelin, Leyden, Golown, and H. Mayer; experiments of Dr. C. Fischer of Dr. Radcliffe, of Prof. Hermann; experiments of Bernard, Schiff, and Gavarret; experiments of Bernard, Hedenham, Cyon, Brown Séquard; experiments of Profs. Rutherford, Ferrier, Goltz, Schiff, Schreiber, &c. Prof. Paolo Mantegazza, Senator of the kingdom of Italy, has made a whole series of experiments on the perception of pain as such ("Fisiologia del Dolore"). I have given only a few references, taken from Pfliiger's *Physiol. Archiv*, Reichert and Du Bois-Reymond's *Archiv*, Fritsch and Hitzig's *Archiv*, the *Lancet*, various other medical and physiological journals and magazines, besides special works by individual writers.

or chemist has to repeat his experiment, as the arithmetician must prove his calculation, as the historian must collate his sources, so also must the physiologist try once, twice, and thrice, and again under slightly different conditions, his experiments upon his living subject, doing the thing over again on the original animal, or taking a series of successors, lest some individual peculiarity have disturbed the natural course of things. And then, in order that the observation may profit to science and to the observer, it must, just like an observation on expansion of gases, on the mutation of consonants, or on the finances of France under Louis XVI., be published. Again, just as the assertion of the chemist concerning the property of an element, of the philologist upon a phonetic change, of the historian upon some point of past events, cannot be accepted and registered as a scientific certainty until the vast majority of the other chemists, or philologists, or historians, have each separately gone over the chemical process, compared the phonetic conditions, or collated the historical documents; so also the alleged discoveries, be it no matter how trifling, of the physiologist, must submit to the same intellectual necessity; and his experiment must be repeated and re-repeated, his observations tested by all the other men who have any knowledge of the matter. Furthermore, as in every other science, so also in physiology, different scientific observers and thinkers will conceive different reasons, will seek in a new set of observations, in a new set of experiments, an explanation more in keeping with their general conception of phenomena; which new explanation will again require the test of universal repetition of experiment. And, as in every other science, so in physiology likewise, the student cannot be expected to accept upon mere authority the facts which are to form the basis of his own further discoveries: as the young chemist must be shown the material processes of which he reads; as the young philologist must be given examples of languages and dialects; as the young historian must have access to chronicles and State Papers: so also the young physiologist must be taught how to perform, or must witness the performance by his teacher, of at least a certain number of the experiments which have been the basis of alleged facts. As, therefore, physiology is a science, its mode of obtaining, testing, publishing, disputing, and demonstrating its facts must be intellectually similar to that of other sciences; and, indeed, there are daily published all over the world books and pamphlets describing the experiment which Professor A., B., or C. has made, with or without a theoretic result; and the experiment which Professor D., E., or F. has made to disprove the correctness of Professor A., B., or C.: there is a whole class of periodicals, in pretty well every language, containing accounts of discoveries and refutations thereof, recipes for experiments and counter-experiments; and, finally, numerous handbooks for students, from the most elementary to the most advanced, in which, just as in the handbooks of chemistry or physics, the reader is taught by description and diagram the precise manner in which he is to set about practically to convince himself of the received facts of the science. All these things

being the case, physiology being a science with the same intellectual processes of induction and verification as every other, and moreover, like every other, rapidly spreading in the number of its students and the multiplicity of its problems; it becomes evident that the assertion of Professor Ray Lankester, that the number of experiments must increase in almost geometrical proportion as the science enlarges, is merely the equivalent of what might be said of every other science, and so self-evident as to be well-nigh a platitude.

Thus the system of experimentation which is summed up under the name of vivisection is the nearest obtainable equivalent to the experimental systems of the other sciences: nay, it would perhaps be a more perfect system of experimentation of any science, if only actual demonstration could replace the present mere analogical reasoning from the actually manipulated living beast, to the only theoretically manipulated living human being: a mode of evidence the imperfection of which, comparatively unfelt as long as the mere animal organs of man are the subjects of the inquiry, and his mere animal maladies its practical object, will doubtless be appreciated in proportion as science busies itself with the problem of brain and mind, and aims at the cure of mental disorders as much as of physical; and the practice of vivisection, therefore, such as it has evolved itself, is the logically correct equivalent of the *modus operandi* of every other science, and the logically correct deduction from the nature of all sciences, which is to found upon fact, and verify by examination, even the most imaginative theories. Yet, when this system of physiological experimentation, which had been hitherto carried on as one of those mysteries of science into which no layman cares to pry, was suddenly revealed, by the miscarriage of certain technical manuals into the uninitiated circles for which they were not intended, there was an almost universal shock of indignation—an almost universal impulse to examine, to interfere, to check, to forbid: the literature of physiology was dragged from off its placid scientific shelves; the physiological laboratories were broken into by the imagination of the lay public, the reluctant men of science were button-holed by the conscience of England. The first tingle of horror has indeed long died out; the sudden scuffle of consciences has been succeeded by an organized warfare of books, articles, lectures, and societies, which is to it what a year-long campaign might be to the sudden rush to arms of a whole city; but that first movement has existed nevertheless. And though the convulsion of conscience has subsided, and only two distinct parties have remained, to one of which gravitates each straggling opinion, in which is merged each individual struggle; the moral commotion has nevertheless been, and the moral anomaly has not yet been settled. Peace of conscience has indeed been obtained by each party; by the one which said to physiology, *You shall not*, and by the other which said, *You may*. But it is on both sides a false and selfish peace; a peace obtained at the expense of injustice towards a

portion of the mind or a portion of the heart; at the expense of suppression of some of the instincts, either of reason or of justice, of the individual. For let us examine what are the persons, or rather what are the conditions of mind, constituting each of these parties, after excluding from each the huge fluctuating mass of people incapable of mental or moral struggle, who have joined whichever party appealed to them first, whether because the stories of animal torture unconsciously roused their fears for their own pet beasts, or because the oracular assertion by their doctor that vivisection had discovered the cure for this, that, or the other disease, made them tingle with fear lest they or theirs might ever require the remedy.

Of the party, therefore, which said and still says to the physiologists *You shall not*, one half are minds with whose pre-existing indifference or aversion to science, the horror at the sudden disclosures of physiological literature came quite harmonious: artistic minds, to whom Science meant what Art most hates—analysis; and religious minds, of believers or deists, to whom science represented what religion most hates—the reduction of God to physical necessity; of the wonderful to the simple; while the other half of the party, saying “*You shall not*,” are minds hitherto inclined to scientific conceptions, but whom the monstrous things of physiology and their calm support by the whole confraternity of sciences have gradually made sceptical of a scientific philosophy which produced, abetted, and cherished such things; so that the whole party may be said to consist of minds who either lost nothing by quarrelling with science, and of minds which preferred breaking with all science to contracting a solidarity with that which appeared to them abominable. Such are the minds which in the question of the legitimacy of vivisection, answer *No*. What are those who answer *Yes*? The party which said to the physiologists *You may*, is also a fusion of two kinds of minds: first, of those minds completely mutilated by merely scientific interests of the bare possibility of conceiving that the agonies of any number of scientifically-experimented-on animals can be a matter of any consideration; and secondly, of minds which did distinctly participate in the horror of the first disclosures respecting the nature of vivisection, but whom the connection of their sciences—psychology, anthropology, chemistry, with physiology—or the strong instinct of the solidarity of all the sciences, has gradually accustomed and reconciled to the requirements of physiology; minds whom the all-pervading sense that theological systems having been thrown aside, there remains no security for them save in scientific progress, no hope save in the improvement of human conditions, no moral test save the diminution of human misery, has forced to acquiesce in what they recognize as an evil, but persuade themselves to be inevitable and decidedly the lesser of those submitted to their choice.

Thus has that first great movement of indignation ended. It has ended in a feud, which means in reality a compromise—a compromise made for the sake of unity of endeavour and peace of mind by the more by half of each party with the less worthy. And the moral loss,

the loss in the amount of individual moral judgment among our thinking classes, has, I think, been very great. For the battle between those who say to vivisection *Yes*, and those who say to it *No*, while offering a great show of moral weapons and moral entrenchments, and moral loopholes and moral pitfalls, and giving a general impression of great moral vigour, has meant in reality a mere diminution of moral activity; each individual of each party making up for his cowardliness in not venturing to attack his own neighbours when he thought them wrong, in not venturing to fight only for what was really his cause against what was really the opposed cause; by his readiness to attack much which ought to be to him most sacred, while elbowing many things which ought to be to him most abominable. So that, in this question of vivisection we see repeated that loathsome historical phenomenon of men being willing to burn their intellectual kith and kin because they have enrolled in a crusade beside people whom they ought to have gibbeted; and this from sheer want of the strength of will required to reject the mistakes of either party, to stand alone, and hope that others equally willing to stand alone, might join to form the nucleus of a group whose object is to accept the good whatever its origin, and to reject the bad whatever its neighbourhood. For, while in this question of vivisection there exist two halves of each party who are always single-minded and who make no compromise—namely, those who, like so many physiologists, simply throw aside any moral restraint; and those who, like the greater part of the religious believers, snap their fingers at scientific progress, two sections who sacrifice nothing in sacrificing respectively moral feelings which they never had, and scientific interests which they have never understood; there exist the balance of each of the two parties who have hitherto simply let themselves be dragged by their intellectual neighbours into either repudiating rationalistic beliefs which they ought to have held, or abetting moral sophisms which they ought to have combated. It is for these that I am writing, and it is the gradual sterilization, from want of individual effort of choice, of a portion of such persons' nature that I should wish, if possible, to prevent. It is for them, and for them alone (since all the rest can see only one alternative, and consequently one decision) that the question of vivisection is one of real moral choice; and it is they, and they alone, who being able to weigh the *pros* and *cons*, to appreciate the sacrifice which must be made, to feel the temptation which must be resisted, can ever finally settle the question. It is with them, therefore, that I should wish to study the principles involved in the permission or prohibition of vivisection, and the attitude, moral and intellectual, which the permission or the prohibition represents, and is begotten of, and begets. As one who denies the legitimacy of vivisection, I should wish to speak to those of my intellectual comrades whom belief in scientific methods, in human development, and in evolutionary morality seems by the bond of scientific solidarity to be drawing to the admission of the legitimacy of

a practice from which their feelings shrink ; and, as one who believes in scientific method, in human development, and in evolutionary morality, I wish to address those with whose moral repugnance and indignation I fully sympathize, but whom disgust at an abomination abetted by science is gradually inducing to seek for a philosophic creed in the unintelligible, for a moral code in the arbitrarily stated, and for an ideal future state in the impossible.

I have devoted some space to showing that vivisection is, considered from the merely intellectual side, the rational equivalent in physiological science of the experimental processes of other sciences. The optimistic persons whose moral sense has recoiled from vivisection have most honestly persuaded themselves, and attempted to persuade others, that this practice is a scientific mistake, and can lead neither to abstract truth nor to practical benefits ; clinging, in their disgust for the doings of man, to an ideal arrangement of God, according to which good could not arise from evil, and Nature would hide her secrets from those who violate and torture her. Now, I cannot logically persuade myself that physiologists should be different from chemists, physicists, or any other men of science, in not knowing best the exact value of their various scientific methods, even as a cobbler knows best the value of his various tools, and that they should all cling with fearful tenacity to a method of observation from which nothing can be hoped ; neither can I persuade myself, with the best will in the world, that, making allowance for the greatest possible amount of disturbance due to artificial conditions, the experimentation on living animals does not afford much practical knowledge which the dissection of dead bodies could not give. I think, therefore, that physiologists are distinctly the only people who can really estimate the scientific value of vivisection. But for these very reasons, on account of this same unanimous tenacity which persuades me of the intellectual fitness of this practice, I am persuaded also that physiologists, and all those who obtain facts and theories from physiology, are utterly unfit to really estimate the moral legitimacy or illegitimacy of vivisection. Similarly, I am most lamentably persuaded of the fact that (contrary to the good, beautiful poetical belief of Christians and deists) good results may most assuredly be obtained from infamous means ; and that, just as very useful and bread-giving money may be obtained by murder, so also very reliable and applicable knowledge may be obtained by vivisection. But just on account of my recognition of this nasty arrangement of things am I impressed with the necessity of diminishing and not increasing its nastiness ; just because I am persuaded that murder may give bread which nourishes none the less, do I want to establish that it is better to do without the nourishment and refrain from the murder. I fully believe we may get our pleasures out of Nature by violating and torturing her ; and therefore I wish to show whether we ought to get, or to want, pleasures thus to be obtained. In short, it is because I fully admit that vivisection is a something advantageous to mankind, that

I desire to prove that it is an advantage which mankind is bound to forego.

I have been speaking, I know full well, more or less with empty words, or words which those who choose may empty of all meaning or candidly find hollow. For in the first place I have spoken of vivisection as entailing horrors and being an abomination; and this I am but too well aware I cannot here prove. The cool and rational men of science, who, being not indignant at evil but, at most, annoyed at interference, can write the cool and rational articles on the vivisection question which the general public willingly read, either smile benevolently at any ideas of horrors, and reduce to the removal of a thorn with a needle the pains which must be nearer the day-long tortures of Ravallac or Damiens; or reduce the real entities of agony into mere logical abstractions, the cyphers of dialectics, which we can see shuffled adroitly about as we might watch a game of chess, without much sense that this move may mean a whole and comfortable body, and that other a living and agonized carcass. On the other hand, the excellent people whose heart is against vivisection, and whose intellectual interest unfortunately is not for it, so that they can naively talk of vivisection as if it were the amusement of perverse and idle brutes, do their best to let the public know that vivisection is a generic name for torture; but they publish their facts in pamphlets far too full of the "Merciful God" and the "Faithful Dog;" they try to persuade that the greatest physiologists do not know the interests of their own science; they appeal to mere abstractions of mercy and justice, which every utilitarian will dispute; they give what ought to be statistics of pain the appearance of missionary tracts; and the result is that the men and women whose sympathies tend towards science simply throw aside as so much sentimental twaddle what are in many cases collections of extracts from physiological handbooks and periodicals as carefully arranged with page, line, and every other kind of reference as the quotations in any scientific work; what are in reality most overwhelming judicial evidence that experimentation on living animals is a system of long-protracted agonies, the very recollection of which is enough to make the soul sick as with a whiff and an after-taste from a moral sewer.* Thus the evidence against vivisection is read and re-read mainly by the people who have thoroughly made up their minds against it, and to whom, for the most part, scientific facts have no sort of interest; while the minds capable of judging of the scientific reasons for continuing the practice and the moral reasons for suppressing it, the minds, therefore, by whom the question can really be weighed and judged, are permitted to know of vivisection only as much as its professed advocates feel inclined to tell them. That vivisection is not

* Those who have no time or opportunity for referring to the original physiological treatises, hand-books, and journals, may read with much profit Baron Weber's "Erderschammer der Wissenschaft," of which there exists an English translation with an important appendix; also M. Scholl's recent volume, "Ayez pitié" (Lausanne, Iner et Payet). No one can regret more bitterly than I do the unlucky flavour of sentiment, rhetoric, and religion given to these admirable collections of authorized facts.

merely the pricking of an occasional guinea-pig, or the dissection of what is virtually a corpse, since anesthetics have killed sensation; that it is every manner of horrible mutilation, ulceration, racking with electricity, poisoning by drugs or by excision of excretory organs, baking, flaying, and dissecting of an animal most often not only normally sensitive but raised to a frightful condition of morbid sensitiveness by the motor-nerve paralyzing, but sensory-nerve excitant called *curare*: that all this is the case I cannot here prove, nor can hope to induce self-satisfied or nervous people to resort to physiological handbooks and magazines in order voluntarily to alter their opinions or turn their stomachs by the details therein to be found. But I am not writing for either of these classes, but for the intellectual waverers who may conscientiously desire to seek out the facts and weigh the moral arguments for themselves; for those who, although half converted to the legitimacy of vivisection, may be willing to give weight to three sorts of evidence besides that contained in the books which they have hitherto been unable or unwilling to read: 1st, that it is preposterous to suppose that a moral tumult, followed by a moral crusade such as is presented by the anti-vivisection agitation, could arise nowadays and continue for several years, unless there were a very serious and real evil to produce and maintain them; 2nd, that the habit of asserting the moral right to inflict great suffering in the service of humanity, after having argued and insisted that vivisection does not entail suffering worth the mention, proves pretty plainly that those who can argue that they have a right to inflict pain do not believe that there is no pain in the matter; and 3rd, that the men who, perceiving that vivisection being scientifically and medically valuable to mankind, have persuaded themselves that the service rendered to mankind quite outweighs the iniquity committed to animals, are not likely to consider that an extraordinary correctness of statement is to be preferred to an alleviation of human ignorance and misery. These three reasons, having been properly weighed, may, I think, determine some of my readers to seek for the facts of the case themselves rather than accept the statements of men obviously interested in hiding away or garbling the evidence; and, until they have read with their own eyes the descriptions published by physiologists of the experiments which come under the head of vivisection, I hope also will persuade them to accept my statement that vivisectional practices entail the infliction of manifold and prolonged torture upon many thousands of beasts all over the civilized globe; having done which, they will be ready to proceed to the discussion of the moral aspects of the case.

Granted that the pains of vivisection are a reality (which the advocates of the practice rarely grant, except for the sake of argument), what is the moral code referring to which I can assert that such pains may not be legitimately inflicted? The code is one of double aspect, a sort of Janus, which, looked at from one side, is very, very old—indeed, so old as to be somewhat obsolete; and looked at from the other side is quite new

and young—indeed, of such recent birth as to be scarcely accepted. What we call it when we look at its rejuvenated face, we shall see presently; the name that is given to this code when seen in its venerable age, is Honour. The code of honour is the code of justice, enforced not upon police-watched men by the judge and the hangman, but by the self-scrutinizing conscience on the unhampered will. This old code of honour forces us to refrain from a variety of sets of actions wholly apart from the consideration of their ultimate result upon ourselves; actions which, in some circumstances, may be disadvantageous and dangerous, but in other circumstances (such as those of the Renaissance princelets philosophized by Machiavelli, and the seventeenth-century gentry instructed in *direction of the intention* by the Jesuit casuists) may be, on the contrary safe, advantageous, and delightful to the persons undertaking them. Among such actions which—the back of the police being conveniently turned or the supreme jurisdiction of one class over another being thoroughly recognized—honour, nevertheless, insists upon men and women desisting from, may be mentioned: robbery, which is seizing advantages by force which cannot be resisted by other force; deceit, which is obtaining advantages by telling untruths, which are not resisted by doubt nor retaliated by untruth, but acted on as truths; cheating, which is making another stake all where he can win nothing, while we stake nothing and can win all; and a variety of similar actions, the tendency of which is to increase instead of diminishing the inequality of chances of good and bad. This code of honour, which in our tolerably moralized civilization, is often in harmony with the dictates of enlightened selfishness, does yet sometimes appear in opposition to that nobler kind of selfishness, that selfishness immolating self but immolating also others, which asks for the greatest good for the greater number. The greatest number insisting upon obtaining the greatest good are sometimes liable to receive from the principle of honour a rebuke:—What right have you to the good which you have not earned, and which belongs to others? What right have you to a diminution of the pain mixed up with your pleasure, by a diminution of the pleasure which is mixed up with your neighbour's pain? If this other man, or class, or nation is to lend you, for your benefit, its work, its happiness, its life, how soon will come the day when to this man, or class, or nation, maimed or beggared in your service, you will repay with accumulated interest the good which all this while has ceased to be enjoyed? This says the principle of honour, and this does it say to the men who wish to have for physiology the same unlimited freedom of experiment permitted to other sciences which deal with senseless elements or vegetables. For the real horror of vivisection is not, however it may express itself, the horror at something piteous, but the horror at something dishonourable; it is, vaguely formulated as it may be, and strangely confused with ideas of mercy, not the shrinking with which we may contemplate some inevitable or righteously inflicted pain,

the pain of the starving poor whom we cannot relieve, the pain of the sick wretches whom we cannot cure, the pain of the hounded criminal whom we must punish: it is the shrinking at the idea, not of pain, but of injustice; it is the feeling, not of sympathy with misery, but of indignation against fraud. Shall pain not be inflicted on a few, that it may be spared to the many? Yes, if the few are part of the many, and share equally with the others the chance of suffering, and equally with the others the chance of benefiting thereby; No, if the few are separate from the many, if they alone can lose, and they alone cannot win. Otherwise, the many are simply playing with the few a game of loaded dice: the many are really not staking, and are bound to win; the few are really excluded from winning, and are forced to stake. That the few are often deliberately sacrificed to the many is most true: the soldier who slowly dies abandoned on the field of battle, is sacrificed to the people at home; but the soldier is originally part of those at home—he, as a child, has eaten the bread, the corn of which would have been trampled, he has been sheltered under the roof which would have been burnt, he has been protected in mind and body by the whole civilization which would have been ruined, had not other men been singled out to fight and die miserably in defence of the country. Nay, when in the course of history we see whole classes and nations temporarily sacrificed for the benefit of others, those classes and nations have yet in the long run benefited; since, as in the case of the feudal serfs and the negro slaves, the very oppression meant the predominance of the class and race most capable of improvement, which inevitably led to a raising of level even for the temporarily sacrificed class or nation, and of which that sacrificed class or nation would, if let alone, have been incapable; moreover, that very class or nation sacrificed at one historical moment to another class or nation, owed much of whatever advantages itself enjoyed to the sacrifice to it of a class or nation equally inferior: the whole movement is one of taking the good with the bad, being refunded in process of time for the evil to which one is submitting, or refunding some other by one's suffering for the evils often by which one has benefited. The system is harsh, but it is in the long run equitable: "You have inherited an incurable disease; but have you not also inherited therewith a certain fortune, a certain intelligence?" "In this particular case I have inherited a disease, but I have inherited neither fortune nor intelligence—that is unjust." "But had you, like your neighbour yonder, inherited at once good health, fortune, and intelligence, would you deem that unjust?" "No." "Then accept your chance in peace." Thus goes the great lottery. But in reality there is neither so much chance nor so much inequality. We all participate in the good and the bad of our neighbours. Our parents have suffered that we might be prosperous; our children may suffer because we have been prosperous; and moreover, in reality, the suffering is greatly of our own making, or of the making of those who

have made for us also our pleasure. The mass of mankind is a sea of constantly shifting atoms: not one but has at one moment been in every place, or will at one moment be brought there. The wave that rises is the water that has just sunk, the water which has just sunk is the wave which will next rise. And where the conscienceless movement of things brings to one man the power of making himself more fortunate by making his neighbour less fortunate, when after having fed one man into strength and starved another into weakness, it offers to the strong an opportunity of snatching the remaining food of the weak, something interposes and says "No"—and that something, that further equalizer of insufficiently balanced good and evil, is honour. Now such a condition of fluctuation, of giving and taking, of disimbursing and reimbursing, does not exist where two classes are so utterly separate that the one which suffers does not profit even eventually by the result of its sufferings. The advantages which may accrue from the vivisection of animals are of two sorts: the direct and less important ones being the detail, improvement in medicine; the indirect and more important ones being the advance of knowledge upon questions intimately connected with the great and almost social and religious problems of mind and matter; but those advantages are both of them advantages to mankind, for it is not merely a lie, but a stultification, to pretend that animals will gain anything equivalent to the sufferings of vivisection, by the improvement of veterinary medicine, of the greater kindness of mankind, since it is evident that the remedy for such ignorance or inhumanity as exists is to them much greater than the evil—in short, a case of chopping off the head to cure its aching. These advantages are therefore simply advantages to mankind; advantages bought at the expense of other creatures. And the buying of such advantages for one class at the expense of another is, as I have said, dishonourable. But, people answer, there is no such thing as an immutable code of honour—there is no rule without exceptions. There are cases where it may be more moral, and therefore more honourable, to lie and even to steal than to let respect for truth or respect for property entail agony on those whom we can help; morality can mean only the right course, and in many an instance the right course may be to do the thing theoretically wrong, but practically right, because the theory has not taken special circumstances into account. This sounds plausible enough, and of a higher kind of morality. But all morality which is eccentric and dwells in higher isolation, is no morality at all. It is most true that life is so complicated and so ill-organised that exceptional cases do occur, where the law is in the wrong, the criminal in the right. But we cannot legislate for such exceptions, nor does society ever do so except at its cost. If one of the angels of good had remained shut out of the heavenly fortress, and its holy body were on the point of being trampled by the spirits of evil, the postern of heaven could not be opened, for with that one spirit of good would rush in a thousand devils. Good and evil are unfortunately

often mixed, but we cannot let pass the evil in order to obtain the good. Morality, be it remembered, deals with frightfully huge masses, and masses one atom of which being displaced, the whole may crash on to our heads. This has long been tacitly recognized by mankind: thus certain actions, in themselves wholly indifferent, give a woman the opportunity for being unchaste, and as society cannot actually witness the unchaste action, but only these indifferent actions by which it is surrounded, society is forced to punish as unchaste every woman who indulges in these indifferent actions; yet an honest woman may not only honestly commit them, but may even, under certain circumstances, be forced by some serious moral obligation to their commission. This society knows, but being unable to plant a fence round the ditch itself, it is obliged to rail over a larger space of ground, in itself perhaps quite safe, and the laws of honour have to be drawn tighter instead of slacker. So also is it with vivisection. There is a mediæval legend which tells how a noble and beneficent knight, surnamed the poor Henry, might have been cured of a loathsome disease, and his strong heart and arm given back to Christendom, by means of a bath in the blood of a very insignificant little peasant wench, twelve years old, and of no use to any one. The advocates of vivisection are fond of placing before us a re-edition of this tale, showing that the refusal to sacrifice a few dogs might widow the world of some noble spirit and cheat it of his works; but they draw the conclusion, contrary to that of Hartmann von Aue's poem, that the dishonour would consist not in the accepting, but in refusing the bath of blood for their hero. This is one of those exceptional cases in favour of which mankind is ever and anon requested, by romance writers and Jesuit casuists, to change its code of honour. Now it is possible that if morality were composed of mere single cases, instead of being a most compact mass, easily upset by tampering with one part, that the blood bath of vivisection might be honourably prescribed for one inestimable Knight Henry; although I think that the inestimable man would be cleaner with his leprosy than with that blood which had washed it off. But as such things as single cases do not in reality exist for the legislator, and must be treated, being specialties, only by attempting special things to prevent their recurrence; the permission to vivisection three particular dogs to save one particular man in the exceptional case which might occur once in a thousand years of that man being such that the rest, not only of mankind, but of beastkind, would suffer by his loss, would mean in reality the permission to vivisection an unlimited number of beasts all over the world with no direct object, and merely because we know that the advance of science will improve the condition of mankind at large, and of any stray invaluable man who may be included among its millions of valueless numskulls and scoundrels. This would mean by analogy that in order that one honest woman might not unjustly be accused of being no better than she should be, all the weak and fleshly women in Christendom should be enabled

to sin unnoticed and with impunity. For in reality the admission of the legitimacy of vivisection means not one operation for one case, but a systematic torturing of thousands of beasts all over the world during hundreds of years, in order to obtain whatever advantages may result therefrom. And when this vivisectional poetic episode is reduced to prose, when the unique Knight Henry, the saviour of the world, is shown to mean all the Toms, Dicks, and Willies of mankind—to diminish some of the physical and moral aches inherent in whose otherwise daily improving lives we are asked to turn into fierce agony the mere physical life which is all that the thousands of beasts to be sacrificed for hundreds of years possess or ever can possess; when we have seen the real state of the case, can we deny that the legalization of vivisection would be the authorization of a huge theft, of a casting of loaded dice—a gigantic magnifying of that act of taking all the profits for ourselves and giving all the risks to another, which in its pettiest and most individual form means to a man indelible dishonour?

Honour, dishonour—very fine-sounding words, but meaning how much? Pigments, useful enough in their day when only pigments had power; effete expressions inherited from a time (answers my historical and sociological friend), when it appears that people committed abominations with much greater impunity than nowadays. This code of honour is scientifically merely a museum curiosity. True enough. But remember what I said when we began our moral discussion, about the standard by which we were going to judge vivisection being a sort of Janus, presenting a very old and a very new face. The old face I have spoken of; it is this god of other days, called Honour. But there is another face, or rather the same thing presents a younger one seen from the other side. And this newer face is what is called evolutionary morality. For the old name and the new mean but one thing. The old code of things to be done and things to be avoided, which used to be considered as a mysterious, inexplicable something, of no particular origin, miraculously given, I suppose, is in truth a now intelligible something, whose reason and origin we understand. As the sudden word of command by which things were created, is now understood as the mere inevitable adjustment and development of physical things, so also this old principle of honour is now comprehensible as the instinct, the ingrained habit due to ages of deliberate choice, of preferring certain sets of motives to certain other ones. For as our physical nature has been evolved by the selection and survival of those physical forms which are in harmony with the greatest number of physical circumstances; so also has our moral nature been evolved by the more and more conscious choice of the motives including consideration for the greatest number of results from our actions, of the motives which, instead of merely enlarging the shapeless and functionless moral polyp-jelly of *ego*, work out, diversify and unify, lick into shape, the complicated moral organism of society, with all its innumerable and wondrously co-ordinated limbs and functions.

And thus has evolved itself that which was formerly called *Honour*, and whose other name is natural morality: the preference of justice to expediency. Slowly and with difficulty, indeed; every single preference of right to desire having been as a touch which has moulded the wonderful instinct into existence; every single preference of desire to right having been the rude thumbing which obliterates the nascent form; every single just action making easier a score of just actions, every single unjust decision having begotten a score of future unjust decisions. A very arduous work has been this making of man's conscience, which seems to be at once the greatest requisite and the most crowning perfection of the evolution of society; for if mere overbalance of pleasure above pain had been the highest goal of our gradual evolution, evolution might have ended with those half-existing things whose happiness is more complete than that of the most noble mind. And the making of man's conscience has been the evolution of a spiritual organism which perceives and chooses justice within ranges ever and ever extending: justice, at first (when the moral sight was a mere titillating all-overishness on the contact of some adjacent thing, and the moral limbs were fastened like those of a limpet to one spot) limited to the mere family, then to the tribe, then to the class and the race; and nowadays, when the times of justice, limited to class and race, are separated from us by barely a century,—nay, by barely a score of years,—extending to whatever can feel, to whatever can have its poor little portion of happiness exchanged by fraud and violence for misery. Nature, many tell us, is not thus just; she uses as her instruments starvation, pestilence, continuous sacrifice of weaker to stronger; and Nature having made us, shall we be wiser or more pharisaical than she? But this Nature of which you speak, what is she, when you tear away the allegorical and mythical rags of religion with which we still mumm up our scientific conceptions? What is this Nature? contending forces, a chaos which has not made us, but out of which we have gradually emerged. If Nature—that is, the course of continually clashing and reacting events—has been unjust, why should we be unjust, who are not an abstraction formed out of abstract ideas, but living men and women, with eyes and ears to see and hear, and minds to judge and wish and hope and choose; why should we, with our reason and conscience, pretend to take lessons from a mere abstract entity, a mere expression by which we symbolize phenomena? Indeed, we do not, and had we done so, society would never have existed.

Hence, when I say that honour rejects vivisection as an unjust and cheating practice, I mean thereby also that it is contrary to the nature of the highest result of our gradual evolution. I mean that by preferring in this case the advantages which our race might gain at the expense of wholesale and profitless agony to another race, we are laying obliterating fingers upon those delicate moral features which have thus slowly and arduously been moulded into shape. For, in the first place, we are

deliberately buying our good with the evil of others, and thus running counter to the great moral principle of obtaining advantage only in return for advantage, of being spared pain only by sparing it, of making the actions of men into the transactions of those who barter, lend, and repay, instead of those of men who cheat and rob. And, in the second place, this great movement of moral retrogression consists of a number of minor movements of moral retrogression. For we are making our perception of the evil of others give way to our perception of our own desire: we are letting ourselves slip instead of holding ourselves erect, and thus weakening our moral muscle. We are diminishing our most precious quality, the power of submitting to justice, of foregoing our wishes. And with this weakening of our moral will, goes inevitably the diminution also of our moral perception; for every time that we prefer desire to right, we not only increase the tyranny of covetousness, but, by jostling the one wrong choice with the many right ones which all except an utterly immoral life must contain, we let our soul lose its keenness, its moral scent: it endures foulness, gets pimply, weak, diseased, sometimes loses a limb, and always loses somewhat of its most precious power, of its elasticity, its endurance, its resistance. Moreover, every time that we prefer desire to justice, we are warping not only our moral, but also our intellectual nature. For a man, who is naturally inclined to morality and thoughtful as well, finds in his life numbers of opportunities of eschewing evil, and doing good with either no cost at all to his selfishness, or only so little as merely to enhance the natural pleasure which he takes in virtue; thus he develops for himself a moral nature in which acknowledged evil cannot dwell without constant moral discomfort from its presence; hence if the temptation of some evil choice overcome him, he will, in proportion to his honesty of habits and ideals, be anxious to persuade himself that this choice was not evil, but good; he will persuade himself that what was culpable self-indulgence was wise self-sacrifice, that the mud with which he has bespattered himself while seeking his pleasure is the trace of honourable moral labour, and thus he will, after giving way to a lower motive, listen to a false argument; and strange and lamentable are the sophisms which have ever, from Plato to Machiavelli, from the well-intentioned society-reorganizing Jesuit moralists of the seventeenth century to the honest and humane advocates of the modern vice of vivisection, followed upon a choice in which the desire or the habit of evil has conquered the perception of good.

And thus, after having given my reasons for considering that the deliberate choice of advantages to mankind, bought by unrequited and cheating infliction of agony upon creatures who cannot participate in the gain, while they sustain all the loss, is a retrogression in the path of moral evolution, inasmuch as it is the preference of desire to right; I wish to point out one or two instances of the blunting of moral judgment and stultification of intellectual argument which has already

appeared as an inevitable secondary deterioration by the side of the largest principal degradation of our conscience. The temptation to recognize vivisection as a legitimate practice, is to any person imbued with modern scientific views a very great temptation; vivisection means a most valuable instrument, or rather a most valuable short cut, for the attainment of a kind of knowledge, with which are connected not only a great number of problems of body and soul, of present and future life, of moral health and disease, having an almost religious importance to us, who have forsworn our old creeds; but also a kind of knowledge at the same time bearing upon the actual well-being of mankind, upon the diminution of misery, which has become the mission of the men and women who would formerly have wasted their energies in prayers and crusades. It is a practice, therefore, which—to us who are scarcely weaned of our beloved old creeds, and but ill-accustomed as yet to the rude bracingness of a new faith which merely tells us to do right without reward, and endure pain without compensation,—still craving for the imaginative stimulant, the almost physically rapturous self-unconsciousness of complete surrender to a single object,—to us still so unable to dispense with a superstition—is in reality an ingredient in the heady elixir with which we comfort our chilly souls, in the spiritual cordial of a religion of science and humankind which has replaced the old religion of Christ and His wounds, until the world be fit for the religion of justice. Hence those, and they are among the noblest of us, who have been seeking strength and warmth in this belief, are, when the sense of this horrible ingredient of vivisection comes home to them, tempted by the strongest of all temptations, habit, to gulp down the poisonous moral absinthe of acquiescence in injustice together with the strengthening and purifying things with which it has lamentably got mingled. They have not the strength to bear the dreary soul-chilliness which they know they must suffer while carefully analyzing this creed of complete subservience of all good to human progress; they prefer to take it as it is, and they persuade themselves that all its ingredients are good. Thus to a large class of men, not merely physiologists and physicians dependent upon physiology, but a multitude of generous thinkers to whom the idea of a loss to science or to medicine is unendurable, vivisection has become as much a vicious necessity as any beastly vice to a swinish sinner;—a necessity which it has become necessary to their conscience to make from a vice into a virtue, or at least to exclude from any moral analysis. And while they have thus sophisticated or silenced their own conscience into acquiescence with evil, their example—the example of men eager in the cause of good which is agreeable to them, earnest against evil with which they do not sympathize, noble with all that nobility which is inherent in a fine nature and costs it no more than would vice to a vicious one—the apparently deliberate sanction of vivisection by these the moral censors of our day, implies also the blind acquiescence of those conscientious men and women who feel that they must accept the decisions on right

and wrong of their intellectual superiors. There stands before the eyes of the honest mediocrity, which in all such matters has the casting vote, an irresistible array of sanction of vivisection by men who are the highest authorities in the new philosophic morality. But this seeming strength is mere weakness, this apparently energetic decision is for the most part mere apathetic acquiescence. The knowledge that vivisection is conducive to progress of ideas and human welfare; the sense of the solidarity of science, of free thought with experimentalism; the habit of abetting anything which is modern and due to a modern movement; all this goes to make up that imposing display of approbation by which progress, freedom, generous thought are made responsible for a huge act of injustice. Nay, something lower than all this, lower and yet more irresistible and natural: the social habit, the official solidarity, of thinking men, which makes the historian, the philologist, the political man meet the physiologist on terms of familiarity, perhaps of professional comradeship; and which has for results that the clean-handed man, who has been writing of Buddha, or Christ, or the new basis of morality, who has been moralizing back slums or speaking against Nubian slave-dealers; persuading himself that there must be a frightful deal of exaggeration in the stories told about Professor A.'s or Dr. B.'s laboratory, that Professor A. or Dr. B. is the best authority about his own doings, that his own statements about the mere tickling pains he inflicts, and the gallons of anæsthetics which he employs, are surely the most reliable; and finally, that vivisection must be perfectly justifiable and praiseworthy, since it is practised by his colleague and friend, Professor A. or Dr. B., who must be an altogether exemplary man, willing to sacrifice his profession and his fame on the least suspicion of immorality, since he is the necessary colleague and friend of himself, the noble, humane, conscientious writer on ethics or reformer of abuses. This that I say may seem unjust; but let any of us ask his conscience how often he has successfully resisted the desire of believing in the moral cleanness of the hands which he is forced to shake in comradeship, or pleased to squeeze in friendship and admiration; let us ask ourselves whether one of the reasons of most acquiescence in evil has not always been, in all mankind, the reluctance to perceive the foulness and injustice and cruelty mixed up with the greatness of our heroes and our gods.

How men whose noted consciousness and wisdom gives them the terrible responsibility of being moral authorities, may yet be dragged by the irresistible power of their professional curiosity and reputation; or may insensibly drift by natural dislike to struggle and isolation, into committing, or even less excusably defending evil, I have tried to point out. I wish, before ending these notes, to give one or two illustrations of the kind of secondary spiritual degradations, of the moral anomalies, the intellectual stultifications, the self-contradictions, and fact-garblings which almost inevitably result from a preference of desire, active or passive, to justice. Everyone has read the various papers on the moral

bearings of vivisection by notoriously most honourable men and distinguished thinkers, perhaps I may add sincere philanthropists, like Sir J. Paget, Mr. Lowe, Professor Owen, Dr. Carpenter, and Professor Virchow; so that I may deal collectively with some of the arguments which they have put forward, and ask the reader to judge of their consistency with the moral and philosophical tenets which these men avowedly profess. The argument of Dr. Carpenter, that moral duties exist only towards those possessing moral responsibility, carries as logical conclusion that infants, idiots, and madmen may freely be maltreated, not to speak of their being rendered useful to mankind by undergoing vivisection; the argument of Professor Virchow, that a man may in all morality inflict whatever pain is necessary for his purposes (for vivisection, like all rational crime, restricts pain to the strictly necessary) as long as he does so on creatures which do not belong to some other man, but are his honestly bought chattels, brings the great German thinker into close intellectual contact with the slave-dealers and slave-owners whom mankind at last pronounced unfit to judge moral questions. Another favourite argument, largely employed by all the advocates of vivisection, moralizes this practice by claiming for it the right of being endured which is still enjoyed by a number of barbarous sports and practices inherited from more callous days, sports and practices which it must be the strenuous wish of every thinking and feeling man to see outgrown, as we have outgrown many another nasty habit; and this argument, this legitimizing of a new kind of cruelty by the survival of a few very old ones from among the number which civilization has already made obsolete, appears to me not over consistent with the doctrines of elimination of abominations and gradual cleansing of life which scientific believers have accepted in exchange for the old æsthetical paradise promised by Christianity. Yet another and equally favourite argument consists in confronting us with all the various advantages which we have reaped at the expense of pain and injustice; summoning us to renounce this or that advantage inherited from the past, because we cannot be quite sure whether the hands, of man or of fate, which got us that advantage were quite clean; representing to us that we have been moulded by a cruel and unjust nature with many a cruel and unjust instrument; the logical result of all of which is intended to be that if our forefathers made their fortune by cheating customers or robbing travellers, we ought ourselves to condone, if not to practise, the same kind of trade. This is not an argument, it is a theatrical effect, intended to stagger the conscience. "Are you sure," says the devil to the honest woman, "that your mother was not unchaste and that you yourself are not the fruit of adultery?" And this also, this upsetting of the moral judgment by appeal to the imagination, this degrading of the present and the future by pointing to the ignoble past, seems to me more akin to the branding and chaining into eternal prostitution of the woman who has once sinned, than to

the principle that man is for ever on the road to a greater moral good, and must with every step leave the original slums further behind and cast from him their befouled rags. This (as it appears to me) flagrant moral contradiction due to the one choice of evil, is summed up, almost in a kind of allegory, by the fact that the flower of moral rhetoricians, the very prince of dainty *connaisseurs* in charity and justice, M. Ernest Renan, writing—with the same hand that had written of Christ “for all those who suffered”—the superb description of the august priest of truth, Claude Bernard, surrounded by the fumes of the blood of the living beasts whom he had poisoned with curare into a state “of the most atrocious sufferings” (to use his own words) “that the imagination of man can conceive” (*Revue des deux Mondes*, Sept. 1864, p. 173).^{*} Such are some of these strange condescensions to ignoble moral argument into which the desire of defending vivisection has forced men fully conscious of right and wrong, nay, even experts in moral beauty. I need scarcely say that, the principle once established that the advancement of science and the diminution of human aches is the highest moral test, it must have become a positive duty to sacrifice to this end any scruples not only as to infliction of pain, but also as to the mutilation and disfigurement of truth; of which any one who will note the innumerable evasive answers, the actual flagrant contradictions in statement, and the general denial of the evils of vivisection registered in the Blue-book of the Royal Commission, may persuade himself; and, if he desire further persuasion, obtain it by comparing the vague accounts of the trampy pains of vivisection, the mere prickings and ticklings, given in the reviews by various eminent physiologists and physicians to the suspicious public at large, with what may be found in any advanced physiological handbook or physiological periodical in the way of innumerable admirably clear recipes for day-long torturings. But the degradation of a wrong moral choice carries with it not only horrid prostitutions of conscience but melancholy stultifications of intellect; makes not only honourable men argue according to dishonourable standards, but makes intelligent men talk rubbish. When, for instance, Professor Humphry has said that nothing has shaken his faith in the moral sensitiveness of Englishmen so much as the movement which has subjected vivisection to moral scrutiny; when Professor Owen has declared that a day's pigeon-shooting in one place inflicts more agony than a year's physiological experimentation all over the world; when Dr. Wilks has stated that it is clear that in the anti-vivisection agitation the real motive was fear of atheism, while the plea of cruelty was a mere subterfuge; when such astounding nonsense has been talked by men who are trained to logical thought, there remains possible only one further degree of audacious absurdity of argument,

^{*} It should be observed that Bernard expressly says in his ‘*Leçons de Physiologie Opératoire*,’ p. 168, that “curare is now employed in a vast number of experiments as a means of restraining the animals. There are but few observations the narrative of which does not begin by notifying that they were made on a curarized dog.”

reserved oddly enough for one of the most eminent scientific thinkers of the day, Professor Virchow, who warned the public that if vivisection should ever be prohibited, the logical sequel to refusal to permit the infliction of agony on living beasts would evidently be a prohibition to dissect stone-dead corpses. But no; there has been worse stultification than this, stultification stranger and much more lamentable, because on the part, not of an infuriated physiologist or plausible doctor, but of a man apparently defending vivisection from a mere abstract desire for the diminution of human pain, a man proved in other fields a most powerful and original thinker, and obviously almost nervously careful in weighing the rights and wrongs of either side. Mr. Edmund Gurney suggests, with saint-like simplicity, that the evils of vivisection may easily be abolished by referring to a board of eminent physiologists and physicians the question whether this, that, or the other experiment may be authorized in consideration of the distinct medical or surgical results which it promises. And he does this in the face not only of the obvious fact that vivisection is an infinitely varied system of experimentation by which abstract truth is sought, as by every other scientific process, on the principle of digging and seeing what may turn up; a system moreover of experiment repeated hundredfold for suggestion, verification, re-verification, correcting, refuting, and demonstrating, exactly analogous to the hundredfold experimentation of chemistry or physics; and of the equally obvious fact that by restricting their own experiments English physiologists and physicians would simply be virtuously condemning themselves to hopeless inferiority to the untrammelled experimenters of the Continent, a degree of self-sacrifice, little less than suicide; but in the face of the distinct assertions of the highest physiological authorities, summed up by Dr. Wilks, that it is utterly absurd for a Government official to ask experimenters "before he permits them to commence their work, what good object they can foresee in pursuing their researches," and that "the only answer which a really scientific man could give would be—knowledge."

Shall physiology be fettered? shall the discovery of facts and laws be retarded? shall one science be separated by a moral barrier from the full data which it covets? It seems a very frightful decision to come to; yet not so frightful, nor, when we look well at the matter, by any means unique. For in reality there are few, if any, sciences, which are permitted to obtain directly all the materials they require. barriers exist for them, sometimes almost enclose them—barriers across which only the strong muscle of analogical argument can raise itself to peer, the strong wing of imaginative reason can fly—barriers, which we are apt to forget, of place and time, hopeless barriers of chaos and vacuity and obliteration which separate the historian, the geologist, the astronomer, the physicist, the sociologist, from the facts which he covets. Moreover, this very science of physiology, in its higher levels of human biology, of mental physiology, has between it and its

facts a wall as yet solid and unbroken, the wall of public opinion, of long habit, perhaps almost prejudice, which will not let the investigator experiment on the living nerves and brain, the living imagination and passions of a human victim. These walls exist for all science; their presence is borne with patience, and mankind does not fret at the long and roundabout ways by which knowledge must wearily proceed. A bit more wall or a bit less, a little more patience and a little more fortitude, a little more ingenuity in hewing out the difficult paths of thought where we cannot follow the broad highway of experiment; this is what would be meant to men of science by the prohibition of vivisection. A little more manly endurance of physical and mental pain; a little more wise recognition that with the pain mankind has equitably drawn a possible and probable lot of pleasure; a little more truthful perception that the pains which we suffer are largely due to the folly and vice of ourselves and our fathers; a little more grateful perception that the joys of mind, and eye and ear and heart, are multifold with which man can compensate himself for the sufferings of the body—a certain amount of gained moral vigour: this is what the prohibition of vivisection would mean to mankind at large. There is on either side a loss and a gain. Which shall we choose? To me it seems that to the man who not merely superficially knows and repeats, but whose thoughts and feelings are saturated with our new creed of the perpetual development of the nobler by perpetual elimination of the baser motives of our nature, it will be clear, sooner or later, that the improvement of bodily condition, the advancement of our knowledge, must be a retrogressive step if bought at the expense of the infliction of manifold and daily increasing tortures on creatures who will participate in no way thereby; on creatures who have not our innumerable consoling pleasures of thought, sentiment, hope, and æsthetic perception; who, if they suffer, lose all and everything they possess, nay rather, are basely cheated and robbed like some poor serf of their miserable birthright of painless existence by us, their lords, rich with a hundred inherited riches, rich with a hundred riches within our grasp. And similarly, it seems to me, that to every man imbued with the noble religion of choice and improvement, it should appear that the patient foregoing of knowledge thus to be bought, the manly endurance of suffering at such a price to be diminished, must be a great step in the great journey of human bettering; must be, both in the large act of preference of justice to injustice, and in the minor attendant acts of cherished forbearance from the coveted, of fortitude in pain, of thoughtful weighing of good and evil, of candid listening to our conscience, one of those choices of the higher rather than the lower which have made us what we are, which shall make us what we should be.

VERNON LEE.

THE ETHICS OF VIVISECTION.

SINCE many writers opposed to the practice of experiments on animals have based their objections entirely on moral grounds, and thus made the question of vivisection an ethical one, I have been anxious to know what laws they have discovered for our guidance on this vexed subject. They discourse on cruelty, on immorality, and on the rights of animals; but these expressions are so vague that they fail to afford any basis for legal or public action, or, if there be any attempt at definition, it is with the object of making these terms conform to a foregone conclusion on the very point under discussion. Thus it is constantly asserted that physiologists feel at liberty to torture animals at their pleasure, without regard to the "higher dictates of humanity" or to the "laws of morality." It is thus implied that there exists among the public some principle of conduct towards the lower animals which has no place among experimenters. They speak as if standing on a higher platform and beholding all creatures from a superior position, they could frame a code of laws which should have due regard to the rights of animals, and govern our own conduct in all our relations to them. This position is altogether fallacious: man cannot disconnect himself from the animal world, and cannot define its rights. It must, therefore, be abandoned as altogether untenable, and the subject discussed from a totally different standpoint. Our relation to the animal world can only in a very qualified sense be regarded from an ethical point of view; much in the same way as eating and drinking may be spoken of as questions of morality when moral considerations exert their influence over the amount and kind of food which we consume; this, however, cannot hide from us the fact that the subject of digestion is fundamentally a physiological one.

The duty of man towards animals as an abstract question is from its

very nature insoluble; it can only be partially answered on the grounds of expediency, and these will vary according to age and nation. We should, rather, ask what is our relation to the lower animal world, and in what place in that relationship can moral considerations come into force? In endeavouring to form a judgment of this relationship we must take facts as we find them, for the attempt at an explanation is trying to solve the riddle of our existence, and leaves us still with "the burthen of the mystery of all this unintelligible world."

In seeking a solution of such a question as our duty towards inferior creatures, we must take into account man's animal nature; he is of the earth, earthy, and depends for his existence on the living world around him. Like many other creatures, he has to prey upon the lower animals for his subsistence, and although he may not often, after the example of some monsters of the deep, swallow small fishes by the mouthful—as in partaking of whitebait—yet, like the other carnivorn, he hunts his prey and stealthily lies in wait for his victim. A large part of the existence of the lower animals is employed in search for food, or in protecting themselves from the assaults of their more powerful foes. Their exquisitely keen senses are put into full play to seek out their prey, or to place them on their guard against their more subtle enemies. Paley could discourse on the design manifested in the claws, teeth, and lithesome movements of the tiger, so well adapted for the capture of its victim, and with equal discernment portray the form and slender legs which enable the latter to escape its foe. It is necessary to picture Nature as we find it, or we may fall into the error which we see pervading so many recent writings—viz., that nearly all the miseries and pain inflicted on the lower animals arise from their connection with man. If we remember how many animals prey upon one another we shall realize the vast amount of pain and suffering ever existing among highly organized and sensitive creatures. None of us can measure the agonies of the slow death of an animal who has escaped mangled from his enemy and been left to linger on a sunburnt soil, with hunger unappeased and thirst unslaked. Most of us have seen the picture of the dying camel in the desert, glancing up with fearful eye at the vultures hovering above him; and the cat playing with the terror-stricken mouse is to many a familiar sight. Over other and grosser cruelties practised by one animal on another it would be best to draw a veil. A far pleasanter picture is it to contemplate the beauties of Nature, the glorious vegetation, the singing of birds, the gambolling of the lambs in the meadows, or the wild herds in the prairies; and yet there is no escape from the fact that animals practise towards one another nearly every human crime. There is the bright side of the shield, but there is the other which shows that "the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain until now."

Man, like other carnivorous animals, derives a pleasure from hunting his prey; and, indeed, many of the gratifications of life are dependent upon

his animal instincts. In a primitive condition, whilst the woman is at home providing for the household, the husband is away in the forest or on the mountain seeking for food, and finding a keen exhilaration in the chase. In a higher state of civilization the instinct still remains; for although the butcher may supply the meat, the sportsman still pursues the game; or if the fishmonger sells the salmon, the zest for catching the fish still exists. A man does not kill his own sheep for dinner, but he approves of the act; the most honest and guileless lady will not hesitate to eat the bird for the capture of which cunning and treachery have been employed. It would seem, from these examples, that a carnivorous animal like man cannot frame a code of laws in relation to his inferiors, or determine the rights of the lower animals, on any Christian or other ethical principle, such as "to do as we would be done by." Up to recent times we have acknowledged no other law than "might is right." For I am not aware that society or the public voice has put any restraint on man's desire to kill whatsoever animals he pleases for his food; as for clothing, he may capture any creature he fancies, and steal the skin, coveting it the more the handsomer its coat; whilst society has not hitherto placed any limits upon his greed. We not only eat for necessity, but we foster and pamper our appetites, we breed creatures for our uses, and, when fit for our stomachs, kill them, doing also what humanity has never yet blushed at, first mutilating them and unsexing them. It has been truly said, that in this sad world one of the greatest gifts bestowed on the animal creation is the relation of the sexes; and the singing of birds, the building of nests, the mating of animals, has given rise to much of the poetry of Nature. But it has been left for man to make herds of beef, and flocks of mutton, and horses whose only function is to drag our carriages. One might ask, in these sentimental and æsthetic days, whether one sigh of pity has ever been raised over these poor maimed creatures? What do those who talk of the rights of animals say on this matter? or how does the ethical question apply here? Was the morality of the business discussed when nearly the whole family of whales was exterminated for the sake of their oil, or whenever troops of horses have been exported to engage in our quarrels and perish on the battle-field. If a horse could define his rights, would he admit the necessity of his going round and round in a mill the livelong day, or dragging a tram-car with the never-ceasing jangle of bells in his ears? Would the thousands of God's creatures in India approve of being called "vermin," and exterminated at so much a head? It is clear that, as regards food, clothing, mutilation, or work, there seems to be no other rule guiding us than "might is right." We have exercised the dominion given us over the beasts of the earth and fowls of the air as tyrants.

Now when all this is said and admitted, we recognize over and above our animal instincts a higher nature within us,—pity, love, compassion,

and duty towards other objects; sentiments, indeed, which seem almost antagonistic to our lower life and to the proclivities of our fleshly body. This higher aspiration has ever been regarded as one of the best evidences of man's spiritual nature. We observe that a cultivated man is obliged to find a substitute to kill the sheep for his dinner, or to employ the necessary cunning to catch his game, since he could not practise deceit himself, nor nerve his arm to strip the Arctic animals of their skins to clothe himself. But although he does not imbrue his hands in blood, and although he dismisses from his mind the question of the animal's "right" to its own skin, he cannot discard his own animal nature by appointing a substitute to perform actions in the result of which he participates. When, therefore, the question of the relationship between man and animals is considered, the fact that man is a killing and hunting animal himself lies at the very foundation of this relationship. Where, then, it may be asked, do the higher sentiments of which I have spoken come in? A ready answer is, that all these practices towards the lower animals are admissible and necessary for man's existence, but that *cruelty* should be avoided. This word, in common use of late, appears to signify the giving of unnecessary pain, but it still remains ambiguous unless the word "necessary" is defined. One may gather from various writings that "necessary" is equivalent to "advantageous to man;" for example, the word "cruelty" would be applicable to the case where a half-starved horse is made to drag a cart too ponderous for his strength, but it would not apply to the case of the same horse dragging a heavy cannon over a mountain for the safety and glory of the nation. What, then, is necessary pain, and what unnecessary pain or cruelty? If necessity is construed, as it is at present, to include not only the procuring of food, but man's enjoyment and general advantages, it is obvious that the question must have ever-varying answers. There are a few persons, vegetarians on principle, who would not kill animals for food under any consideration; there are others who would not take their lives for pleasure. Past generations have approved of cock-fighting: there may be a future generation who will discountenance pigeon-shooting, and will regard that age as barbarous which could witness without disgust the bleeding carcasses of sheep hanging up in our most fashionable thoroughfares. The spirit of the age and the feeling of society for the time seem to determine what amount and kind of pain and suffering people will allow to be inflicted on animals and what they will disallow. The very valuable Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals does not seem in its operations to offer a solution of the question. It would seem that most of the examples of cruelty which the Society publishes are those where the public gain nothing by the act complained of, and can therefore afford to prosecute. For example, I have heard "shame" called on a carman who was endeavouring to make a horse draw a coal-waggon along the slippery pavement of Bond Street; and this exclamation came from a gentleman who on turn-

ing round might have seen the quails and larks closely caged for his table, and the dying and writhing lobsters waiting to end their miseries in a pan of boiling water. It would almost seem that the infliction of pain is allowable if approved by the majority, and that it is not allowable and constitutes cruelty if disapproved. In other words, cruelty depends upon the public estimation of its utility or inutility. One is forced to arrive at this conclusion, for the more one thinks over the rights of animals, or the ethical question of our treatment of them, the less does it appear that any considerations framed upon rights or morals have ever influenced mankind in its conduct. It is possible that some vague ideas respecting man's duty to animals may be floating through different brains, but those ideas have never become concrete.

It being admitted that man has a power, if not a right, over the lives of the lower animals, the question arises, where should this right be limited, and at what point should our animal instincts, appetites, and wants be restricted? Utility or advantage seems to be the gauge used by the majority of persons. The question, therefore, between the anti-vivisectionists and their opponents appears to be a narrow one. The former assert that the pain inflicted on animals is out of proportion to the advantages obtained; Lord Coleridge says as much in his well wrapped up dictum. We, on the contrary, declare that the importance of experiments can be shown to be overwhelming in comparison with the pain inflicted on animals for this and other objects. The lofty phrase that "knowledge is unlawful knowledge if it is pursued by means which are immoral" must be analyzed to understand its meaning. As it is made applicable to vivisection, it is clear that "immorality" means "giving pain to animals;" and his lordship's statement would run, "All knowledge is unlawful if obtained by giving pain to animals." Whence it follows that as it is allowable to give pain to animals for various purposes, it is only unlawful to give pain when the purpose is knowledge. I see no other interpretation to put upon his words, and thus he places himself entirely at one with the rest of the anti-vivisectionists. These writers select out of foreign works all the horrible pictures they can find, and most unfairly ignore all those important experiments made by the aid of the most trifling operations under chloroform, and which have proved to be of inestimable benefit to animals and men. Lord Coleridge, although protesting against the charge of antagonism to science, unwittingly shows how profoundly he misunderstands the methods of scientific men, and consequently falls into the same error as his more ignorant friends. However little sympathy he may have with science, one would have thought that Whewell, Mill, Jevons, and others had clearly demonstrated that the methods of science can only be reached by accurate observation and well-devised experiment. I am afraid, therefore, that scientists will scarcely consider that man to be amongst their allies who believes their method is "to perform a hundred thousand experiments in the hope that some new fact may turn up." But

this is only an example of the misleading nature of the statements and expressions of the anti-vivisectionists. This very term implies that their opponents are vivisectionists; much in the same way as, if a certain sect of vegetarians were to style themselves anti-sheepkillers, all the rest of the world would be sheepkillers, and this opprobrious word would be employed towards any lady who was seen eating a mutton chop. The two cases are exactly analogous, for among the thousands of medical and scientific men who see the advantages of making experiments on animals there are scarcely twenty who would be willing to undertake operations of so disagreeable a nature. Just as the sheepkillers are those only who would protest against any laws being made to prevent them eating animal food, so in like manner the "vivisectionists" are those who maintain that legislation should not prevent a few physiologists performing the experiments which they judge necessary. What is asked by the vivisectionists is, that the whole power of the law should not be brought to bear upon a handful of accomplished men who are engaged in the service of science and humanity. They do not object to laws being made to prohibit incompetent persons from experimenting.

The difference between a dozen anti-vivisectionists and a dozen scientific men cannot possibly turn upon a moral question such as dislike of cruelty; and therefore, if the one can look upon an animal injured and bleeding with serenity, and the other not, it would be owing, as the former party assert, to usage or habit. Let this be admitted, the converse is also true, and it may be safely conjectured that much of the opposition to experimentation is due to the unpleasant picture which the subject presents to the imagination. The difference between sensitiveness and compassion, or active benevolence, was long ago pointed out by Coleridge; but for this difference, Howard would be justly called the most hard-hearted of men. A lady shrinks with horror from treading on a black beetle, but is only too satisfied to hear that the cook has exterminated the "vermin" by poison or boiling water. But lately an excellent example of a personal sensitiveness being mistaken for compassion has been witnessed in the case of the sale of the elephant. If the word of the Council of the Zoological Society can be taken as true, it was believed that "Jumbo" would be far happier travelling amongst his kin than leading a life of solitude in London. Yet, in spite of this statement, all the kind-hearted people have been sending their subscriptions to enable the Society to forego its bargain, since they and their children cannot bear to part with their favourite. It is like the frequent example of a mother preventing her son taking the voyage prescribed for the benefit of his health because her feelings cannot allow her to part with him.

After eliminating all that is irrelevant and false, the question between experimenters and anti-vivisectionists appears to be a simple one. The latter declare that experiments are attended with great cruelty, and the results are of little or no good; they should therefore be

disallowed. The former deny the truth of the proposition, and maintain that it is tyranny to put in force the power of the law to prevent a few, a very few, men of known reputation as trained physiologists performing occasional experiments, often unattended by pain, for the sake of advantages which they believe to be enormous. To endeavour to make vivisection a question of ethics, when moral considerations are altogether and confessedly ignored in a thousand other instances, is clearly illogical; and obviously prompted by an undue bias. In other words, the selection of the so-called standard of "morality," or of the "rights of animals," by which to measure the permissibility of physiological experimentation, is undeniably a prejudgment of the real point at issue.

SAMUEL WILKS.

THE LAST KING OF TAHITI.

AMONG the recent changes that have occurred in the South Pacific, none appear so likely to exercise a permanent influence on the trade of the future as the annexation by France of all the finest isles in the immediate vicinity of the Isthmus of Panama.

This great step has been accomplished so quietly as to excite little more than a passing comment from the world in general, and no word of remonstrance from any of the Great Powers, who seem to consider the annexation of the Society Isles as merely the natural result of the "Protectorate" which was established with so high a hand in 1843, when France virtually possessed herself of the Marquesas, the Paumotu, or Low Archipelago, and the Society groups.

To these she has still more recently added the Gambier Isles, which lie to the south-west, in the direction of Pitcairn's Isle, and has thus secured a very admirable semicircle of the four finest groups in the Eastern Pacific. Here she can now consolidate her strength, and await the influx of commerce which must of necessity pass through this *cordon*, when M. Lesseps shall have opened the Panama Canal for the traffic of the world.

Here French ships will touch, on their way to and from the Loyalty Isles and Cochin China (the principal colonies of France in the Western Pacific); and ships of all nations, plying between Europe and Australasia, will necessarily pass the same way and contribute their quota to the wealth of the French Republic in the East, finding magnificent harbours, and now even arsenals, where much may be done in the way of refitting, if necessary.

Hitherto, the trade of the Isles has been shackled by various restrictive commercial regulations, and official interference has tended in many ways to hinder the progress of these, as of all other French colonies.

Now, however, that the farce of a Protectorate, with separate and very confusing laws, has been abolished, and that the Code Napoleon reigns supreme, greater freedom of action seems to be allowed, and the foreign residents find their position better defined and altogether more satisfactory.

France seems, however, to aim at still wider dominion in the South Seas. That the independent isles of Raiatea, Bora Bora, and Huahine should share the fate of Tahiti, seems almost a natural sequence. But the tidings which have now reached England of French action in regard to the Hervey and Austral Isles indicate that our Gallic neighbours seek a still wider range of dominion.

The inhabitants of these isles, all peaceful Christians, happy and prosperous, and governed by their own chiefs, were recently startled by the arrival of a French man-of-war, whose captain informed them that their trade must henceforth be diverted from New Zealand to Tahiti, as Great Britain had agreed to leave France undisputed mistress of all isles lying to the east of Samoa.

The people, who had at first received their French visitors with cordiality, at once took the alarm, and returned all presents which had been made to them; whereupon the captain informed them that the French Admiral was then on his way to the Austral Isles, and would compel them to submit to a French Protectorate. Great, therefore, is the alarm of all the islanders, who remember with terror every detail of the appropriation of the neighbouring groups.

As an illustration of how the thin end of the wedge was applied, it may not be uninteresting at the present moment to recall the circumstances under which this Protectorate was established.

In 1837 the French sent out an exploring expedition, commanded by D'Urville, whose somewhat remarkable official orders were, "*d'appriivoiser les hommes, et de rendre les femmes un peu plus sauvages!*"*

The result of his report was, that the French decided on establishing themselves in the Marquesas, Society, and Paumotu Isles. Accordingly, in 1842 an expedition sailed from Brest to effect this purpose, its destination being a secret known only to its commander. The Marquesas were selected as the centre of operations.

A squadron of four heavy frigates and three corvettes, commanded by Rear-Admiral Du Petit Thouars, accordingly astonished the natives by suddenly appearing in the lovely harbour of Nukuheva, and very soon these simple folk learnt the full meaning of the gay tricoloured flags and bristling broadsides. The ostensible pretext for this invasion was that of reinstating Mowanna, the friendly chief of Nukuheva, in what was assumed to be his ancestral right—namely, that of ruling over the whole group of twelve isles, each of which had hitherto considered itself as a distinct world, subdivided into many antagonistic kingdoms. However, a puppet king was the pretext required, and Mowanna furnished it,

* To tame the men, but induce the women to become a little more timid.

and was rewarded with regal honours, and a gorgeous military uniform, rich with gold lace and embroidery.

Of course, he and his tribe of Nukuhevans were vastly delighted, perceiving that they had gained omnipotent allies, and when five hundred troops were landed in full uniform, and daily drilled by resplendent officers, their delight knew no bounds. They recollected how, when in 1814 the U.S. frigate *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, had re-fitted at Nukuheva, she had lent them a considerable force of sailors and marines to assist their own body of two thousand men, in attacking a neighbouring tribe. The latter had offered a desperate resistance, and repulsed the allied forces, who, however, consoled themselves by burning every village they could reach, thus giving the inhabitants good cause to hate the white men's ships.

Now, with the aid of these warlike French troops, the Nukuhevans thought themselves sure of victory, with the prospect of retaining the supremacy. But when fortifications were commenced, and the troops surrounded their camps with solid works of defence, making it evident that the occupation was to be a permanent one, a feeling of detestation, mingled with fear of the invaders, gradually increased, and was certainly not lessened by several sharp encounters, in one of which a hundred and fifty natives are said to have been slain. However, the reign of might prevailed, and the tricolour has floated over the Marquesas unchallenged from that time to this present, when a French governor and staff rule in the Isles; a French bishop, priests, and sisters, endeavour to counter-act the teaching of the American Protestant Mission; and French *gens d'armes* strive to keep order among a race who have not wholly forgotten their old intertribal feuds, and the joys of an occasional cannibal feast.

This appropriation of the Marquesas was immediately followed by that of the Society Isles, whither Admiral Du Petit Thouars proceeded in the *Reine Blanche* frigate, leaving the rest of the squadron at the Marquesas. He anchored in the perfect harbour of Papeete, and sent a message to Queen Pomare to the effect that unless she immediately agreed to pay somewhere about thirty thousand dollars as an indemnity for alleged insults to the French flag, he would bombard the defenceless town. The said insults were very much like those offered by the lamb to the wolf in the old fable—the pretext raked up being simply that Queen Pomare and all her people, having already become staunch Christians according to the teaching of the London Missionary Society, had positively refused to allow certain French priests to settle in the Isles and found a Roman Catholic Mission, with a view to proselytizing. These, proving obstinate in their determination to remain, had, with all due honour, been conveyed on board a vessel about to sail for some distant port, with a sensible recommendation to pursue their calling on some of the many isles which were still heathen.

The French Admiral insisted that, in addition to paying the indemnity

demanded, the people of Tahiti should, at their own expense, erect a Roman Catholic Church in every district where they had built one for their Congregational worship.

The unhappy Queen, terrified lest the arrogant Du Petit Thouars should commence bombarding her helpless capital, yet utterly incapable of complying with his unjust demands, fled by night, in a canoe, to the Isle of Moorea, knowing that no decisive action could be taken in her absence. Her best friend and adviser throughout these troubles was the British Consul, Mr. Pritchard. The Admiral perceiving this, caused him to be arrested and imprisoned. After being kept for ten days in solitary confinement, he was put on board an English vessel out at sea, and forcibly sent away from the islands without a trial or investigation of any kind.

On his arrival in England, the British Government naturally demanded an explanation of such proceedings. M. Guizot replied, that the French authorities at Tahiti found they could make no progress there, because of Mr. Pritchard's great influence with the Queen—in other words, his determination, if possible, to see fair play. The French Government, therefore, approved the action of its officials, but promised to indemnify Mr. Pritchard for what they themselves described as his illegal imprisonment and pecuniary losses. We have, however, Mr. Pritchard's own authority for the fact, that in the year 1840 he had never received one single *sou* of the promised indemnity, and England apparently considered it the part of wisdom, if not of honour, to let the subject drop.

So the pirates (for certainly, in this matter, the French acted as such) compelled poor Queen Pomare and her chiefs to yield to their demands. Some, indeed, strove to make a brave stand, and drive the invaders from their shores; but what could these unarmed islanders do against artillery?

They retreated to their mountain fastnesses; but French troops pursued them thither, built scientific forts, and remained masters of the position. It was a South Sea version of—

"The Assyrian came down like a wolf on the fold,
And his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold"

But in this case the lamb found no deliverer.

The good, sensible Queen, who had proved herself so wise a ruler of a happy and peaceful people up to this terrible November, 1843, was now declared incompetent to govern. The French Protectorate was established, and the *Reine Blanche*, having saluted the Protectorate flag, desired the Queen and chiefs to do likewise—an order which they were unable to obey till the Admiral politely offered to lend the necessary gunpowder.

Thus was the buccaneering expedition carried out, and the French established as rulers in the three groups.

Sorely as Queen Pomare's proud, independent spirit must have chafed

under their tutelage, she contrived to endure it for thirty-five years. Born on the 28th of February, 1813, she succeeded her brother, Pomare III., in January, 1827, and reigned supreme till 1843. On the 17th of September, 1877, this loved mother of her people passed away, and with her all that was truly representative of their ancient independence.

I happened to arrive in Tahiti just at that period.*

A large French man-of-war having been sent on a special mission to Fiji (where I had for some time been living as a member of the Governor's household), I was most courteously invited to go on a cruise through the Tongan, Samoan, and Society Isles. The crowning-point of delight, to which all on board were looking forward, was that we should arrive at Papeete in time for the joyous festival held on the anniversary of the Protectorate, when crowds of the lighthearted people—ready for mirth on any pretext—would assemble at the capital.

Like most things to which we have greatly looked forward, our first impressions of Tahiti were sadly disappointing.

We arrived in a grey, howling storm, and everything looked dismal. Though we coasted all along the beautiful isle of Moorea (formerly called *Limoo*), the envious cloud capped its lofty ranges, only showing a peak here and there. Certainly, such glimpses as we did catch were weirdly grand: huge basaltic pinnacles, of most fantastic shape, towering from out the sea of billowy white clouds which drifted around those black crags; and below the cloud canopy lay deep ravines, smothered in densest foliage, extending right down to the grey dismal sea, which broke in thunder on the reef.

With strong wind and tide against us, as we crossed from Moorea to Tahiti, it was a great relief when, passing by a narrow opening through the barrier reef, we left the great tossing waves outside, and found ourselves in the calm harbour, which lay sullen and grey as a mountain tarn. At first we could see literally nothing of the land; but after awhile it cleared a little, and through the murky mist we discerned fine massive mountains rising from a great gorge beyond the town of Papeete—a pleasant little town, with houses all smothered in foliage, which in fine weather is lovely, being chiefly hybiscus and bread-fruit. But the former is of that very blue-green tint which in rain looks as grey as an olive grove, while each glossy leaf of the bread-fruit is a mirror which exactly reflects the condition of the weather—glancing bright in sunlight, but in storm reflecting the dull hue of the leaden clouds.

And on the dreary day of our arrival, sea and sky were alike dull and colourless—all in keeping with the sad news with which the pilot greeted us as he came on board—namely, that Queen Pomare had died a fortnight previously, and that the people were all in deepest dule. Instead of all the great rejoicings, and balls, and himené-singing (the national music), and all the varied delights of a Tahitian festival—the sunlight,

* "A Lady's Cruise in a French Man-of-War," by C. F. Gordon Cumming. Pub. by Messrs. Blackwood & Son, Edinburgh.

the flowers, the gay dresses of all rainbow hues—we beheld crowds pouring out of the native church (for it was Sunday), all dressed in the deepest mourning, from their crape-trimmed black hats to their black flowing robes, which are all, without exception, cut on the pattern of the old English *sacques*, worn by our grandmothers—that is, a yoke on the shoulders from which the skirt falls to the feet and trails behind. The effect is very easy and graceful. It would be impossible to devise a cooler dress, as it only touches the neck and shoulders, and (very loosely) the arms. The one under-garment is low-necked, short-sleeved, and of such a length as to form a sweeping skirt, thus combining chemise and petticoat in one cool article of raiment. The dress is the same as that worn in the Sandwich Isles; but there, it is worn shorter and fuller, and like everything else in that group, loses the grace and elegance which appear to be inherent in Tahiti. Now all looked sad and sombre. There were no flowers, no fragrant wreaths, no arrowroot crowns, no snowy plumes of *reva-reva*, even the beautiful raven tresses of the women had all been cut off (so, at least, we were told, and certainly none were visible). This was mourning indeed; and the *Court Circular* had ordained that the whole nation should wear the garb of woe for six months! I confess I bewailed the ill-luck that had brought me to Tahiti at so inauspicious a moment, and just too late to see the fine old queen, heroine of so many of my earliest dreams of South Sea romance.

After awhile, however, I found, as usual, that my luck was not altogether bad. About two months previously the French Admiral Serre had arrived, bringing a new French Governor. Very grievous domestic affliction had befallen the latter, and had so shattered his nerves as to render him utterly unfit for the post.

The person who would naturally have succeeded him in office, had unfortunately made himself so obnoxious to the Queen, that she informed the Admiral that, should he be appointed Governor, she would at once retire to Moorea, thereby bringing all business to a deadlock. Thereupon the Admiral promised that her will should be respected, and announced that he would himself assume the office of Governor till such time as a fresh appointment could be made in Paris. M. La Barbe remonstrated. The Admiral bade him be silent. He persisted, and was immediately placed under arrest for fourteen days; at the end of which time his sword was restored to him, and he had to put it on and go to thank the Admiral formally for his goodness in restoring it! But, as his presence in the Isles would henceforth have been unpleasant, he and his family were shipped on board a big transport, which was about to sail for France, and were deported without further question.

At this moment Queen Pomare died suddenly, to the exceeding grief of her people. Great was their anxiety to know what course the French would next adopt, there being good reason to fear that even the semblance of the ancient rule would now be dispensed with—a course which appeared
 'e probable as Queen Pomare's sons had not been remarkable for

their steadiness, and the Royal Family was in a somewhat disjointed condition. The Admiral, however, devoted his whole energies to bringing together its various branches, healing their breaches, and inculcating sobriety, and generally getting them into a satisfactory condition.

He then proclaimed Ariiaue, the eldest son, and his handsome young wife, Marau, aged seventeen, to be king and queen, under the titles of Pomare V. and Marau Pomare, a ceremony of which the *Messenger de Tahiti* gave full particulars, under the heading, "Le prince royal, Ariiaue, est salué roi des Iles de la Société et dépendances," and told how the Legislative Assembly of Tahiti had been convened by "M. le Contre-Amiral Serre, Commandant-en-chef, Commandant provisoire des Etablissements français de l'Océanie, pour reconnaître et acclamer le nouveau Souverain de Tahiti."

The Legislative Assembly received with acclamations the decisions of the omnipotent Admiral, who not only proclaimed Ariiaue King, but further settled the succession for two generations to come. Queen Marau being half English (daughter of Mr. Salmon, an English Jew, married to one of the highest chieftainesses of Tahiti), any child to which she might give birth was excluded from the throne in favour of the little Princess Teriivaetua, daughter of the King's brother, Tamatoa and the charming Moe—ex-King and Queen of Raiatea—thus securing the pure Tahitian blood-royal.

Failing issue of the little Princess Vaetua, the succession was secured to her cousin, Prince Terihinoiatua, commonly called Hinoi, a very handsome boy, son of the third royal brother.

These decisions gave great satisfaction to the Tahitians, who, though well aware that all real power had been taken from their chiefs, still valued its nominal possession. It was, therefore, with a general feeling of pleasure that they hailed the announcement that this modern king-maker intended to escort the royal couple on a grand tour of their dominions, in order to receive in person the homage of all their people.

Greatly to my delight, Admiral Serre most kindly arranged that I should be of the party—a most exceptional piece of good luck, as under no other circumstances could I have seen either the country or the people to such advantage. It was really like a bit of a fairy tale—in every respect a most delightful trip—good weather, good roads, and most agreeable company. Besides the royal party there were about twenty French officers from the flag-ship *Magicienne*, and also their excellent brass band, consisting of twenty sailors, admirably trained by one of the officers, himself an excellent musician. Though we were so large a party, everything in the whole expedition was admirably arranged, and there was always good accommodation provided, and everything was done comfortably.

Each district possesses a very large *cheferie* or district-*l* public purposes. Like all the native houses *l*

heavy thatched roof, rounded at both ends, supported on a mere framework of posts, and leaving the sides all open, save at night, when they are curtained. They generally have good wooden floors, often smooth enough to dance upon. In these our feast was generally prepared, and always gracefully served. Our night-quarters were also most comfortably arranged, and I was especially charmed by the beds provided for us—very large and soft, stuffed with the silky tree-cotton; abundant pillows, real mosquito nets and light curtains tied back with gay ribbons, and such pretty coverlets of patchwork—really triumphs of art-needlework; those most in favour have crimson patterns on a white ground; the designs are highly effective. It seems that a Tahitian housewife prides herself on her snowy linen and downy pillows—a very happy adaptation of foreign customs.

The island of Tahiti is divided into twenty districts, and it was arranged we should visit two each day. So each morning our procession of fifteen wheeled vehicles started at 7 A.M., preceded by native outriders carrying the gay district flag, which made a pretty bit of colour as we passed along the green glades. A drive of seven or eight miles brought us to our halting-point, where we found masses of people assembled to sing *himenés* of welcome—all, however, dressed in black, relieved only by wreaths and handkerchiefs of yellow, or else by a wreath or hat of snowy white bamboo or arrowroot fibre, and in their hair soft plumes of snowy *vava vava*—a filmy ribbon extracted from the cocoa-palm leaf. I was delighted to discover that many of the women, who were supposed to have cut their beautiful long hair in mourning for old Queen Pomare, had only shammed, and their glossy black tresses were allowed to reappear.

Having halted and feasted at the morning district, we started again about two o'clock, drove seven or eight miles further—always through lovely country, and by a wide road of firm green turf, which follows the course of the shore—and so we reached our night quarters, when we were again received by assembled multitudes and congratulatory *himenés*. Then the band played—as it had done at our noonday halt—to the great delight of the people, and we strolled about, and found enchanting bathing pools in some of the many crystalline streams, of which we crossed 150 in a drive of 160 miles! I need not say that bathing in the tropics is one of the chief delights of daily life. At sunset we reassembled for a great dinner, served European fashion, for each district possesses its own crockery, glass, knives, forks, spoons, &c. The Admiral provided French wines and bread. Then followed more *himené*-singing, while we sat listening, entranced, either in the great house, or on the beautiful seashore, in the perfect moonlight.

This was the outline of each day; but, of course, in every district we found special incidents of interest, and the exquisite beauty of the scenery was an ever-varying delight. The weather was perfect—not too hot, yet sunny. A brisk trade-wind brought the sea roaring and

tumbling in heavy breakers on the coral reef about a mile from the shore where our road skirted the calm lagoon, so blue and peaceful and still. We drove through districts which seemed like one vast orchard of mango, bread-fruit, banana, faes, large orange trees, lemons, guavas, citrons, papawas, vanilla, coffee, sugar-cane, maize, and coco-palm, together forming a succession of the richest and most varied foliage it is possible to conceive. Sometimes we amused ourselves by counting such few trees as were *not* fruit-bearing, but even they were, for the most part, fragrant with blossom. Here and there the broad grass roads are edged with avenues of tall plantains, very handsome in a dead calm, but too delicate to endure the rough wooing of the riotous trade-winds, which tear the huge leaves to ribbons, and give the avenues an untidy look. It was on the 15th of October, 1877, that we started on this grand tour. Arriiaue, or rather Pomare V., led the procession, accompanied by his brother Tamatoa, and his little nephew Hinoi. Then followed the Admiral, with his aide-de-camp and myself, in a comfortable open carriage, with excellent horses and a great half-caste driver. Queen Marau came next, with her lovely little sister, Mahinihihi, and little Vactua, who is next in the succession. Sundry and divers vehicles followed, containing the French naval officers, and some others. A few of the party preferred riding. The luggage had already been despatched in heavy *fourgons*, and the band, filling a couple of *char-à-banex*, likewise preceded us.

We halted at various points, where deputations had assembled to welcome the King, and about eleven o'clock reached Punaia, a lovely spot on the seashore, at the mouth of a beautiful valley, above which towers a grand mountain peak. A ruined French fort on the shore, and two small forts further up the valley, recalled the days when Tahiti made her brave but unavailing struggle for independence. Breakfast was prepared for us in a native house, which was decorated in most original style with large patchwork quilts, in lieu of flags, and relieved with graceful fronds of tree-fern.

Here, as at most other feasts, there was a considerable consumption of raw fish, which is considered a very great delicacy, and one for which many foreigners acquire a strong liking. There is no accounting for tastes! King Arriiaue, who took great care of me at meals, tried hard to teach me this enjoyment, and on my objecting, declared it to be mere prejudice, as, of course, I ate oysters raw—he might almost say alive. To this I could answer nothing, well remembering the savage delight with which I have often knocked oysters off rocks and branches, and swallowed them on the instant. But then they are so small, and some of these fish are so very large. Perhaps one's instinctive objection is to their size. Those most in favour are of a most exquisite green colour.

During breakfast and afterwards, the glee-singers of the district sang *himenex*,—most strange and beautiful part songs. Afterwards dancing

was suggested, and I, recollecting the wonderful grace and picturesque charm of the very varied dances of Fiji, which are like well-studied ballets, looked forward to seeing those of Tabiti. But they proved very disappointing. Neither here nor anywhere else did we see any dance except the *upa upa*, which a few men volunteered to perform as a specimen of the old national dance. It is the identical dance which we have seen at Arab weddings, and in other lands—merely an exceedingly ungraceful wriggle, involving violent exertion till every muscle quivers, and the dancer retires panting, and in a condition of vulgar heat. In heathen days it was the distinguishing dance of an atrocious sect called the *Arenis*—religious fanatics and libertines of the vilest order, who were held in reverent awe by the people, and allowed every sort of privilege. They travelled from village to village in very large companies, sometimes filling from fifty to eighty canoes. Wherever they landed great sacrifices were offered to the gods, and for so long as they chose to remain in one place they were the guests of the chief, and had to be provided for by the villagers, whom they entertained by acting pantomimes and reciting legends of the very unholy gods, wrestling, gesticulating, and dancing, till they worked themselves up to a pitch of frenzy which was considered religious, and the night was spent in the wildest orgies. Their dress on these occasions consisted only of a little scarlet and black dye, the seeds of the vermilion plant and charcoal furnishing the materials.

Such being the associations connected with this most unattractive dance, it was for many years discountenanced by the chiefs, in their determination to put away every trace of heathenism. But under French influence it has been in a measure revived, and though the more respectable natives consider it objectionable, a certain number of dancers crop up at every village. Their position, however, appears to be no higher than that of strolling jugglers at an English fair.

In the afternoon we resumed our drive by the soft turf road, where the wheels glide so smoothly and silently, no jarring sound disturbing the harmony of Nature. Here, as on each succeeding day, our path was one continuous panorama of delight. On the one hand, endlessly-varied foliage, and great green hills towering in strange fantastic form, seamed by dark valleys and crystal streams; and on the other side lay the calm glittering lagoon, reflecting, as in a mirror, the grand masses of white cloud, and bounded by the long line of breakers, flashing as they dashed on the barrier reef. Beyond these lay outspread the vast Pacific, its deep purple, dashed with white crests, telling how briskly the trade-winds blew outside. And, far on the horizon, the rugged peaks of Moorea rose clear and beautiful, robed in ethereal lilac.

We halted for the night at Paca, a charmingly-situated hamlet of clean comfortable houses, only divided from the white coral sand by a belt of green turf and fine old iron-wood trees. (The iron-wood of the Pacific is a very different tree from that bearing the same name in

America. In the Pacific it always means the casuarina, and has dark hair-like pensive foliage. It is a mournful tree, and is generally planted near graves. It is the *noko-noko* of Piji, where, in common with the crimson *drœcina*, it is consecrated to the dead.)

The pride of Paea is its very large house for public entertainment. Here we found dinner laid, in European style, for three hundred guests. At one end was an upper table, where the chiefs of the district entertained the Royal party, while the other tables were ranged down the sides of the building; each family in the neighbourhood having undertaken to provide for one table, and there assemble their own friends. The whole great building was beautifully decorated in Tahitian style, with palm-leaves and tree-ferns, and festoons of deep fringe made of hybiscus fibre, all dyed either yellow or white. There must have been *miles* of fringe used in decorating that house. Yellow is happily admitted in Court mourning, so most of the people wore at least a yellow necktie, a symptom of mitigated affliction, to express the pleasure that now mingled with their grief for the good Queen:—

“ Le Roi est mort—Vive le Roi ! ”

We went to dinner in most orthodox fashion, the Admiral conducting Queen Marau, and Arriane taking me. The table decorations were most curious and effective. At the first glance there appeared to be a series of white marble centre vases, which on close inspection proved to be graduated lumps of the thick fleshy banana stalk near the root. In these were inserted branches of the thorny wild lemon tree, and on each thorn were stuck artificial flowers made of coloured leaves, or of the glossy white arrow-root fibre, or bamboo fibre, such as are used in making hats; and from some there floated a silvery plume of the lightest silky film, like fairy ribbons. This is the snowy *reva reva* extracted from the interior of young cocon-palm leaves—a difficult operation, requiring the neatest hand and long practice. The worker keeps a split stick, stuck in the ground beside her, and into its cleft fastens one end of each ribbon as she peels it, otherwise the faintest breath of air would blow it away. It is the loveliest gossamer you can imagine.

At the end of the feast, Tamatoa gave the example of adorning his own hat, and those of his neighbours, with these lovely plumes and all the pretty fanciful flowers. Then we adjourned to the grassy shore, and watched the clear full moon rise from the calm sea, while the glee-singers sang their soft beautiful choruses.

I wish it were possible to describe Tahitian himenés, so as to give others the faintest idea of their fascination. But the thing is impossible—they are a new sensation, utterly indescribable. No music of any other country bears the slightest resemblance to these wild exquisite glees, faultless in time and harmony, though apparently each singer introduces any variations that occur to him or her. The musicians sit on the grass, on mats, in two divisions, arranged in rows so as to form two

squares. A space is left between these, where the "conductor" (should there chance to be one) walks up and down, directing the choruses. But very often there is no leader, and all sing apparently according to their own sweet will, introducing any variations that occur to them. One voice commences—others strike in—here, there, everywhere, in liquid chorus. It seems as if one section devoted themselves to pouring forth a rippling torrent of Ra!—Ra! ra-ra-ra-ra! while others burst into a flood of La!—La! la-la-la-la! Some confine their care to sounding a deep booming bass in a long continued drone, somewhat suggestive, to my appreciative Highland ear, of our own bagpipes. Here and there high falsetto notes strike in, varied from verse to verse, and then the chorus of La and Ra comes bubbling in liquid melody, while the voices of the principal singers now join in unison, now diverge as widely as it is possible for them to do, but all combine to produce the quaintest, most melodious, most perplexing wild rippling glee that ever was heard. Some hīmenes have an accompaniment of measured hand-clapping, by hundreds of those present. This is curious in its way, chiefly as a triumph of perfect time; but I do not think it attractive. The clear mellifluous voices need no addition, and as they ring out suddenly and joyously in the cool evening, I can imagine no sound more inspiring. Yet none can be more tantalizing, for however often you may hear the same fascinating tune it somehow seems impossible to catch it. The air seems full of musical voices, perfectly harmonized—now lulled to softest tones, then swelling in clear ringing tones, like most melodious cathedral chimes heard from afar on a soft summer night.

In many instances the singers compose their own words, which sometimes describe the most trivial details of passing events, sometimes are fragments of most sacred hymns, according to the impulse of the moment. Probably the last fact gives us a clue to the origin of the word *Hymnucul*, but I fancy that the words are often those of much older and less seemly songs than the hymns taught by the early missionaries. Some of the airs, too, are really old native tunes, while others were originally imported from Europe, but have become so completely Tahitianized that no mortal could recognize them; which is all in their favour, for the wild melodies of the isle are beyond measure attractive and characteristic.

At every stage of this Royal progress, we were greeted by these bands of glee-singers at least twice a day, and often three times; they sang as though they could never weary.

I, a guileless stranger, accepted this delight as a matter of course supposing that music was the life of these happy people, and that they warbled like birds, really because they could not help doing so. But it was all a delusion. It appears they only sing on occasions, and though I remained six months in the Society Isles, all the hīmenes I heard were crowded into the first fortnight. After that I only heard one, and that a very poor one. But the indeous dancing, which is the

only ugly thing in Tahiti, and which was reduced to a minimum during the stay of the paternal Admiral (who strove so hard to inculcate the practice of all virtues), received so great encouragement after his departure, that all its votaries assembled at Papeete, and their evening revels took the place of the pleasant gatherings at the band, which were among the marked features of the early part of my visit. Consequently, the more respectable section of the community were conspicuous by their absence, and an atmosphere of peace, amounting to stagnation, took the place of the stir and bustle which figured so largely in my first impressions of Tahiti.

But to return to the Royal progress round the Isles. On the following morning we were all astir by five A.M., and started immediately after early coffee—every one cheery and good-tempered—on every side hearty greetings, “Yarra-na ! Yarra-na !” and sounds of careless laughter and merry voices. There is certainly a great charm in the pretty liquid language and in the gentle, affectionate manner of the people, who seem to be overflowing with genial kindness. Two hours drive us to Papara, where a very grand reception awaited the young King and Queen, Mrs. Salmon, the Queen’s mother, being chieftainess of the district. Her true native name is very long, and I fear I cannot write it correctly, so my readers must be content with that of her husband. She had assembled all her vassals in most imposing array, and a double row of himené-singers lined the road singing choruses of congratulation, taken up alternately on the right hand and on the left with very pretty effect. Many relations of the family had also assembled to greet their royal kinsfolk, including two more of Mrs. Salmon’s pretty daughters, and her handsome sons, fine stalwart men. Very quaint ceremonial garments were presented to the King and the Admiral. They are called *Tiputa*, and are the ancient Tahitian dress of great occasions. They are precisely similar in form to the Spanish *poncho*, being passed over the head and falling over the back and chest, to the knee. They are made from the fibre of bread-fruit bark, and covered with flowers and twists of the glossy arrowroot fibre, each stitched on separately. To the Queen, the Admiral, and myself, were presented the most lovely crowns of the same silvery arrowroot, while for the gentlemen were provided garlands and necklaces of fragrant white or yellow blossoms, and charming hats of white bamboo fibre, manufactured by the ladies and their attendants.

The house was most tastefully decorated with great ferns and bright yellow banana leaves, plaited to form a sort of fringe. Wild melodious himenés, were sung all the time of the feast, and afterwards the band played operatic airs, till it was time for us to resume our journey.

In that district much cultivation has somewhat impaired the beauty of wild Nature, large tracts of land having been laid out for scientific planting of cotton and coffee, and, after all, the fields have been abandoned; the crops, left to run wild, are now rank straggling bushes, struggling for life with the overmastering vines or with the wild guava,

which, having once been imported as a fruit tree, has now become the scourge of the planters, from the rapidity and tenacity with which it spreads and takes possession of the soil. At the same time, a scrub, which yields wholesome and abundant food for men and beast, cannot be said to be altogether an evil.

It is not often that civilization improves the picturesque beauty of a country, but assuredly the lovely hills and valleys of Tahiti and Moorea have greatly gained in richness by the introduction of the fruit-bearing trees which now form so important a feature in the general wealth of foliage, the dense thickets of orange trees having all grown from those brought from Sydney by Mr. Henry, one of the early missionaries. Strangely enough, the most healthy trees are those which have grown, self-sown, from the seed carelessly thrown about by the natives, when they retired to some quiet valley to brew their orange rum in secret. These trees have thriven far better than those much cared for and transplanted.

The splendid mango trees, whose mass of dark foliage is now so prominent a feature on all sides, were introduced less than twenty years ago by the French, who have taken infinite trouble to procure all the very best sorts, and have succeeded to perfection, for in no other country have I tasted any to compare with the mangos of Tahiti. In the Sandwich Isles they are very inferior fruit, with a flavour of turpentine, and in most groups of the Pacific they have scarcely been introduced yet. Once even indifferent stocks have taken to the soil, it is a comparatively simple matter to graft good sorts. The difficulty lies in conveying them alive. I took an immense amount of trouble, while in Tahiti, in the endeavour to introduce this valuable tree to Fiji. With infinite toil I myself collected, carefully dried, and packed upwards of ten thousand fine mango stones, and despatched one case *via* New Zealand, another *via* New Caledonia. Imagine my regret on hearing that on the cases reaching their destination, after their three months' detention on the way, every seed was found to have sprouted and died!

A pleasant afternoon drive, through fragrant orange groves, brought us to Papeooriri, where Queen Marau offered me a share of the house assigned to her (which, being purely Tahitian, and not built of wood as so many now are, felt like living in a bamboo cage), exceedingly airy and transparent, but lined with temporary curtains of white calico to screen us from the general public. We strolled along the coast till we found a delightful bathing-place, where the Anapa river flows into the sea. The two pretty girls, of course, bore us company, as also the Queen's handmaid, who was laden with *pareos* and towels; the *pareo* being simply a couple of fathoms of bright-coloured calico, which, knotted over one shoulder, forms an efficient and picturesque bathing gown.

We returned just in time for such a fish dinner as Greenwich never surpassed. Fish of all sorts and kinds, cooked and raw to suit all tastes.

excellent lobsters and crabs, huge fresh-water prawns, delicate little oysters which grow on the roots and branches of the mangrove which fringes some muddy parts of the shore. But, most excellent of all, is another product of the briny mud, altogether new to me, a hideous, but truly delicious, white cray-fish, called *varo* or *wurrati*. We all registered a solemn vow never to lose a chance of a *varo* feast. The tables were decorated in a manner quite in character, having pillars of the banana root stem, white as alabaster, with a fringe of large prawns at the top, and a frieze of small lobsters below—a very effective study in scarlet and white.

On the following day we crossed the ridge which connects the peninsula with the main isle. We journeyed to one end of it, slept there, then retraced the road to the isthmus, and went down the other side, as there is no passable road round the further end. The scenery here was, if possible, lovelier than on the great isle, and we spent delightful days strolling about the beautiful shore, and living in villages of bird-cage houses with kindly people, who seemed never weary of warbling like thrushes, nightingales, and larks, all in chorus. The very best himenés of Tahiti were those we heard on the peninsula. The houses are embowered in large-leaved bananas and orange groves, and gay with rosy oleanders and crimson hybiscus.

On the two following days we repeated much the same story, as we made our way round the other side of the isle, always by the same delightful grass road, with days of calm sunlight, followed by clear moonlight. At Tiarei we were heartily welcomed by a kind old chieftainess, who kissed us all on both cheeks, down to the aide-de-camp, when the Queen's laughter stopped her proceeding to the remaining eighteen officers.

A most lovely drive along a basaltic shore (the road being cut on the face of the cliffs) brought us to Papenoo, which is close to a broad clear river, where, of course, we bathed, then rambled in the warm moonlight, and sat on the shore, where the rippling wavelets murmured on a pebbly beach. The chief gave the half of his large house to the Queen, who shared it with me, he and his family occupying the other end. Of course, it was really one large room, but travellers soon learn the art of rigging up curtains, and so improvising separate quarters.

On the night of our return a very pretty surprise awaited us. The Tahitians had determined on a grand demonstration in honour of Admiral Serre, to prove their gratitude for the good he has done in many ways and his sympathy with the people, especially as shown in the support of their ancient rulers. It had been arranged that we should remain at Point Venus till evening, and drive back to Papeete after sunset. It is a distance of twelve miles, and the moon being late we knew that a few torches would be necessary for the last part of the way. Instead of this, we were met, nine miles from the town, by crowds, and a large body of splendid, stalwart men, bearing torches, twelve feet

long, of cocoa-palm leaves. These, some on horseback, some on foot, headed the procession, and were continually joined by new comers, till at last there were fully a thousand torches blazing, throwing a ruddy glare on the rich glossy foliage of bread-fruit and palm, while the smoke gave a dreamy mysterious look to the whole scene. The effect was altogether very striking, and as the procession was only allowed to advance at a foot's pace for the sake of those on foot, the band fell into the spirit of the thing, and played cheery tunes, such as the Tahitians love. At the entrance to the town all lights were extinguished, to avoid all danger of fire, for the air was full of sparks from the cocoa-torches, and the dry wooden houses are too combustible to run any risk. So we came in, in the dark, a great crowd, but all quiet and orderly.

A week later, a French man-of-war took the same large party to the island of Moorea, there to repeat the ceremony of visiting each district. Of all the multitude of beautiful isles I have visited, Moorea undoubtedly deserves the palm. Such marvellous basaltic needles and pinnacles, gigantic dolomite forms, like vast serrated shark's teeth towering in mid-air, apparently rising from above the clouds, and the lower mountains and valleys clothed with vegetation of the same rich character as that of Tahiti. Here our transit from one village to another was by boat, all in dead calm water, within the coral reef giving us the very best opportunity of seeing the coast to perfection.

Our first night's halt was at Haapiti, where the King and Queen were magnificently received by Mrs. Brander, the Queen's eldest sister, herself the Great Chieftainess of the Isle. A large and very pretty temporary building had been erected for the great feast. It was built of palm and bamboo, and entirely thatched, with large glossy fronds of the great bird's-nest fern. It did seem cruel to sacrifice thousands of these beauties for one day's feast. However, it might well be said of them here:

"In wasteful beauty showered, they smile unseen,
Unseen of men ;"

for each of those valleys and ravines is a mine of hidden loveliness, which few care to explore, save those adventurous spirits who climb like goats in search of the wild banana—the *faes*, which, unlike others of that family, carries its huge cluster of fruit upright instead of pendent, and grows most richly in the most inaccessible nooks.

The interior of the hall of feasting was lined with tree-ferns and oleanders, and festooned with miles of yellow hibiscus fibre. It was lighted with Chinese lanterns. Here were assembled a very large number of Mrs. Brander's relations and retainers—each with a shawl of yellow native cloth thrown over the black dress to express mitigated mourning. She herself wore only black, with a most becoming crown of arrow-root fibre, and plume of *reva-reva*. I ought to record her native name, which is of a preternatural length—namely, *Tetuanuicyciaiteruata*.

The pretty name by which she is known to her friends is Tituaa, and the two baby daughters who accompanied her are Paloma and May, the youngest of a pretty flock of nine sons and daughters, the eldest of whom was born when her mother was but fifteen! After her, in the procession came several gentlemen, wearing very handsome tiputas of bread-fruit cloth bark, richly ornamented with fibre flowers, and fringed with reva-reva. The labour expended on making them must have been very great. They made the usual address to the King and the Admiral, and the people sang joyous himenés of welcome. Then the chiefs presented their tiputas, and all present threw their yellow scarfs and their pretty hats and plumes at the feet of the royal party. I noted this with especial interest, having so often witnessed the same form of homage among the Fijians, who, at the close of their dances, invariably deposit their finery at the feet of the principal persons present.

Many picturesque incidents in the course of our beautiful expedition round Moorea rise to my memory, and visions of such beauty of scenery as could hardly be surpassed in the most enchanting of dreams. One splendid grove of glossy-leaved tamanu trees* remains especially impressed on my mind, in connection with the very best himenés we heard in all our travels, some of the women having very fine falsetto voices. That tamanu grove, and a few noble old casuarina trees close by, mark the spot where, in heathen days, many a human sacrifice was offered to the cruel gods. Now a Christian church occupies the site of the ancient Marai, and all is peaceful and happy.

About two miles inland from that village of Tiain lies a lake about a mile long. It is not attractive, its waters being brackish and its banks muddy, but it contains good fish, and wild duck haunt its sedgy shores.

At a later period I returned to this isle of beauty, on a visit to the French *pasteur* (the Protestant Mission having found it necessary to send French clergy to the assistance of the missionaries of the London Society, in order to be able to claim their rights as French citizens, and so counteract the Government tendency to show great favour to the priests).

About the same period I had the pleasure of again forming one of an expedition to the atoll group of Tetiaroa, where Pomare was duly recognised as sovereign. Altogether his position was apparently secure, and all save a very favoured few in Papeete were taken by surprise, when one fine day in June, 1880, it was suddenly announced that the King and the native Governors had ceded the kingdom to France, and that same afternoon the Protectorate flag was hauled down and the tricolour run up.

What influence was brought to bear on Pomare V. is not known, but doubtless the certainty of a life pension of 12,000 dollars a year (to be enjoyed in peace, in his own fashion, free from the incessant

* Tamanu: Tahitian chestnut.

tutoring which made his kingly rank a burden, devoid of all honour was a very strong inducement. The annexation of Tahiti was formally proclaimed in Papeete on the 24th of March, 1881, and was made the occasion of a brilliant festival, such as the light-hearted crowd are ever ready to welcome.

Great were the official rejoicings. From every ship in the harbour, and every corner of the town, floated the tricolour, which, being freely distributed, likewise adorned the tresses of the women and the button-holes of the men. Great was the noise of big guns, and the amount of powder expended on salutes. An imposing column of all branches of the service—sailors and marines, marine artillery, with their guns, infantry and *gens d'armes*, marched round the town, headed by the band. "A Tahiti, comme en France, on aime à voir passer les soldats," says the *Messager de Tahiti*.

So the lovely little town was *en fête*. Every himené-chorus had arrived from every corner of the isles, making the whole air musical. Thousands of natives, all in their brightest, freshest dresses, kept up incessant movement in the clear light or cool shade. Everywhere games and feasting were the order of the day. In the Governor's gardens a brilliant banquet, for upwards of a hundred persons, was served in a great tent, all as graceful as the combined taste of France and Tahiti could make it. Then followed a lovely garden festival—games, music, waltzing, with a night of brilliant illuminations and fireworks. All these, combined with lovely surroundings and perfect weather, made the great official festival of Tahiti a day which the French naval officers very naturally consider one to be remembered for ever, but which, perchance, may have caused some of the older inhabitants an angry and bitter pang for the independence of their country, thus lost for ever.

C. F. GORDON CUMMING

SAMOTHRACE AND ITS GODS: A NEW EXPLORATION.

Άρταρ Κοβρίπου
Χαίρετε, καὶ σεμνὰν Κορυβαντίαν, ὡς καὶ Ἀρδοῶν
Μηρῶν· Ἐκείνην εὐχόμενος ἀναμύσειν·
Ναυαῖα, Δεκέτιος 19 1875
Kabirian Caves,
Eleuthern, and Korybantias Rocks! No more
Hekate's sightly Torch-I'll see no more
The Great Mother's sacred Rites.

I.—THE ARTAN ARARAT.

DAY after day rose before me unapproachable the great mountain between 5,000 and 6,000 feet high, which, with but one outjutting spur of level land, forms the Holy Island of Samothrace. Adverse were the deities of the Isle. Winds blowing right from off it forced us to tack and tack perpetually; so that, with all our speed, we made hardly any progress. And once the squall menaced such a tempest that we were obliged to run for shelter into a cove on the Thracian mainland to the east of Abdera, birthplace of Protagóras, Anáxarchos, and Demócritos. There, however, besides supping with Bulgarians at a Turkish *tehlik*, some way inland, and breakfasting with Greeks at a Turkish fishery, I was, as a British Philhellene, kindly presented with a marble fragment bearing an inscription with the name *ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ*. But thus my voyage from the Scala of Kasaviti, in the Island of Thasos, was prolonged into more days than it should have taken hours. We ran out of food, and out of wine, if not out of water; and picturesque as the *Athená* (*Ἀθηνά*) might be at a distance with her two immense fore- and main-sails set like two wings: one had, at the best of times, rather to rough it on board of her. Still, the adventure was not to be given up. On a pilgrimage to all the three Primitive Sanctuaries of Greek Religion—Samothrace, Olympos, and Dodóna—I had resolved. And as I had not been terrified by tales of brigand corsairs—some fancied that the band that had just captured the *Suters* might take to the sea—I was certainly not to be balked even by the mystic Kábiri, though I really did almost begin to have a superstitious belief in their existence, and in their anger at my proposed invasion of their sacred Isle.

There was thus, however, full time to recall and to reflect on the legends of Samothrace. The earliest of these legends, preserved for us

by Diodorus of Sicily,¹ makes of Samothrace a western Ararat, a western Mountain of Refuge, where the miserable fugitives from a flood caused by the Euxine bursting a passage through what are now the Straits of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, escaped drowning, and in their trembling gratitude, girdled all the Isle with altars to the Gods. I do not know whether this local legend has been hitherto collated with geological records. But the result of such a collating seems of no small importance. It shows us, I believe, the original cause both of the consecration of Samothrace, and of the elevation of its Local Deities into Great Gods.

Discoveries in the European Pleistocene strata of the bones of African and Asiatic mammals, together with the varying depths of the seas surrounding Europe, have, with other facts, led to the conclusion not only that the British Islands were in that age but a prolongation of the European Continent, but that the African Islands were a similar prolongation of the Asiatic Continent, and that, instead of the Mediterranean, there were two lakes to the east and the west respectively of the isthmus that connected Italy, by way of Sicily and Malta, with Africa. What, then, was the geological event of which the Samothracian legend was probably a reminiscence? It was a reminiscence of those vast subsidences, upheavals, and disruptions of which the result was the formation of the Mediterranean, and of the Isles of Greece, of the North Sea, and of the Isles of Britain. But the date of these great changes? Their date is beyond date—beyond dating otherwise than by saying that they took place at the close of the vast geological period that preceded the present. To what period, then, of human development did the Deluge belong, of which a reminiscence was preserved in the Samothracian legend? To that anthropological era which corresponds with the close of the Pleistocene, and the beginning of the Alluvial Age, the period of the first incoming of the Neolithic tanners in Asia of what are now Domestic Animals, and conquerors in Europe of its Cave-men, the last of the primæval and antediluvian races. I long ago suggested that the dragons, the ogres, and pygmies of nursery tales are probably all inherited reminiscences of actual ancestral contemporaries. And it would be in entire accordance with this wonderful unobliviousness of human memory, and particularly with the primitiveness and perennialness of Ancestor-worship, that, as the scene of this great act of divine mercy, rescue, and deliverance, Samothrace should become holy ground to those, the Western Aryans who inherited the traditions of their conquered predecessors, the Neolithic Men of the Mediterranean Deluge.

And so, poetic myths got accreted, as usual, around the core of historic legend. Gods and Heroes visited, or established themselves in the

¹ v. 47-49; cf. Herodot., vii. 6; Strabo, i. 49; Plin., "Hist. Nat.," ii. 205; Val. Flacc., ii., 617.

² Cf. Lamy, xlv. 5, and Juvén., iii. 144.

³ See Boyd Hawkins' Map of Pleistocene Europe *Quart. Journ. of Geol. Soc.*, vol. xxxvi. p. 436; and his "Cave Hunting," and "Early Man in Britain."

island. Saon, the son of Zeus or of Hermes, the three children of Zeus, by the Atlantide Electra, Dardanos, and Iasion, and Harmonia; and lastly, Kadmos.* And to the wedding of Kadmos and Harmonia came all the Gods with gifts—Demeter, with an ear of corn, (*καπνὸν τοῦ σίτου*); and Hermes, with a lyre; and Athena with a necklace (*ὄφρυς*); (but, in other legends, the fatal necklace was the bridegroom's gift;) and Electra, with the relics (*ἱερά*) of the Mother of the Gods.† And though even so late as 1000 or 900 B.C., Homer knows nothing of the Mysteries of Samothrace, later writers assure us that they were established, or rather, indeed, restored by Iasion who was instructed in the secrets of initiation by Zeus himself; and that, among the heroes afterwards initiated were Orpheus, the Argonauts, and the Dioskouri; nor only the Achaeans, and Greek heroes, Odysseus, and Agamemnon; but also the Trojan, and Roman hero, Aeneas.‡

At last, on the fourth day of my voyage, and after three nights of sleeping in my clothes, we were but a few miles from the shore. But there had fallen a dead calm on the glittering sea; and near though we thus tantalizingly were, at any moment, for all one could tell, a wind might sweep down the craggy ravines that would blow us back to Thasos in fewer hours than it had taken days and nights to come from it. My skipper and his crew had begun seriously to attribute the delays we had met with to the annoyance of the Gods at my having so often asked, and their having so often ventured to predict, when we should arrive. Such was now their frame of mind, that, to be blown off the island, without landing on it, would have seemed to them but a just punishment of such impieties. Infected by their superstition, I also feared some such malignant trick on the part of the Gods, but meant to be up to them, if possible. And mindful of the treacherous calms and tempestuous squalls with which they had mocked pilgrims of old, from the Argonauts to Germanicus Caesar, I was not to be amused into *laissez-faire* by the shoal of dolphins that disported themselves around the becalmed Athena. Apollo would not, for me, transform himself into one of them, and pull my ship to land as he did that of the Cretan mariners who became his priests at Delphi.§ So I insisted on the boat being manned. It had been got out with surprising alacrity to catch a big fish that had been killed by a dolphin, and was quickly cut up, put into a pot, and swung over a fire by the men. But not without reason, as I could not but confess, my skipper hesitated about reducing his crew. One man, however, he spared me. And getting into the little cock-boat with my servant-friend, Demosthenes, we had a pull of an hour and a half, under the blazing noonday sun, to the beach of this Island Ararat, "sacram hanc Insulam, et augusti totam atque inviolati soli."||

* Dion. Halic. A.R. i. 61; Serv. ad Æn. iii. 167.

† Diodor. v. 48; Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. i. 917; Serv. ad Æn. iii. 287.

‡ Homeric Hymn

† Diod. Sic. v. 48

§ Lary, xlv. 62

II.—THE ISLAND-MOUNTAIN.

The herbage ran down to the very brink of the translucent sea. But hardly visible was the green grass for the wonderful profusion of flowers. Their delicious odours were intoxicating. We were in the beginning of May. And the flower-garlanded Kora had returned from Hades to her mother Persephóné. A ravine opened above, running to the heart of the over-towering mountain. Nothing could exceed the wild grandeur of its precipices. Nor could anything surpass the wild luxuriance of the vegetation immediately around. A solitary goatherd appeared to be the only inhabitant of the isle. To him we shouted 'Ε! παρπιώρη * that he might guide us to the single village of the island-mountain. Surprised at the rare landing of strangers, he yet saluted us courteously. Καλῶς ὤπισσάτε! 'Ωρα καλὴ! And still as we advanced we breathed the flower-perfumce. And the scene was altogether magical.

Of old the city was on the sea-shore; now, the village is as far withdrawn as possible from the sea. So it is with almost all these islands of the *Ægean*. During the millennium-long age, after the triumph of Christianity and the fall of the old civilizations, all the coasts and islands of this inland sea were devastated by pirates, or the piratical fleets of Christian States. Hence it is that we find no human habitation, save of the most recent date, and even that rarely, on the shores of these islands, and all their villages hid in the recesses of their mountains. Thus, though a beautiful, it was a long and toilsome ascent of an hour and a half up the long and winding wooded ravine to the single village of some 2,000 souls, in which are aggregated all the inhabitants of Samothrace. Picturesquely are its houses built in stage above stage round the head of the ravine. And in front, shielding, but sovereigning them, rises a grand rock squared like a vast pedestal, and surmounted by the ruined towers of a great Genoese Castle—a monument of that Civil War of Christendom, and Latin partition of the Greek Empire, which prepared the way for the victories of Mohammedan Ottomans over both Greek and Latin Christians.

The Greek May-day, the 13th of the month according to the Latin Kalendar, first gave me some idea of how variable, wild, and terror-striking is the weather at Samothrace. It did not, however, prevent the celebration of the immemorial May-day rites of the eternal worship of Nature. Before sunrise all were astir, men and matrons, but especially maids and boys. Out to the fields—the dales, and dells of the forested mountain-side—they trooped. There, little fires were lighted, and coffee made. The Sun, rising over the plains of Troy, was long shut out by the great Island-mountain. But as the Dawn be pursued brightened the wild sky, songs were chanted, and, despite the stormily wanton wind, flowers were gathered, and garlands twined.

Returning to the village, all who were not obliged to go out, kept the house for the rest of the day. But towards sunset I went for a

* Παρπιώρη! would have been more correct, but would have sounded to a Samothracian goatherd like high English to a Scottish shepherd.

walk. And no scene more sublime do I remember having witnessed. Great boulders were strewn all about, serving as refuges from the wind. The sea, far below, was white with foam. But over it, and over the clouds that belted the horizon, rose clear into the sunset-splendour the dark peak of Mount Athos. And if I turned, there towered above me the vast mass of the mountain of Samothrace, its three summits hid in driving clouds, and its tremendous precipices fitly wreathed in now lifting, and now down-falling mists. One felt that a dark and mysterious Creed was almost necessarily the response to such dark and mysterious Aspects of Nature. Nor, so sublime were these Aspects of Nature, was it otherwise than probable that the emotions they gave birth to would be so profound that the Creed, in which they were expressed, would be long-enduring and world-famed.

Next day I made the ascent of this sacred and divine Sea-mountain. The weather was splendid. But this only added the most picturesque beauty to the precipitous sublimity of the island, and thus showed that it needed not such driving clouds and sunset-storm as enwrapt it last night, to give to it impressive grandeur. Enchanting were the wild goat-pastures with their crags and corries; the shady nooks innumerable under rocks and branching trees; the fountains here and there of infinite refreshment to weary climbers, not only in the lower belting forests, but on the high brow of the mountain; the aromatic odours of shrubs and herbage; and the varied views, in our winding ascent, of the glittering Thracian Sea, with Athos on the horizon on one side, and Rhodopé on the other, and round the island, sudden spaces, now here, and now there, of foam, where the Dolphins of Apollo were at play. And when one attained at last the summit, one's interest was divided, and one's eye glanced first at one, then at the other of two spectacles, each sublime. The one was the view of Asia and of Europe—the plains of Troy, the islands of the *Ægean*, and, on the far horizon, beyond Athos, can it be Olympus? The historical interest of this scene—recalling, as it did, that interaction of Asiatics and Europeans from which Modern Civilization has resulted—was inexpressible. But in more immediate relation to my special object—to understand the character of the religious emotion excited by Nature here, and hence to understand one origin at least of the Gods of Samothrace—was the other sublime spectacle on which I looked from this height: the vast amphitheatric of tremendous precipices of which the summits were the jagged ridges and lightning-cleft peaks of this perennially awe-inspiring Sea-mountain.

We proposed to light a fire and have lunch in the Chapel of St. Elias, a narrow space enclosed by rough stones put together without mortar, and supporting no roof. But all the modern inventions for the creation of fire were of no use—the wind was so high. We were reduced to something like the primitive instruments of flint and iron-pyrites.* But

* See Dupont, "*Les Temps Préhistoriques en Belgique*" p 153. The more common instruments, however, were two pieces of wood of unequal hardness, of which one was worked rapidly in a hole of the other.

even when the tinder had been kindled, we were still far from the possession of flame and fire. And we were starving with cold and hunger. And anxiously did we watch the old shepherd-guide as he nursed the infant Agni carefully in his hand, blowing on it in its swaddling-clothes of dried herbage. Yet nothing came of it but bitter, blinding smoke. And the clouds swept down on us, and all the glorious views of but a few minutes ago were hid in wreathing folds. Still, for all the bitter, blinding smoke, the old shepherd blew and blew on the divine infant he cherished in his hand. And suddenly, from out the blinding smoke, there leapt a splendid flame; instantly it was applied to the heap of dry sticks prepared for it; and our situation was utterly changed. Now we cared not for the storm. We had FIRE. We could, as Titans, defy the Gods. With our glorious bonfire, and our little cooking utensils, we did, in fact, make ourselves amazingly comfortable in spite of them. And never, I thought, had I more vividly realized the miraculous character of man's first invention. Never before had I seemed so clearly to see both how the Vedic songs about Agni, and the Hellenic tales about Prometheus had arisen.* And never had the necessity of the expression, by imaginative fictions, of the emotions caused, in undeveloped man, by natural facts been more apparent than now it was, when I reflected on the wondrous tales which the old shepherd, before we started for the ascent, and on our way up, had told us about his Island-mountain. Of this, however, in the sequel.

But other phenomena of a still more awe-inspiring character than its sublime precipices almost necessarily made of Samothrace—sacred as, from its first existence, it had been by its Deluge-traditions—one of the chief cradles and sanctuaries of religious emotion. Like the neighbouring island of Lemnos, it is a centre of volcanic action. An earthquake did not, indeed, occur during my stay in the island; but earthquakes, of more or less severity, are, if the islanders are to be believed, of frequent occurrence; and it was by earthquakes certainly that the Temples were reduced to their present ruins. And other volcanic phenomena there are, not merely occasionally, but permanently, awe-inspiring and wonderful—the fountains, rills, and deep rocky pools of hot, yellow, sulphurous water, curing all diseases. And it is in the neighbourhood of these miraculous fountains, on the north side of the island, and about an hour's, or hour and a half's, distance from the Temples, that the famous Zeriuthian Cave is, I believe, to be found, where Hecaté was worshipped, and dogs sacrificed on her altar.

Ζήριυθον Ἀντρον τῇ ἀποσφαγοίῃ θεᾷ
 Λίπων ἐρημὸν ἄλσος ἀμφὶν ἄντων Σάω †

Descending from the ravines in which the Temples are situated, we ride along a charming sea-shore path either on, or on the pebbly edge of, a narrow but gloriously flowery plain, filling all the air with sweetest per-

* See Kuhn, "Die Herabkunft des Feuers."

† Lycophron, "Cassandra," 77

fumes, and over-towered by sublime mountains of Sinai-like precipitousness. We pass ancient vineyards, now marked only by lines of stones, and become the grazing ground of wild Samothracian ponies. At length, we turn up into a jungle covering a long promontory. Coming to a stream in the midst of this jungle, we dismount near an overhanging rock. Clambering up, we find on the flat top of it natural cisterns, about six feet by three, of hot sulphur-water which has flowed down by little rills from fountains too hot to keep one's fingers in more than a minute. But the great fountain, and great pool are further on, and further up the mountain-side. This pool is a tank about 15 feet by 15, and 5 feet deep of thick, hot, and perfectly opaque, yellow water. It is enclosed by walls, which do not, however, support a roof, and forms a bath famous in all the adjoining coasts and isles. Sending to a hut in the wood for a towel, I had a delicious hot sulphur-bath, nasty though the water looked. The scene was picturesque in the extreme: precipitous mountains above; woods around and below; and beyond the azure sea the Thracian mainland. And to this day it is holy ground. At the very season, as we have reason to believe, of the great Festival of initiation into the Mysteries of the Kábiri—the 22nd of the Greek July, and beginning of our August*—pilgrims still resort hither; camping in tents and huts in the woods; curing themselves of all diseases in the miraculous hot sulphur water; returning thanks still to the Gods of the old Greek Pantheon, though under new Christian names; and keeping the Feast of the Twelve Apostles.

And these pilgrims, as all others, must find in the sea surrounding Samothrace not the least of the awe-inspiring phenomena of this Island-mountain. I have already described how the sea, swept by storm, looks from Samothrace. Even more terror-striking is Samothrace, wrapt in storm, and seen from the sea. Whether or not *squally* is the literal meaning of the Ægean Sea, squally it is, as no other, perhaps, on the globe. And never shall I forget the sublime grandeur of the storm that, one afternoon towards sunset, gathered its blackness about the peaks of this Sea-mountain, and, there enthroned, flashed lightnings over the sea, and hurled thunders in a succession so quick that one peal had not ceased when another burst on the ear with its deafening crack, roll, and reverberation. In a moment the breeze rose into a gale; the waves suddenly swelled into vast rolling mounds that threatened to break on, and engulf us; and the rigging became like the strings of a lyre for the fierce song and whistle of the tempest. No time for reefing! The great fore- and main-yards, sails and all, were brought down, flapping and flying, on deck with an alacrity that only just saved us from being swamped, and even the jib had to be got in. Thus we rolled helpless save for our helm and helmsmen. But well worth the peril, even at the time, did I think it, to see Samothrace in a grandeur of storm comparable only to that in which I have seen Sinai enwrapped.

* Coaze, "Archæologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake," b. i., c. 39.

To Sinai, indeed, I found myself again and again comparing Samothrace, not physically only, but historically. For the Samothracian legends of the Institution of the Mysteries seem to parallel the Sinaitic legends of the Giving of the Law. It was Jerusalem, however, rather than Sinai, that was to the Medieval, what Samothrace was to the Classic Period, a Sanctuary common to the whole Greco-Roman World. But more on this last point in the sequel. I would now offer some suggestions, at least, with respect to the vexed problem of the nature and origin of the Gods of Samothrace.

III.—THE GODS OF SAMOTHRACE.

M. Lenormant, the latest and most erudite writer on the Kábiri,* declares that what Freret said, more than a century ago, is still true. "What concerns the Kábiri is one of the points the most important, yet most complicated, of all Greek mythology. The traditions about them are so confused, and so often opposed one to the other, that analysis is almost impossible. And both ancients and moderns, in accumulating evidence with more of erudition than of criticism, have worse confounded confusion rather than at all cleared it up." Yet, after endorsing these remarks of Freret's, M. Lenormant, with somewhat inconsistent dogmatism, affirms that "the conception and worship of the Pelasgian Kábiri took their rise in the belief that Fire under its three forms—celestial, maritime, and terrestrial—is the principle of things." But that Pelasgian barbarians had arrived at such a sweeping generalization, such a refined and abstract philosophical belief, as that Fire is the principle of things; had further distinguished Fire as of three forms, celestial, maritime, and terrestrial; and had then, for the purposes of worship, personified these three forms of Fire in the Kábirian Trinity—that this was the origin of the conception and worship of the Kábiri seems to me an hypothesis—well, an hypothesis that few scholars trained in the principles of physical Evolution, and mental Development, are likely to accept.† And I would now proceed to state, with the summary brevity here necessary, the principles and the results of that new inquiry concerning the Gods of Samothrace into which I was led by my exploration of their Sanctuary.

The first principle of the method of this new inquiry was this. The problem as to the origin and nature of the Gods of Samothrace, like all such problems, can be solved only by an historical classification, and then, historical interpretation of the vast mass of complicated and apparently contradictory details that an erudition, more industrious than intelligent, has accumulated about them. Such a principle will, I believe, be now readily accepted by most scholars. The only question

* See Daremberg et Saglio, "Diction. des Antiq. Grecques et Romaines," *sub voce*.

† But as little as by Lenormant have these principles been applied to the solution of the problem before us, either by such men as Welcker and Freret, in their respective "Griechische Götterlehre" and "Griechische Mythologie," or by the amazing Ratzefer, in his "Götterlehre der Arier."

will be as to the historical theory that should guide this historical classification and interpretation of facts. Yet, even as to this, I would hope that Historical Science is now sufficiently developed to permit of a theory being stated that will find general acceptance as a principle of classification and interpretation.

The second principle, then, which I would suggest for the solution of this problem, is a statement of that Historical Theory which is thus needed to guide our classification and interpretation of facts. The general cause of the origin of religious emotion, and the cause, therefore, of the origin of the conception and worship of the Gods of Samothrace, as of all others, is the impression made (1) by the *phenomena* of Nature; (2) by notions of their Causes; and (3) by the *processes* of Nature. And if this historical theory is verifiable, we should find in Naturian Mythologies three classes of Gods:—(1) Gods who primitively were, and who later anthropomorphically personified, the *phenomena* of Nature; (2) Gods who—having originally been feared or revered ancestors, kings, or discoverers—were conceived as, after their death, active through their spirits, and so Causes of phenomena; and (3) Gods who anthropomorphically personified the *processes* of Nature, and particularly its deaths and re-births.

But for the explanation of these historical phenomena, a third principle must be stated—this: Regard must be had to the general character and influence of that great Revolution of the Sixth Century B.C., which synchronously transformed all the great phenomena of Civilization—the Revolution which, in the general history of Religion, gave rise to Confucianism in China, and Buddhism in India; inspired the armies of Cyrus the Great, and of Cambyses, with their iconoclastic zeal against polytheistic idolatry; elevated to apocalyptic visions the Hebrew prophets of the Return from the Captivity; filled with prophetic ardour such monotheistic rhapsodists of the Hellenic world as Xenophanes; and changed the worship even of conservative Egypt, substituting for Osiris, as the favourite object of popular devotion, the Divine Mother and Child, Isis and Horus. It is in the facts of this Revolution that will be found, I think, the explanation more particularly of the later development both of the Gods and of the Mysteries of Samothrace.

There is, however, no true understanding of religious origins in a consideration merely of their outward conditions. It is an essential feature of the method I suggest for the solution of the problems presented by such origins, that one should define the internal or mental factor in their causation, and attempt to realize the intellectual development of those among whom the beliefs in question originate. A definition of the internal factor would lead us into metaphysical considerations here unnecessary. But for a realization of intellectual, as of all other, origins we ever find means in the present. And I would now illustrate this in noting and remarking on those wondrous tales of our shepherd guide, which, as I have above said, seemed to me most instructive for a true realization of the intellectual conditions of the origin of Religious Fictions.

To him the mountain, in its simple natural facts, had no more beauty or sublimity than it had for any of the wild little Samothracian ponies that grazed in herds on the hill-pastures. But he was full of wonderful fictions about it. On the summit, where we kindled our fire, he had assured us that we should find a marvellous great marble Sarcophagus. There was actually no such thing—only some common broken slabs and a slight depression where there may have been a grave. Then, there was a miraculous Fountain under the precipices on which we looked, of which the water had properties the most extraordinary. Though of an intense coldness, it might be drunk, however heated one was, with perfect impunity; and forty mouthfuls of it drunk, or forty handfuls thrown over one, cured of all diseases. Then, not far from this Fountain of Miracles, there was a Labyrinth, more wonderful apparently than ever was that of Crete, out of which Theseus found his way by the help of Ariadne, and to which our romancer was to guide us, but didn't. And not the mountain only, but the sea around it, was full of wonders. At a certain spot under the sea there was a Church into which a diver had once penetrated; and he found that it had been taken possession of by a great Fish; and with this great Fish he had a terrific combat, finally, of course, slaying him, and returning in triumph. Such were the old shepherd's stories of the Sea-mountain on which he lived. And when I found that the marvellous Sarcophagus, and the miraculous Fountain, and the wondrous Labyrinth, were all lies, or, at least, fictions with but the smallest basis of fact, I was inclined to be somewhat wroth with the old story-teller.

On reflection, however, these fictions assumed another aspect, and one that seemed highly instructive for the history of Religion. It was true that the actual wonders of his Sea-mountain neither this old shepherd, nor any other native of it, directly saw, or definitely felt. By no means, however, did it follow that these actual wonders—the actual beauties of its forest-belted sides, and actual sublimities of its precipice-built summits—had no effect on sight and sentiment. They did have a very powerful effect on impossible Greek souls. And the effect appeared just in these wild tales about wondrous Sarcophagi, and Fountains, and Labyrinths. So it has been in the general history of Religion. For a Kant, Conscience and the Starry Sky were in themselves enough directly and definitely to excite religious emotion. But men in general have hitherto had nothing to say of what it is quite above and beyond them directly and definitely to feel—the wonder and the glory of the actual Coexistences of individual Existence—Nature, and Conscience, and Progress, and that Infinity and Eternity that rounds all our little life. Yet they have had an effect produced on them by that wonder and glory. And this effect appears just in their stories of, and beliefs in, supernatural Gods, and Heavens, and Hells. The Gods have veiled God. And, unable as yet to look face to face on the actual Coexistences of Existence, men have expressed the vague wonder and awe

with which they have been affected in such fictions and worships as that—of the Gods of Samothrace.

And now, to give briefly the results of the application of the above principles to the chaos of archæological facts—passages from classic authors, statues, medals, and coins, amulets, paintings on vases, engravings on Etruscan mirrors, &c.—that have been so industriously heaped together about the Kábiri. At least a third of these facts is at once classified either as proving, or as illustrating, the identification or association of the Kabirian Trinity with the Great Gods who originally actually were, and later, anthropomorphically personified, the great *phenomena* of Nature. And little more can be done than M. Lenormant has already accomplished, and particularly in the tables he gives of the Gods corresponding to the Kabirie Axiéros, Axiókersa, Axiókeros, and Kásmilos, in the way of co-ordinating the facts of this first class.

But our second and central principle leads us to suspect that traces, at least, may be found of the Kábiri having been originally but deified predecessors. This suspicion we find, in the most remarkable degree, verified. Out of the chaos of details about the Kábiri, another great class of facts is now separated, and a new and penetrating light is thrown on the whole problem of their nature and origin. We not only find the Kábiri praised in such terms as these—

δαίμονες ἰσχυροῦσιν.
 * * *
 Θρηύεις δὲ Σάμοιο πιστοθέντες πολὺνται.
 * * *
 "Demons of the forge."
 * * *
 "Fire powerful inhabitants of the Thracian Samos;" *

but on a great many Thessalonian coins we find a Kábiros holding in his right hand an object that has been variously designated, and in his left hand, or over his shoulder, a hammer, the sign of the metallurgist's craft. But Strabot and other classic authors expressly associate with the Kábiri the Korybantes and Kurétes, the Dactyls, and Telchínes. We inquire, therefore, whether the characters given of the beings with whom they are associated confirm, or otherwise, our supposition that the Kábiri were originally deified ancestors, discoverers of, and workers in, metals. The result is that the Kábiri are found to stand the last but one in a series of deified Metallurgists. First and second come the Korybantes and Kurétes, Bronze-workers; thirdly, the Dactyls, discoverers of Iron; fourthly, the Kábiri, clever and powerful workers in that metal; and lastly, the envied Telchínes, the supreme artists and first moulders of metal statues of the Gods.† Such was the origin of the

* Nonnos, Dionys., xiv. 22, and xxix. 193.

† z. p. 466.

‡ I hope elsewhere to develop at more adequate length this theory of the origin, nature, and relations of the Kábiri. But summarizing here the proofs of it, they may be divided into three classes:—1. Evidences of the anciently known metalliferous character of the countries with which the Kábiri and the Beings associated with them are connected. 2. Passages definitely ascribing to them metallurgic powers, and found in such authorities as Apollonius of Rhodes, Argonaut, and his Scholiast; Nonnos Dionys.; Strabo; Diodoros of Sicily;

Kábiri, though they alone of their fellow-craftsmen had the good fortune to be elevated to the rank of *Οἱοι μεγάλοι, ἐννατοί, ισχυροί, χρηστοί*.^{*}

The whole of the remaining facts about the Gods of Samothrace will be found to illustrate the last stage of their development, namely, that in which they personify the *processes* of Nature. To this class particularly belong the representations on Thessalonian medals, and on Etruscan mirrors,† of the death and resurrection of one of the Kabirian Trinity. But these would all appear to date from the fourth and third centuries B.C., and hence after that great Moral Revolution of the Sixth Century by reference to which, as I have above said, the later development of the conception of the Kábiri, and later character of the doctrines of their Mysteries, are to be explained.

Such, then, is the solution I would offer of the vexed problem presented by the Gods of Samothrace. Applying the historical method to the interpretation of the vast chaos of facts about them, these facts arrange themselves in three great classes. Considering the facts thus co-ordinated, I conclude that the Kábiri were originally men, discoverers of, and workers in Iron, and that they were hence deified as the institutors of the Iron Age. Then—their worship having been established in an Island-mountain already sacred by its Deluge-traditions, and possessed, moreover, of every characteristic calculated to stimulate and sustain religious emotion, and attract pilgrims—"men's exaggerated praises and compliments still swelled their idea of them,"‡ and from being local *penates*, these Metallurgic Deities gradually became Great Gods, Chthonian Deities, Gods of the Underworld. And lastly, under the influence particularly of the Sixth-century Revolution there was attached to the Kabirian Gods also a Resurrection-myth, and the initiated in their Mysteries had not only revealed to them the main secret of earlier times, those sacred names, *Ἀΐθερος*, *Ἀΐθίορα*, *Ἀΐθίορρος*, and *Κάσμιλος*,§ that were divulged by Musæas of Patara,|| but were shown those mystic representations of which the profound yet transparent import is hinted at by Cicero when he says in reference to them, "*Quibus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis, Rerum magis natura, quam Deorum, cognoscitur.*"¶

IV.—THE TEMPLE-CITY.

These general views are, I think, confirmed by an exploration of the Temples. For we find ruins of sanctuaries that date from the

Servius, ad .En.; Cicero; Pliny; Ovid; Seneca; Lucræti; Claudian; Clement of Alexandria, &c. 3 Coins and medals illustrative of such passages. I must add that in verifying this part of my general theory, I received great assistance from M. Rossignol's *Mémoires dans l'Antiquité*.

* Inscription of Altar at Imbros. Conze, "Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres," s. 91.

† See Gerhard, Ueber die Metallspiegel der Etrusker, in his "Gesamm. Akad. Abhandl.," v. ii.

‡ Hume, Nat. Hist. of Religion "Phil. Works," iv., p. 472.

§ Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod., Argonaut. i. 917.

|| De. Nat. Theor. l. 42.

earliest age of the Pelasgian immigration to the noblest period of Greek art. Impossible it must surely, therefore, be that any abstract notion, that anything but a definite theory of historical development, can rightly interpret a variety of moral and intellectual phenomena of worship, certainly not less than that presented by the material phenomena of the sanctuaries of the worship.

These Sanctuaries are on the north-west side of the island, fronting the Thracian mainland, and at about an hour's distance from the ravine of the modern, that is, the mediæval, village. So we ride round the hill-side to the south-east, unfortunately bare for the most part, the woods here having been burned down some three years ago in one of those "accidental" fires so shamefully common throughout Turkey. At length we dismount at Palæopolis, as the ruins are now called, and take a general survey of the position. Three ravines, with torrent-beds, uniting into one, and all within and below two high and grand mountain-sides; that on the east, or left hand, having on its ridge the Cyclopean walls of the Pelasgian city, running down from unscalable precipices about half a league to the sea—such, describing it in the simplest terms, are the general physical features of the site of the Temples of the Kábiri. These Temples, or rather ruins, are either on or overhanging the ravines that lie thus between the great, high, and broad mountain-sides on either hand. Singularly concentrated in these hidden ravines are all the aspects of Nature most characteristic of Samothrace. And never, indeed, was a site better chosen, never was a site more marvellously adapted, for the celebration of the rites of a worship arising from such impressions of awe, terror, and mystery, such impressions of beauty and sublimity, as Nature must ever produce on this island-mountain of the Thracian Sea.

I will not weary the reader by dragging him with me through a long exploration of the vast field of ruins on or overhanging the three ravines within and below the broad mountain-sides of the Forest on the one hand, and of the City on the other. I shall presently give, what may be more interesting, the result of this exploration in a description of this many-templed Sanctuary with all its sacred edifices restored. One set of ruins, however, I must describe. For these I take to be the remains of the primitive Pelasgian Sanctuary, though they do not appear to have been so regarded either by the French or German explorers who preceded me. But the reader shall judge for himself, and not only from the special facts which I shall first state, but from the general fact of the grand unity, the systematic plan, the balanced design, which, when I describe the Temples as restored, reference to this primitive Sanctuary will be found to give to all the multitude of later buildings.

After exploring the ruins on the high western platform between the second and third ravines and torrent-beds; passing the site of the winged statue of Victory on its pedestal of a sculptured ship's-prow; and

coming round the head of these threefold ravines, and down to the middle torrent, this is what we find. As it issues from a gorge on the left, under tremendously precipitous rocky summits, this midmost torrent has been abruptly curved round into a straight course between a range of Cyclopean walls, keeping up the mountain, like the walls of a railway cutting, and a great mounded space of rocks and ruins about thirty feet wide. On the furthest side of this mounded space is another Cyclopean wall, and this adjoins the back of a great Doric temple in the floor of which is an opening, a *mundus*, which would appear to have been intended for the blood of the sacrifices which the Earth itself, and the Gods of the Underworld, might thus drink. Now I venture to think that the primitive Pelasgian Sanctuary lay between these two ranges of Cyclopean walls—the one, keeping up the mountain, and with the curved-round torrent at its base; the other, forming the front, as it were, of the mounded space of rocks and primitive ruins behind the new Doric Temple.

For observe that these Cyclopean walls, which we suppose to be the ruins of the ancient Pelasgian Sanctuary, are situated at the mouth of such a gorge as we find everywhere associated, in ancient belief, with the entrance to Hades or the Underworld. Such, particularly, is the gorge of the Sarandaporos, north-west of Olympos, from which issues a torrent, having its origin, according to Homer, in the waters of the Styx;* and such also is the gorge of the river of Suli, south-west of Dodona, and identified with the Achéron.† Strange as it may seem to us who generally differentiate our ideas from the material forms which are the signs and symbols of them, such precipitous, dark, and terror-striking gorges were not regarded merely as *like* what the entrance to the Underworld *might* be, but as actually *being* entrances to the Underworld. It is at the mouth of such a gorge that we find the most primitive of all the ruins of the Sanctuary of Samothrace. And we know that, whether the Kábiri were or were not originally deified Metallurgists, they became—as would, indeed, be a very natural development from such an origin—Chthonian Gods, or Gods of the Underworld. Nor may it be irrelevant further to note that these Pelasgian ruins are on the midmost of three ravines which unite into one. For a trimurtian doctrine was characteristic of the religion of Samothrace as of the religion of Nature generally. It was but a form—and this is especially clear in Indian mythology—it was but a form of representing the actual three processes of Nature—Creation, Preservation, and Destruction. Thus the physical features of the position and site of the Pelasgian ruins seem to give a material expression to, and become a symbolical representation of, just such a worship of the powers of the Earth and the Underworld, as the worship of the Kábiri not only ultimately became, but must, even primitively, have more or less been, if they were originally as I have suggested, deified discoverers of, and

* Il. ii. 753.

† Pausanias.

workers in Iron. And may we not, then, conclude that, standing in the torrent-bed between these most ancient walls and ruins behind the comparatively modern Doric Temple; we stand at what was to the Pelasgians the very entrance to the Underworld, and on a spot which, as the very entrance to the Underworld, was consecrated by a primeval Sanctuary, and sanctified by a traditional Initiation?

But the conclusive proof, as I venture to think, of my hypothesis as to the site of the primitive Pelasgian Sanctuary is to be found, as I have above said, in that splendour of a great design with which all the multitude of buildings become informed when referred to those Pelasgian ruins at the mouth of the gorge, and at the head of the three ravines, as their point of unity. Let us suppose that our exploration has resulted in a mental restoration* of one after another of the Sacred Edifices. And now—supposing them all thus restored—let us approach the Kabirian Sanctuary—not as we approached its ruins from the western mountain-side, and the mediæval village, but from the eastern mountain-side and going down the ancient road of the *Θεσπίαι*, or Processions, from the Sacred Gate in the Cyclopean walls of the Pelasgian city.

So deep do these Mystic Edifices lie that we do not see even their roofs till some minutes after we have left the Sacred Gate of the city. But gradually, as we descend, there bursts on our view a wonderful scene—three deep-lying ravines, spanned with bridges, and crowned with Propylons, and Stoa, and Temples, interspersed with niched, or columned, or pedestaled statues of the Gods. The entrance to the holy ground of the three ravines, at the mouth of the gorge which was literally the gate of the Underworld, we find fitly marked by a grand Propylon, dedicated to the Great Gods by Ptolemy II., Philadelphos (283-247 B.C.), and carried over the easternmost of the three torrents by a massively constructed bridgeway. Through a portico with Ionic columns we pass into a great hall; then, through an intermediate central space in the Propylon, into a second hall; and then, through another Ionic-columned portico at the further end, we step down on the holy ground.† The first of the sacred edifices to which we come is a circular building, which, though of mixed styles, Doric without, and Corinthian within, and with an Ionic frieze, is yet of an exquisite beauty that proves it of the best period of Greek art. It is dedicated to the Great Gods (300-276 B.C.) by that earlier Cleopatra, Arsinoë, the daughter of the first Ptolemy, the half-brother of Alexander the Great. It may have been the circular edifice built by the architect Asklepiades, and it probably contained a statue of the variously named Mother of the Gods, Rhea,

* The reader need not fear that this restoration is a mere feat of fancy. I have carefully compared my observations and conclusions with the remarks, photographs, and drawings of the Austrian "Archæologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake." See particularly the "Schlussüberzicht," b. ii. s. 105, ff., and the "Landschaftlicher Restaurationsversuch," Tafel lxxvi.

† See the "Untersuchungen" above cited, Das Ptolemæion, b. ii. s. 35, ff.

Kybèle, Hekátē, &c.,* who corresponded with the female member of the Kabirian Trinity. Standing here, and seeing all the Sacred Edifices restored, one can have no doubt as to what is the Holy of Holies to which they all point, and reference to which gives the whole assemblage its unity. We see before us three great lines of buildings, and, at the end of the central line of Temples, is what I have designated the Pelasgian Sanctuary. The outer range of edifices on our left, looking towards the sanctuary, consists of the Propylon through which we have just passed, and probably another building of which there remains but part of the Cyclopean walls of its terrace or basement. On our right, on the high platform between the westernmost and the middle torrent, which is here crossed by a bridge, are two buildings. The first is a votive edifice, ingeniously conjectured to have been built by the same Eiréné, the Milesian, whose name is found on a votive tablet at Eleusis, and who was probably an Aspasia of the Egyptian Court.† The second of the buildings on the western platform is an immense Stoa, for the assembling of the pilgrims, and corresponding, in architectural design, with the great Propylon on the left.‡ And observe everywhere statues; and particularly those two ithyphallic naked men with hands lifted to heaven before the principal Temple, the first said to have been called Adam, an abbreviation of Ἀδάμας and Ἀδανόστρος, an epithet of Hades, but probably the two male Kabirian Gods under the forms of Castor and Pollux;§ and those three also, by Skopas, representing the Kabirian Trinity under its exoteric names of Phaethon, Venus, and Pothos.¶ And now, after this general survey, let us proceed from the Circular Building of Arsinoë to the other greater Temples enshrined, as it were, within those outer edifices just described. There are two such Temples, both of the Doric order.¶ The first and smaller of the two is the older, and the only one probably of the Greek edifices existing in the time of Herodotos (fifth century B.C.). The second and later Doric Temple is of the grandest style, and of unusual length, extending back, as we have, indeed, already seen, to those Cyclopean constructions which I take to be the remains of the primitive Pelasgian Sanctuary. Arrived here, look up! Above, at the end of the western platform, and just beyond the Stoa, is a magnificent winged statue of Victory, standing on a forward-rushing ship's prow, with a trumpet at his lips,** proclaiming—what? See where it stands! Above

* "Untersuchungen," b. i. Der Kumban von Arsinoë, s. 77, ff., and "Schlussüberblick" b. ii. s. 111, ff.

† "Untersuchungen," b. ii. s. 102 and 112 n.

‡ "Untersuchungen," b. ii. Die Stoa, s. 47 ff.

§ "Philosophumena," v. 8, p. 108, edit. Müller; and Servius ad Æn. li. 12.

¶ Plin. "Hist. Nat." xxxvi. 25.

¶ "Untersuchungen," b. i. Der Dorische Marmortempel, s. 45 ff.; and b. ii. Die beiden Kabirentempel, s. 19 ff.

** "Untersuchungen," b. ii. Das Anathem der Nike, s. 55 ff. "Das Motiv der Figur überrascht durch seine ungemeine Energie. Eine schlanke und doch mächtig geformte weibliche Gestalt, beflügelt, wie ein Rest von Federn in der Gegenflut der linken Schulter erkennbar, ist in hastigem Ausbreiten lebhaft vorgebeugt und in Folge einer bedeutenden Action der Arme im Oberkörper höchst elastisch bewegt." s. 57. To the same effect

the Pelasgian Sanctuary, the Holy of Holies, the Vestibule of the Under-world. What, then, did its trumpet-tongue proclaim triumphantly to the initiated? "O Death, thou art swallowed up in victory! There is Re-birth and Resurrection!"*

V.—THE GRECO-ROMAN SANCTUARY.

We ascended again from the ravines of the Temples to the broad mountain-side on the ridge of which are the Pelasgian walls of the city; along, and at length through, or rather over, these walls we passed; and then we descended through the green-mounded ruins of the city to its lower part, now for centuries colonized by the neighbouring forest. But a scene more picturesque, more magical, than that under the great oak, by the fountain, where we spread our carpets and prepared to lunch, I never witnessed, and no painter could imagine. Behind, through the branches of grandly-spreading oaks and planes—precipitous rocks; above, through the branches, on a rock overhanging the sea—the ruined tower of a great castle; and before, through green branches and shadowy spaces, all glorified by the through-breaking sun-rays that transform the green into gold, and the shadows into light—before us, at the end of a long vista, the narrow pebbly beach, and far-extending silver sea, bounded by the Rhodópé mountains. But wine had been forgotten. Presently, however, the Hodja Bashî and Διδάσκαλος, who accompanied me, and who had quietly slipped away for a few minutes, returned to the fountain with a flagon of most excellent wine of Lesbos. Where and how had they procured it in a spot so remote from any human habitation? From a fisherman of Lesbos, a friend of theirs, whom they had found with his boat on the beach. A few minutes after, the Lesbian fisherman himself, and one or two of his crew, appeared, carrying a pot in which they had cooked us some fish on the fire of which we had a peep at the beach-end of the vistaed glade. So, with fish, eggs, chicken, and cheese, and a morsel of broiled octopus to enhance with its salt relish the flavour of their Lesbian wine, we made a most excellent *dejeuner*, concluding it, of course, with coffee and cigarettes.

Then, amid this magnificent scene, on the carpets under the shadowing oak, by the fountain, one recalled the long succession of classic pilgrims to that Greco-Roman Sanctuary which we had just left. Among the first of the more distinguished, in historic times, of those initiated into the

Frühner is quoted: "Cette admirable sculpture se rapproche tout à fait du grand style de l'école de Phidias," s. 67. See generally Rathgeber, "Nike in Hellenischen Vasenbildern."

* "Der eigenthümliche Aufbau," say the Germans ("Untersuchungen" b. ii. s. 67), "der das ganze Denkmal auszeichnet, charakterisirt dasselbe als ein Wehgeschenk, welches den in Meeress Gefahren besonders mächtigen grossen Gottern nach einem Seesiege dargebracht war." Such only it may have been for all we can certainly say. It is not, however, by any means the most commonplace interpretation that is always the truest. But it is not impossible that this Victory, placed where it is, or rather was may have had both such an exoteric purpose as the Germans affirm, and such an esoteric significance as I suggest. And this is especially probable in such a great age as that fourth century B.C. to which the above authors refer the statue—the century, as it is, from which date the representations of the Kabiric Death and Resurrection.

Mysteries of the Kábiri, would appear to have been Herodotus.* And Samothrace was the scene of some of the most finely witty sayings of the youth of Scepticism. When the Kónē, the purifying or absorbing priest, required Lysander to confess his greatest crime "Is it thou," said the Lacedæmonian General, "or the Gods who require this?" "The Gods," answered the priest. "Do thou, then, retire," said Lysander, "and if they ask me I will tell them the truth."† To a similar question Antalkidas more laconically replied, "The Gods know it!"‡ And to one who asked Diagoras if he did not remark the number of votive offerings, and see in them proofs of the providence of the Gods, he replied, "Ita sit, illi enim nusquam pieti sunt, qui naufragia fecerunt, in marique perierunt." "Indeed, I remark them—for those nowhere appear who have made shipwreck, and perished in the sea."

And many are the stories of classic romance associated with Samothrace. I have already alluded to the mythic tale of the Marriage of Kadmos and Harmonia. But, in historic times, here it was, amid the rites of initiation, that the beautiful, passionate, and enthusiastic Princess of Epeiros, Olympias, and the no less similarly characterized Prince of Macedonia, Philip, first met and fell in love with each other.§ Wedded on the accession of Philip to his father's throne (359 B.C.), from their union sprang the godlike hero Alexander the Great. And devotedly, though not blindly, attached as he was to his mother, her initiation into the mysteries of the Kábiri, and the circumstances of it, may have been one of the reasons of his not forgetting at the close of his marvellous Eastern conquests, to erect altars to the Gods of Samothrace. It was to this island of refuge that Arsinoë, daughter of Ptolemy I. of Egypt (an illegitimate son of Philip, and half-brother of Alexander), fled after the murder, in her presence, of her two younger sons by their stepfather, Ptolemy Keravnos, her half-brother and second husband. It was from Samothrace that this beautiful and bewitching woman—as the coins struck in her honour, and the number of cities given to, and called after her, by her first and third husbands show—from Samothrace that she sailed to Egypt (279 B.C.) to marry her full-brother, Ptolemy II., Philadelphos. And by him—though she had no children by him, and was now about forty years of age—she was so exceedingly beloved that, after her death, he commanded the architect Dinocháres to erect a temple in her honour, of which the roof was to be arched with loadstones, so that her statue, made of iron, might appear to float in the air.¶ And there are many other, though less romantic stories of refuge sought at Samothrace. It was here that Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, found an asylum after his defeat at Pydna (168 B.C.), by the Romans.¶ And it was here that, about the same time, Ptolemy VI., Philometor, retired after his defeat by Antiochus**

* H., 51.

† Plut. Apophth. p. 228.

‡ Ibid. p. 197.

§ Cicero, De Nat. Deor. iii. 37.

¶ Plut. Alex., 2.

¶ Livy, xlv. 5 and 6; and Plut. P. Em. l. 26.

** Polyb., xxviii. 17a.

By the Romans, Samothrace was regarded as nothing less than a National Sanctuary. Its priesthood carefully encouraged the belief that the *Penates* of Rome were the same as the Gods of Samothrace, transported to Troy by Dardanos, and thence to Rome by Æneas. Thus, even in the time of their most trenchant division, the Greco-Kelto-Italic race was reunited by their common reverence for this primæval Sanctuary. Very numerous inscriptions have been found commemorative of the initiation of Romans, and pilgrimages to Samothrace by the most important personages of Rome. Among such Romans initiated in the mysteries of the Kábiri, Cicero may, perhaps, be numbered.* Germanicus Caesar, nephew of the Emperor Tiberius, brother of the Emperor Claudius, and father of the Emperor Caligula, the Caesar between whom and Alexander the Great, Tacitus suggests a comparison,† desired to be initiated (A.C. 18), but was prevented from landing by the violence of the winds which he took to be a forbiddal by the Gods. And the Emperor Hadrian, the pedestal of whose statue is among the ruins, would appear to have been actually initiated in these universally venerated Mysteries.‡

But the Lesbian fishermen on the beach, and the anchorage beyond, recalled that great Moral Revolution that first gave to the Mysteries of the Kábiri their higher character, and, in the end, swept them away. The Lesbian fishermen recalled their great countrywoman of old, Sappho; with her, the change from the old objective epic, to the new subjective lyric poetry; and with this, all the other forms of that Revolution of the Sixth Century B.C. which, in Europe as in Asia, broke up the ancient objective Nature-worships, with a new development of subjective feeling and of conscience. And the anchorage beyond the beach where the Lesbian fishermen had kindled their cooking-fire—the anchorage recalled the night passed there by St. Paul carrying once more Religion from Asia into Europe§—a Religion the culmination in Hither Asia of the Moral Revolution of 500 years before it—a Religion, however, of which the central doctrine was still the old one taught in the Mysteries of the Kábiri; though now, indeed, morally transformed out of all resemblance almost to the ancient myth; the perennial doctrine, in ever new developed forms, of Death and Resurrection. But of evil omen to Samothrace was the anchorage there of that Jew of Tarsus. The last recorded pilgrim to the shrine of the Kábiri, was the Emperor Hadrian (180 ? A.C.). After Hadrian, who was received by the *Koës*, the Priest-King of the Island, Samothrace had no recorded Pilgrim till Cyriacus Pizzicelli, of Ancona, full of all the enthusiasm of the Renaissance for Classic Antiquity, was received by the Genoese governor in October, 1444. Nor, since then, has Samothrace had a western visitor till the recent imperially commissioned French and German travellers.

* De Nat. Deor. i. 42.

† Ann. ii. 73.

‡ See Flummer, De Itineribus et Rebus Gestis Hadriani Imperatoris.

§ "Setting sail, therefore, from Troas, we made a straight course to Samothrace, and the day following to Neapolis."—Acts xvi. 11.

But such Commissions—would there were a British one!—though they are important, are, after all, but lesser fruits of that new enthusiasm for Classic Antiquity which distinguishes—and, with the Resurrection of Hellas, will still more distinguish—this nineteenth century by a New Renaissance.

J. S. STUART-GLENNIE.

* Were a British expedition organized for the exploration of Samothrace, I would venture to direct attention to three points: First, the clearing out of what I take to be the Pelagian Sanctuary; secondly, a closer identification, than I was able to arrive at, of the Zerinthian Cave of Hecaté; and thirdly, the discovery of traces of Iron Mines, which would be a further confirmation of the theory I have suggested of the origin of the worship of the Kabiri. There is at least one classical passage which would seem to indicate the existence of iron at Samothrace (Lucret. vi. 1044):

‘Exultare etiam Samothracia ferrea vidi.’

PROFESSOR T. H. GREEN.*

In Memoriam,

IT is not without some hesitation that I have complied with the request to write something about the late Professor Green for the *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, to which he had been a contributor. To give in a few pages an account of a philosopher which shall be intelligible and accurate, is at no time easy: in my own case the difficulty is increased by his having been a man to whom, both as a teacher and a friend, I owe more than I can say. It will be readily understood that I have no intention of expounding his philosophy as a whole, still less of estimating its value: all that I can attempt is to give some impressions of what he was, and to put together, as far as possible in his own words, what seem to have been his most characteristic ideas.

The many expressions of opinion which Professor Green's death has called forth from the most various quarters have agreed in emphasizing one point in his character—the rare combination of speculative genius, political insight, and moral strength: and it is probably true that here more than anywhere else his originality lay. Many men combine different and apparently incongruous gifts, but such gifts generally lie apart, or are developed at the expense of one another. Professor Green was a man “of one piece;” his various qualities were knit together by the bond of an unmistakable personality; he was not a philosopher in

* The following writings of Professor Green are referred to in this article: “The Philosophy of Aristotle,” *North British Review*, Sept. 1866; “Popular Philosophy in its Relation to Life,” *North British Review*, March, 1868; Hamer’s “Treatise on Human Nature,” introduction, 2 vols., 1874; “Mr Herbert Spencer and Mr G. H. Lewes: Their Application of the Doctrine of Evolution to Thought,” *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, Dec. 1877; March, 1878; July, 1878; “Review of Dr John Caird’s Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion,” *Academy*, July 10 1880; “Review of Professor E. Caird’s Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant,” *Academy*, Sept. 22, 1877, two Addresses to Pupils, printed for private circulation, one on “The Witness of God” the other on “Faith,” “Prolegomena to Ethics,” left unfinished by Professor Green but otherwise ready for publication. Some of the first part has already appeared in *Good*, Nov. 25 and 26. Mrs. Green has most kindly allowed me to look over the MS. and refer to its contents.)

his study, a politician on the hustings, a moralist on Sunday; his speculation gave the backbone which his practice clothed in flesh and blood. In this concentrated union of elements so seldom united he had something of the old Puritan about him, and the further combination of austere simplicity of manners, and a native shrewdness in dealing with men and affairs, increased the resemblance. On the other hand he was not one of those who cannot act without preaching, or preach without arguing. People have been a long time in his company without discovering that he read philosophy, and politics were almost the only subject upon which he talked freely. To those who came expecting to extract from him philosophical nostrums, he was a dumb oracle. Yet it is true that in his three dominant interests, politics, theology, philosophy, he felt an essential unity. The family, society, and the State, were in his view the form and body of spiritual forces working in the world; and his uncompromising liberalism was touched with a conservative reverence for institutions in which he saw the struggles of "the human spirit" to realize its freedom. He never believed in a theory which divorces politics from religion, or religion from reason. "It is the consciousness of God," he once said in an address to his pupils, "which has in manifold forms been the moralizing agent in human society, nay, the formative principle of that society itself. The existence of specific duties, and the recognition of them; the spirit of self-sacrifice; the moral law, and the reverence for it in its most abstract and absolute form—all no doubt presuppose society; but society, of a kind to render them possible, is not the creature of appetite or fear, or of the most complicated and indirect results of these. It implies the action in man of a principle in virtue of which he projects himself into the future, or into some other world, as some more perfect being than he actually is, and thus seeks not merely to satisfy momentary wants, but to become another man—to become more nearly as this more perfect being. Under this influence, wants and desires that have their root in the animal nature become an impulse of improvement, which forms, enlarges, and recasts societies; always keeping before man in various guise, according to the degree of his development, an unrealized ideal of a Best which is his God, and giving divine authority to the customs or laws by which some likeness of this ideal is wrought into the actuality of life." And again: "The human spirit is one and indivisible, and the desire to know what nature is and means is as inseparable from it as the consciousness of God, and the longing for reconciliation with Him. . . . Under different relations, and in different modes of itself, reason is the source alike of faith and of knowledge." "Christianity," as he said in another similar address, "is cheaply honoured when it is made exceptional: God is not wisely trusted when declared unintelligible. 'Such honour rooted in dishonour stands; such faith unfaithful makes us falsely true.' God is for ever reason, and His communication, His revelation, is reason: not,

however, abstract reason, but reason as taking a body from, and giving life to, the whole system of experience which makes the history of man." And it was in the same spirit that he used to protest against the appeal to "Christian humility" in depreciation of intellect, saying that "the New Testament did not mean that the kingdom of heaven belongs only to the stupid."

The addresses given to his pupils, from which the above quotations are made, call for some notice. When he was made a tutor at Balliol College, about fifteen years ago, he was the only layman who held such a post. It had been the custom of some of the other tutors to speak to their respective pupils about some religious subject on the evening before the celebration of the sacrament; and after some hesitation he decided to continue the practice. The result was two philosophical sermons, the first on "The Witness of God," the second on "Faith." In the former, taking for his text the fifth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, he endeavoured to interpret, and bring into relation with the needs of modern everyday life, the conception of Christ as God immanent in the conscience of mankind, as "the divine thought manifesting itself in human life as truth and love, and that not merely or fully through a past visible existence, but through a spirit which should dwell in men, drawn out of the world, won from sense and the flesh, for ever." In the second, he tried to show to those who found it hard to adjust the claims of reason and religion, "how there may be a consciousness of God, which is not a knowledge of Him of a kind with our knowledge of matters of fact, and yet is the most real, because the most operative, of all spiritual principles. . . . You cannot find a verification of the idea of God or duty; you can only make it." The central thought in both addresses was the same, and if the tone of the second was more sad, it ended with the unfaltering words, "Faith in God and duty will survive much doubt and difficulty and distress, and perhaps attain to some nobler mode of itself under their influence. But if once we have come to acquiesce in such a standard of living as must make us wish God and duty to be illusions, it must surely die." I have quoted at some length from these addresses, which were only printed for private circulation, because they probably contain more of the soul of the writer than any of his published writings. But they were merely exceptional features in his work as a college tutor. His ordinary lectures on Divinity were mainly critical or expository. He had long taken great interest in the history of the beginnings of Christianity and the development of dogma, and had assimilated much of the method and results of F. C. Baur. Following mainly in his lines, but never without a religious fervour of his own, he lectured on the Acts, the fourth Gospel, and the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans. His sympathy with St. Paul might almost be called personal, and in no one else did he seem to find such congenial expression for his own deepest feelings.

His lectures on Divinity, however, were only an appendage to those on Philosophy, and it is by these that he will be remembered both in his college and in the University. The subjects on which he lectured most continuously as a tutor were the Ethics of Aristotle, Mill's Logic and the philosophy of Locke, Berkeley, Hume, and Kant; he also gave occasional courses on Plato's Republic, Aristotle's Politics and *De Anima* and the history of Greek philosophy. On becoming Professor of Moral Philosophy he began to deliver more or less systematic courses upon his subject, beginning with an exposition and criticism of Kant and Utilitarianism, and going on to the theory of law and political obligation. His last course, which he was on the point of printing, but had not quite completed when he died, will, it is hoped, be published in the course of the year under the title, "*Prolegomena to Ethics*." The great influence which he acquired as a philosophical teacher was certainly not due to any advantage of style or manner. His delivery was almost painfully laboured; his mind seemed always to be wrestling with its thoughts, and even when he had a full manuscript before him, he appeared, as has been said, "to be thinking over again, one might almost say, to be living over again, the mental experience which he was trying to express." Nor had he more, but perhaps rather less, than the average power of exposition. His sentences were often long, involved, and elaborately qualified in a way which gave the impression that he was constantly afraid of not saying all that he wanted. Enemies said that he was unnecessarily obscure; even friends admitted that he was unnecessarily difficult. "Obscure" in the sense of "confused," he certainly was not; he never seemed to say anything which he had not seen through and through, or which, if he had time, he could not justify. The difficulty of understanding him was no doubt partly due to a certain clumsiness of mind, which was the more surprising because no one saw points with greater clearness or went to them with more directness. But it was due much more to the unfamiliarity and apparent remoteness of the point of view from which he started. It was not that he loved abstractions, or that he used a very technical phraseology, or that he dealt only with the most enigmatical subjects. But his whole way of looking at knowledge and life did not adjust itself to the ideas which have filtered from English philosophy into the mind and language of educated people, and there encased themselves in those semi-mythological accretions which beset even the most abstract ideas when they become popular. Thus it was that, at the first view, he seemed to be simply asking embarrassing and unnecessary questions about matters which were quite plain, and turning accepted truths upside down; making out "things" to be "thoughts," and the "objective" "subjective;" that induction implies deduction, and the particular is universal, "just because it is particular;" that the progress of knowledge is "from the abstract to the concrete," and that reality is "constituted by relations." The truth is

* A portion has already appeared in *Mind*, Nos. 25 and 26.

that he was both too "critical" and too "constructive" for ordinary peace of mind: he went too far back and looked too far forward. Instead of resting in the comfortable assurance that "ideas are impressed on the mind by things," he insisted on knowing exactly what is meant by "mind," "impression," and "thing," and finally seemed to reduce everything to what he called "self-consciousness." Instead, again, of stopping short at a reasonable "uniformity of Nature," or widish "generalizations from experience," he would push on to see what was involved in "nature" and "experience," and bring out the same "self-consciousness" at the end that he had discovered at the beginning. Yet his hearers could not doubt that what he said had a real meaning, in fact that it expressed the deepest convictions and experience of a man who did not seem liable to illusions; and gradually it would dawn upon those who had the patience and the will to follow him that after all he was nearer to reality than the "empiricists," who professed to bring everything to the test of "facts." They would still feel that they only partly understood him, and would be conscious of the danger of getting to manipulate his words without realizing their meaning; but they were sure the "meaning" was *not* "little," "though the words were strong." And the fact remains that a man teaching for the University examinations, teaching abstruse subjects in an abstruse way, never courting popularity, never trying to make converts, seldom saying more than a few words even to his most intimate pupils, came, almost against his will, to be regarded as a sort of prophet by many of the ablest men in the University. Where lay the magic? Simply, it would seem, in the fact that he was not a student of philosophy, but a living philosopher. He had found a principle in life which appeared to him to make it intelligible, and he had made the principle his own. He expressed it in different ways, some of them hard to be understood; but they all seemed to say one thing: "Know yourself as you truly are, and you will know the truth of God, freedom, and immortality." He had no "system," but a single central idea which he applied in many directions, and which every one according to his experience might develop for himself. And as he had no system, so he had no "school." A few men in each academical generation were strongly affected by him, but each assimilated a different element and in a different way, and, except so far as they were brought together by personal friendship, they never formed a group. There were not wanting, indeed, the travesties which always wait upon genuine speculation. The gibbering ghosts of some of his phrases, which once had flesh and blood, haunted the examination schools, raising a smile or a sigh accordingly as the examiner disliked or pitied the supposed "Balliol school of philosophy."

It was a necessary, but in some respects an unfortunate accident of Professor Green's position, that he, in many respects such a typical Englishman, found himself in direct antagonism with the most typical English philosophy. It is hard not to believe that if he and Locke

could have met, they would have respected and admired each other. But real differences of philosophical opinion, though to the non-philosophical world they seem of all differences the most trifling and unintelligible, are to those who feel them the most irreconcilable and far-reaching. To the outsider they seem a matter of words; to the differers themselves they sum up incompatible views of life and the world. Hence much of the unsatisfactoriness of philosophical controversy, of which Professor Green himself was painfully aware. The "disinterested" lookers-on regard the whole as a free fight, and all that they care about is to see fair-play: and as they do not generally take the trouble to understand the point at issue, "fair-play" means little more than that neither antagonist should say anything of the other which the other could conceivably refute out of his own writings. But with the philosophers themselves it is different: they regard each other, not as authors of books which must be judged as wholes, but as representatives of certain ideas which lead or have led to certain other ideas. The very fact that they are philosophers makes them ignore everything but consistency. It is useless to show them passages in which their opponent expresses their own view, for their reply is ready, "Then he has no right to do so." Thus to Professor Green, Locke was not the seventeenth-century champion of free-thought and independence, but the logical father of certain views of human experience which he found dominant in modern England; and his quarrel with his philosophical descendants was just that they did not recognize that the fine attire in which they paraded was nothing but their progenitor's old clothes. His charge against the philosophical views in question may be summed up in one word, that they were unphilosophical. They seemed to him to have led, and legitimately to lead, to scepticism and anarchy, not because they "went too far," but because they did not go far enough. They were not philosophy, but "popular philosophy:" they were the outcome of a genuine philosophical impulse in the great men who initiated them, but the impulse had been allowed to die away, and they had shrunk into half-understood formulæ, which broke asunder at the push of modern civilization. Thus it was that when the highest aspirations of the best men of our time sought for expression, they found it, not in philosophy, but in poetry, where their imagination had free play; in religion, where they were comforted, if not convinced; in politics, where they could forget their difficulties in action. But to the few who still felt the need of a working theory of life, the failure to find it meant "weakness, and the misery of weakness." The very fulness of modern life increased their distress; the crush of new facts which science kept pouring in, and the vastness of the vistas which it opened; the growing desire of men to do and to be something, in political or professional life, in science, or art, or good works; the daring flights of poetry, which seemed to point the way to a new spiritual world if only we had the courage to follow; the efforts, often retrograde, misdirected, or vague, but not the

less real and irrepressible, to find an expression for religious feeling; all this only made the "burden of the mystery" heavier, and the "unmonstrative agony" more keen, "at times when speculation comes home to life."*

The last words, from one of Professor Green's early essays, suggest the answer to the question—the first question to be asked about any philosopher—What did philosophy mean to him? With all genuinely speculative men speculation has its root in character; it is the expression of their personality in what to them is its intensest form; not a reasoning about their experience, but their reasoned experience itself. Philosophy, as understood by Professor Green, was no "mere intellectual exercise of this or that person's brain." He liked to represent it as one amongst the various forms of activity through which man inevitably seeks to express himself, and, in expressing himself, to penetrate and assimilate the world about him. As in the progress of civilization the aspect of the world is gradually transformed from that of "a brute matter" to that of a "rational organism," "man abandons his attitude of blind terror at the unknown." "But he is not therefore at peace. . . . The outward world, about which he speculates, has become an object of interest to him, inseparable from his interest in himself. If his speculation might run smooth, he would be at peace. Being, as it is, for ever thwarted and baffled—leading his thoughts along paths which diverge before he is aware of it, and at length seem so far apart that he cannot see the common ground whence they come and to which they converge—it gives him the privilege of a sorrow, intense in proportion to the range of his intellectual sympathy. He is no longer, like the barbarian, afraid of nature as of an unknown power, but oppressed by it as by the excess of his own activity. It is a labyrinth in which he has wandered at will till he has lost the clue, and which, at the same time, is so much his own, that in its perplexities he seems at war with himself." Metaphysic, then, is neither an intellectual game, nor is it the result of an illusion destined to elimination by the progress of positive science. "It is by no avoidable error, as in the effort to escape from himself he may sometimes imagine, that man has infected nature with his theology or metaphysic. Its relation to himself is the condition alike of the impulse to know it and of the possibility of its being known. . . . He is as metaphysical when he talks of body or matter as when he talks of force, of force as when he talks of mind, of mind as when he talks of God. . . . That which he calls nature, therefore, is traversed by the currents of his intellect, and where intellect has gone sentiment has followed."† From this conception of philosophy, expressed in 1868, Professor Green never substantially diverged. In 1877 he wrote: "It is not really the case that one age,

* See *North British Review*, March, 1868, pp. 155, 156. The same ideas are expressed at the beginning of the unpublished "Prolegomena to Ethics."

† *Ibid.*, pp. 135, 136.

or one set of thinkers and writers, is metaphysical, another not, though one may addict itself to methods of inquiry obscurely called 'transcendental,' another to such as are experimental and 'comparative.' It requires little subtlety to read metaphysics between the lines of the Positive Philosophy. The difference lies between the metaphysic which recognizes itself as such, and that which does not."* In a word, then, philosophy is an outcome, a necessary outcome, of the impulse to understand, and its history is the history of "a progressive effort towards a fully articulated conception of the world as rational."† What, then, is the relation of metaphysic to other forms of human knowledge? It is not one of co-ordination. Metaphysic is not a science alongside of the other sciences; it takes the world as "rational," i.e., as a world of which we have experience, and asks what is involved in its rationality and in its being experienced; it is the "science of the sciences," in the sense that it attempts to give an account of the conceptions which "all the departmental sciences alike presuppose." It is just because English metaphysicians have attempted to assimilate their procedure to that of the natural philosophers, that they have given ground to the latter to suppose that physiology, for instance, may some day supersede metaphysic. Such a supposition Professor Green held to be, in the literal sense, "preposterous." Conceptions like those of cause and effect, which are common to all the sciences, cannot be derived from the facts which those sciences ascertain, for "they are not an *ex post facto* interpretation of them, but an interpretation without which there would be no ascertainable facts at all." A true metaphysic, "which understands the distinctive nature of its problem," cannot seek the solution of that problem from the sciences, for it is the sciences themselves which "form the problem to be solved;" it is only a metaphysic, "unaware of its own office, though unable to discard it," which first "interpolates itself into the sciences and then extracts from them, under the guise of a scientific theory of mental phenomena, what are after all but the first thoughts of metaphysic, clothing themselves in a new set of mechanical or physiological metaphors."‡

Put in its simplest terms, then, metaphysic is "the consideration of what is implied in the fact of our knowing or coming to know a world, or, conversely, in the fact of there being a world for us to know." The question why such considerations should occupy men's minds, is sufficiently answered by pointing to the fact that men do and will so occupy themselves. Professor Green was the last man to press people into metaphysic, or to demand it from the special sciences; what he did demand was that any one who felt the need or the call to think out the conditions of life and knowledge, should understand what he was about, and should not delude himself and others with a theory which stopped half-way and assumed under other names what it proposed to account for.

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, December, 1877, p. 26.

† Hume, i p. 4.

‡ Hume, i p. 165 CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, Dec., 1877, pp. 26, 27.

Philosophy, then, being an attempt to interpret life and the world, the inevitable question can no longer be postponed: to what school of interpreters did Professor Green belong? Such a question, indeed, and the answer which it expects, often represent little more than the instinct to save trouble or to conceal ignorance. When we have once "classified" a man, we feel that we know all about him, though the class to which we refer him is generally less known to us than the man himself. It has been the fashion to speak of Professor Green as an "Hegelian," and even as the founder of an "Hegelian school" in Oxford. "The title 'Hegelian,'" as he once wrote himself, "is rather wildly thrown about nowadays, and has naturally fallen into some disrepute. No one who by trial has become aware of the difficulty of mastering, and still more of appreciating, Hegel's system, would be in a hurry either to accept the title for himself or to bestow it on another." Those who attach to the title any definite meaning know how various and apparently incongruous are the doctrines and men to whom it may with some justice be applied, but by no amount of stretching or manipulation can it be made into a true description of any school of men now, or at any time, living in Oxford. It would seem, indeed, as if philosophical class-names gained in currency and applicability only in proportion as they lose in meaning and truth. It is not until the great personality which animates any genuine philosophical theory has begun to be misunderstood, or his spirit allowed to evaporate, that lesser men begin to be called or to call themselves by his name, and to wrangle over his inheritance. But the truest "followers" of a philosopher are not those who best know, or even can best expound, his terminology, but those who have most appropriated what is true in his method and ideas. Such appropriation is not a mere matter of intelligent sympathy, still less of intelligent imitation; it implies real originality, and is fruitful just in proportion as the disciple gives as well as receives. That Professor Green drank deep of the influence of Hegel no one who knew him can deny; and probably if he had been asked to whom among philosophers he owed the most, "Hegel" would have been his answer. But it could easily be shown that whatever distinctively Hegelian phraseology his earlier writings exhibit, disappears more and more from his later; and in none, early or late, is there evidence that he ever held the doctrine of a "dialectical movement of thought," in the form in which it is supposed to be characteristic of Hegel. Of Hegel's "Logic" I well remember his saying (it must have been in or about 1871), "I read it ten years ago, and I don't know what to think about it now." In a recent review* of Dr. John Caird's "Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion," he expressed himself in a way which enables us to estimate with tolerable definiteness the nature and extent of his Hegelianism. "That there is one spiritual self-conscious being, of which all that is real is the activity or expression; that we are related to this spiritual

* *Academy*, July 10, 1880.

being, not merely as parts of the world which is its expression, but as partakers in some inchoate manner of the self-consciousness through which it at once constitutes and distinguishes itself from the world; that this participation is the source of morality and religion—this we take to be the vital truth which Hegel had to teach." A very superficial reading of Professor Green's writings will show how great a hold the ideas thus expressed had upon him; it is scarcely too much to say that they formed the nerve of his philosophical teaching. Where, then, did he part company with Hegel? "We suspect," he says, "that all along Hegel's method has stood in the way of our acceptance of his conclusion, because he, at any rate, seemed to arrive at his conclusion as to the spirituality of the world, not by interrogating the world, but by interrogating his own thoughts. A well-grounded conviction has made men refuse to believe that any dialectic of the discursive intelligence could instruct them in the reality of the world, or that this reality could consist in thought in any sense in which thought can be identified with such an intellectual process." Consistently with this view, Professor Green considers "the one essential aberration of Hegel's doctrine" to be his treatment of "the process of philosophizing" as "a sort of movement of the absolute thought." The only true way to meet the objections which Hegel's theory is sure to call forth, even from men "unbiassed by Positivism or Materialism, or the current materialistic theology," when they are told that "thought *is* things and things *are* thought," is to appeal, not to what they are sure to understand by "thought," the intellectual processes of this and that individual mind, but to things themselves. Only by such a method can the suspicion be removed that they are being made the victims of "some intellectual juggling." It is the failure, hitherto, to find some such "mediation between speculative truth and our judgments concerning matters of fact," which occasions a certain feeling of dissatisfaction in the minds even of those who regard Hegel's doctrine as "the last word of philosophy." "When we think out the problem left by previous inquiry, we find ourselves led to that doctrine by an intellectual necessity; but on reflection we become aware that we are Hegelian, so to speak, with only a fraction of our thoughts—on the Sundays of 'speculation,' not on the week-days of 'ordinary thought.'" We shall see shortly, that the point at which Professor Green felt himself unsatisfied by Hegel, is precisely the point from which his own thinking perpetually started, and to which it perpetually recurred. The conviction of the spirituality of the world, underlying, as it does, all his speculation, was constantly balanced—a superficial reader might sometimes think overbalanced—by the conviction that in trying to realize this spirituality we must begin, not with our own insides, but with the world as it is, with "things" and "facts" which at the outset look anything but spiritual, but which, seen in their truth, are the form, and the only form, in which spirit exists for us.

If we are right in believing that Hegel was the philosopher to whom

Professor Green felt that he owed the most, we must admit that Kant was certainly the philosopher whose name was most frequently on his lips. This was due, partly, no doubt, to a certain affinity of his mind to that of Kant, an affinity rather moral than intellectual, showing itself in the strength with which he appropriated the Kantian conception of duty. But it was much more due to his conviction that with Kant, under the influence of Hume, philosophy had taken its last new departure, and that not to realize this was to be guilty of a philosophical "anachronism." "The 'Treatise of Human Nature,' and the 'Critique of Pure Reason,'" as he says in the Introduction to Hume, "taken together, form the real bridge between the old world of philosophy and the new. They are the essential 'Propædæutik,' without which no one is a qualified student of modern philosophy." It was Kant who read Hume's *Treatise* aright, and for whom it had "the effect of putting the metaphysical problem in its true and distinctive form," the problem, "what are the conditions implied in the existence of an object of knowledge." It was Kant who "set himself to ascertain what the relations are which are necessary to constitute any intelligent experience, or (which is the same) any knowable world, and to explain *how* (not *why*) there come to be such relations—what is presupposed in the fact that there they are." It was the failure to understand the nature and necessity of the question thus raised by Hume and taken up by Kant—the failure, in other words, to recognize the "logical obligations which it imposed upon the next generation"—which formed the burden of Professor Green's charge against contemporary English psychology. "It is not really, nor can be, the case that our psychology has cleared itself of metaphysics, but that, being metaphysical still, it is so with the metaphysics of a pre-Kantian or even of a pre-Berkleian age." How Professor Green understood Kant, and what he conceived himself to have learnt from him, is best seen in the following words of his own,* which, besides being an admirable example of condensed philosophical criticism, throw much incidental light on what, at any rate, he did *not* believe: "The current English conceptions of Kant have had a curious history. The last generation took its notions about him chiefly from Coleridge; and though Coleridge, if he would have taken the necessary trouble, could have expounded him as no one else could, he, in fact, did little more than convey to his countrymen the grotesquely false impression that Kant had sought to establish the existence of a mysterious intellectual faculty called *Reason*, the organ of truth inaccessible to the understanding, on the strength of which such an ecclesiastical dogma as that of the Trinity might be intelligently accepted. From Sir William Hamilton English 'culture' absorbed Kant's opposition of *a priori* and empirical truth in its most misleading form. It came to be supposed that the essence of Kantism lay in the doctrine that truths respecting number and magnitude, because their contradictories are

* *Academy*, Sept. 22, 1877.

inconceivable, could not be derived from experience; and this doctrine was met by interminable refutations, all virtually anticipated by Kant's own assertion of the 'empirical reality' of space and time. It is, again, chiefly as transmitted through Hamilton, that Kant's antinomies have become familiar to us, and that he has come to be taken as the great authority for a doctrine which sets 'phenomena and noumena' over against each other as two worlds—one knowable, the other unknowable—a doctrine which can appeal for justification, no doubt, to many statements of Kant, but which, as commonly presented to us is a sort of ossification into a fallacious antithesis of what with him is the vital play of two opposing tendencies of thought, constantly shifting their relations, but unable to arrive at a complete adjustment. The really prolific element in his system—the view of the 'noumenon,' which he calls the *I*go, as the source of the categories, and thus at once of the order of phenomena, and of our knowledge of it, and again as itself constituting an intelligible world of ends freely pursued—is meantime entirely overlooked. It thus becomes possible for Professor Mansel to extract from Kant an 'agnostic apology for the acceptance of ecclesiastical dogma, on the ground that our necessary ignorance of God, as a noumenon, justifies our belief in miraculous perturbations of phenomena. There may be an irony in the history of opinions as in other history; and perhaps it is an instance of it that a philosopher whose central conception was that of the necessary ordering of phenomena in relation to a single thinking principle, who among his formulae for expressing such order emphatically adopted the 'in mundo non datur saltus,' and 'in mundo non datur hiatus,' should be turned to account for the vindication of a position which to him could only mean that the 'noumenon' reveals itself in annulling the order in which it is implied and apart from which it has no reality."

In defining Professor Green's attitude towards Kant and Hegel we have already gone far towards defining his own philosophical position. A further step in the same direction will be made, if, adopting the current though misleading terminology, we inquire in what sense he was, as he would certainly be generally called, an "idealist." Some passages from an article in a former number of this Review* will best answer this question. There we find him protesting against the interpretation of "idealism" as a doctrine that "there is no such thing as matter," or that "the external world is merely the creation of our own minds." So far from his denying the existence of "matter," or reducing everything to mere "ideas," the true idealist is one to whom "all knowing and all that is known, all intelligence and intelligible reality, indifferently consist in a relation between subject and object. . . . Neither of the two correlates in his view has any reality apart from the other. Any determination of the one implies a corresponding determination of the other. The object, for instance, may be known, under one of the manifold relations which

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, December, 1877.

it involves, as matter, but it is only so known in virtue of what may indifferently be called a constructive act on the part of the subject, or a manifestation of itself on the part of the object. The subject in virtue of the act, the object in virtue of the manifestation, are alike and in strict correlativity so far determined. Of what would otherwise be unknown, it can now be said either that it appears as matter, or that it is that to which matter appears. The reality is just this appearance, as one mode of the relation between subject and object. Neither is the matter anything without the appearance, nor is that to which it appears anything without the appearance to it. The reality of matter, then, as of anything else that is known, is just as little merely objective as subjective; while the reality of 'mind,' if by that is meant the 'connected phenomena of the conscious self,' is not a whit more subjective than objective. . . . It follows that it is incorrect to speak of the relation between 'matter and mind'—mind being understood as above—as if it were the same with that between subject and object. A mode of the latter relation constitutes each member alike of the former relation." Subject and object, then, are "logical or ideal (though not the less real) factors of a world which thought constitutes." "The fact that there is a real external world of which through feeling we have a determinate experience, and that in this experience all our knowledge of nature is implicit, is one which no philosophy disputes. The idealist merely asks for a further analysis of a fact which he finds so far from simple." What, then, is the point at issue between him and the 'experientialist?' It is not, as is often supposed, "whether theories about nature should be tested merely by logical consistency or experimentally verified—whether 'subjective beliefs' should be put in the place of 'objective facts' or brought into correspondence with them." Such questions are answered as soon as asked, but the real issue is further back; "both sides are beating the air till they meet upon the question, What constitutes the experience which it is agreed is to us the sole conveyance of knowledge? What do we mean by a fact? In what lies the objectivity of the objective world?" The current English psychology, in Professor Green's view, never really reaches this question. What it does is to take without further examination the distinction between subject and object, to convert the distinction into separate and independent existence, and then, "on the strength of the admitted determination of subject by object—the converse determination being ignored—to assume 'things' as the efficient cause of 'thoughts,' which to the idealist involves the fallacy of supposing apparent objects to produce the intelligence which is the condition of their appearance." The idealist, then, is an idealist, not because he resolves all things into his "ideas" of them, but because he holds that the ultimate ground of reality, of what we suppose ourselves to know, is thought. It is the form in which Professor Green held and applied this conviction, which constitutes the central and characteristic feature of his speculation.

By "thought" would usually be understood a "subjective process," one amongst other mental activities of this and that individual. Professor Green, as we have already seen, considered that Hegel had not sufficiently guarded against this obvious misapprehension to which his identification of "things" with "thought" was liable. His own method of establishing what seemed to him irrefragable, that thought in some sense "constitutes reality," was in essential agreement with that of Kant. Starting with the position established once for all by Locke, that all our experience is ultimately "ideas" or consciousness, he asked, What is involved in the simplest beginning of knowledge, in the minimum of consciousness which can be the germ of an intelligent experience, in the most rudimentary "fact?" This irreducible minimum, to which analysis seemed to him to lead, was "related feeling." In order that there should be anything at all, there must be, firstly, a state of consciousness, a feeling; we can think or say nothing of anything unless it is or might be felt. But mere feeling, so far as we can conceive it (which we can only do negatively) would not be experience, would not strictly speaking be anything at all; it is an abstraction which eludes all our attempts to grasp it; what we always mean by feeling is feeling in a certain relation. Take the simplest expressions of consciousness, "I feel," "something is felt;" in the first, feeling is not mere feeling, but feeling referred to me and in the same act distinguished from me, and it is this reference and distinction which characterize or "determine" it, and make it all that it is; in the second, similarly, feeling is not mere feeling, but feeling of something, and whatever else is meant by "something," it must be at least related to and distinguished from something else. Every feeling, then, as soon as we can say it is anything, is already related, and related in a double way: firstly, to us as its subject; secondly, to something as its object; that is to say, it is already a doubly-determined element, an element of a self and an element of a world. These two relations are inseparable though distinguishable; it is the same fact of consciousness which makes me say or enables me to say "I feel," which also makes me say or enables me to say "something is felt;" if I try to describe either of the two, I inevitably pass into or imply the other. The ultimate element of experience, then, to which analysis leads us, may be said to be related feeling, or relatedness of feeling: and as experience begins with relation, so its subsequent progress or development means that we become more and more conscious of relations, or that things enter into more and more relations, and each fresh experience is a fresh element in a self on the one side, in an objective order on the other. The principle or activity which this primary and pervading fact expresses or implies. Professor Green called sometimes "thought," sometimes "self-consciousness," and sometimes the "comparing and distinguishing subject." The name is comparatively unimportant: what significance he attached to it will appear from a few quotations. Already in his first published philo-

sophical essay he expresses himself in terms substantially the same as those which he employed in quite recent writings. Having pointed out how Berkeley showed that the "sensible quality" of Locke was simply a "sensation," and then "reinstated the outward synthesis of sensations under the form of God, in whom they reside when we are unconscious of them," he goes on to ask, "If the permanence or generality corresponding to the name is not to be found in an outward thing, whence is it?" To say that when a general term is applied, an individual sensation, or image of a sensation, is "taken as a sign for a multitude of other sensations which we know to be like it," or "as a sign for other sensations not like it, which have accompanied it in our past experience, and would accompany it now if the requisite conditions on our part were fulfilled," is only to transfer "the permanence corresponding to the general name, which is denied of the thing, to a relation between sensations or a property which they have in common." Such a "permanent relation" implies retention of the sensations by us as "permanent objects of consciousness. . . . Either in a 'thing,' or in a knowing subject, the permanence which does not belong to the sensation must reappear." Again, "in the simplest judgment, 'something is here,' the one sensation, the 'here,' which is next moment a 'there,' could not be retained so as to qualify and be qualified by the other, unless there be a common and abiding unit to which each is relative, and which is a factor in the successive judgments 'this is here.' It will not do to say that this unifying factor is a like property in the sensations; for there could be no consciousness of their likeness without comparison of them; and this presupposes just that retention of one sensation in relation to another which it is the problem to account for." Thus we are led to the conclusion that, in order to constitute knowledge, sensations "must be relative to a uniting and discriminating subject."* The ideas here expressed are the same as those which Professor Green applied eight years later, with some variations of terminology and in far greater detail, in his elaborate criticism of Locke and Hume. The gist of that criticism is that these philosophers and their modern descendants have applied, with various degrees of consistency, a radically wrong method to the investigation of human experience and knowledge, and that the wrongness of the method was the consequence of a wrong conception of the nature of mind or thought. Instead of analysing knowledge and morality as they actually exist in the world, their method is to interrogate their own consciousness, with the view of getting at the real by eliminating all that the mind contributes to it. The result is an "abstract residuum, that of which the individual cannot help being conscious at each moment of his existence," and this residuum is supposed to be, or to report, the real in opposition to the mind's creation. The method is fallacious, because the supposed source

* *North British Review*, Sept. 1866, p. 110.

of thought is found "already charged with its creations:" the "fiction of thought" still survives even in the ultimate residuum; if from the side of the object this residuum be conceived of as the atom, it can only be conceived of as individual by its relation to and distinction from other individuals; if, again, from the side of the subject it be represented as the mere feeling of the moment, the moment in which the feeling exists is only knowable as one amongst other moments. A "self-conscious unit," therefore, must be present to "the manifold of feeling," if it is to become "an order of definite things;" and this self-consciousness cannot itself be treated and observed like a thing, just because without it there would be no things to observe. The effect of attempts (like that of Locke) so to treat and observe it, is that "the real world, which it in the proper sense makes, becomes a reality external to it, yet apart from which it would not be actually anything. . . . One and the same self-consciousness, in short, involving the correlation of subject and object, becomes the result of two separate 'things,' each exclusive of the other, into which the opposite poles of this relation have been converted—the extended thing or 'body' on the one side, and the thinking thing or 'mind' on the other." And as the primary misconception of the nature of thought vitiates the method of its investigation, so the method makes it impossible to explain the ultimate facts to which that nature gives rise. The presence of relatedness in our experience, or rather the fact that it is related feelings, implies a presence of consciousness to itself which, "as the true *punctum stans*, is the condition of the observation of events in time," but "is not such an event itself." For the conception of such a consciousness the method of "observation" can find no place, "for nothing but an event can, properly speaking, be observed;" the method therefore must either retain the conception at the expense of consistency (as with Locke), or explain it away as an invention of the mind (as with Hume); and the latter procedure "at once suggests the vital question whether a mind which thus invents has been effectively suppressed—whether, indeed, the theory can be so much as stated without a covert assumption of that which it claims to have destroyed."*

The point of view from which Professor Groen examined certain fundamental conceptions of Mr. Herbert Spencer and Mr. Lewes in this REVIEW, is not different from that just indicated. The distinction to which he continually recurs, and upon which he insists as vital, is that between "an event in the way of sensation which no doubt happens quite irrespectively of memory, imagination, or conception, on the part of the person to whom it happens," and the "consciousness or existence of a sensible object or quality;" between "sensations as they occur" and "sensations as thought of—sensible objects, formed by conceived relations between feelings, not feelings as undetermined by thought or 'independent';" in the latter sense all process of sensa-

* Hume, vol. i. pp. 112, 113.

tion involves "a persistent something which consciousness of change presupposes:" in a word, "a succession of states of consciousness" and "a consciousness of succession," so far from being convertible, are the very opposite of each other.* In a second article the above distinction is pressed to its ultimate point, when it is maintained, that not only is feeling proper entirely distinct from perception, but that "whereas perception in its simplest form is already a consciousness of relation, a sensation neither is so, nor, remaining a mere sensation, can become one of the related elements of which in every perception there is a consciousness;" in other words, that "though perception presupposes feeling, yet the feeling only survives in perception as transformed by a consciousness, other than feeling, into a fact which remains for that consciousness when the feeling has passed." The incredulity with which such an assertion is likely to be received, is declared to be "the result of our having no words to express sensations proper, except those already assigned to the perception of sensible objects. Only because we do more than feel—only because we think in feeling, and thus feel *objects*—have we any need of words."†

The question suggested by these and similar passages which abound in Professor Green's writings, is almost sure to be, What was the significance to him of this ever-recurring idea? To a man whose dominant interests were in morals and politics, why did it seem of such vital importance? What has the conception of "a comparing and discriminating self-consciousness" to do with the facts of human life or even of human knowledge? It is characteristic of philosophical genius to be able, or rather to be compelled, to hold together the beginning and the end of experience, and to pass and repass naturally from the one to the other. But it is just this characteristic which is most embarrassing to our ordinary state of mind. We live habitually in a sort of middle region, neither asking whence we came to it nor whither it leads; and when, on occasions of some strong emotion or unusual event, we are suddenly thrown back upon "ultimate realities," we help ourselves by clothing them in imaginative forms which give us something to hold by. The philosopher seems to us to be always on the heights or in the depths—on heights where the air is too rare, in depths where it oppresses us. We do not see how he gets from one to the other, or what becomes of him in the interval. If a feeling of this kind was raised in listening to Professor Green, the corrective was supplied by his life and character, for seldom did any man of speculative ability move more habitually in the region of the concrete. But those who did not know him personally, will naturally ask for some theoretical, development of what he held as a theory as well as realized in practice. Let us return, then, to the distinction which he drew between thought as a function exercised by "the many minds which are born and grow, sleep

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, December, 1877, pp. 51, 52, 53.

† *Ibid.*, March, 1878, pp. 746-748.

and wake," and thought in the sense in which he maintained it to "constitute reality." In the latter sense, while it is an activity exercised through the individual, while the individual is active in it, it cannot strictly be said to be the activity of him as an individual. The "individual as such" reduces itself ultimately to a succession of feelings, each of which in the moment of being ceases to be. Professor Green's point was, that a self so conceived is properly no self, is inconceivable as a self, and that we are only "selves" in virtue of the presence in the succession of our feelings of something which is not itself successive or in time—something which is eternal. While then all experience is in time, that which experiences all experience is not in time. We must guard here against a natural misinterpretation. The idea which it is intended to express is not that there are two selves—a self in time and a self not in time. There is, strictly speaking, no "self in time;" time is time *for* a self, one of the modes of self-experience. The same applies to space and motion as to time: "a motion can only be a motion, or a configuration a configuration, for a subject to which every stage of the one, every part of the other, is equally present with the rest."⁶ And what is true of time, space, motion, is true in the same way of other properties—æsthetic, moral, religious. However different in other respects they may be from physical and mathematical properties, they are neither more nor less "subjective," neither more nor less "objective," than those. All alike are ultimately related feelings, related in infinitely diverse ways, but implying equally in such simple relations as those of number and figure, and in such complex ones as those of beauty or goodness, a self which is only conscious of itself in the relations, but yet which is neither any one nor the sum of them as known to us. From this point of view we shall not be surprised to find Professor Green maintaining that "in the relation of ourselves to the world of experience—as distinct from it, yet realized in it, as the unity of the world's manifold—we have the counterpart of God's relation to the world, as determining Himself in it, yet unbounded by the determinations, because in their totality they are Himself;"⁷ or again, that the difficulties attaching to the conception of a divine consciousness, "of which, if it is to be described in terms of time at all, . . . it can only be said that it does now exist to-morrow,"⁸ are neither more nor less than those which meet us, "when, in like contradiction to the successive presentation of ideas, we speak of a self, constituted by consciousness, as identical with itself throughout the years of our life;"⁹ or once more, that the only proofs of the being of God which have any meaning are those which are based upon the presence in us of a "divine self-consciousness," "the source and bond of the ever-growing synthesis called knowledge," for "it is in a sense true, as Locke held, that my

⁶ CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, December 1877, p. 30.

⁷ *North British Review*, September, 1866, p. 134.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 120, 121.

own real existence is evidence of the existence of God, since the self, in the only sense in which it is absolutely real or an ultimate subject, is already God."*

The practical bearing of the analysis of knowledge may be now more apparent. The existence of morality, of anything which gives meaning to our ultimate ideas of right and wrong, under whatever names we express them, depends upon the existence of a self, a personality, a something which is not an "event," which does not "happen," but which acts and is present to all that happens. The modern tendency to treat the theory of conduct as a part or appendage of natural science, however true and valuable the ideas of which it is an illegitimate extension, seemed to Professor Green to be only one among other instances of the radical misunderstanding which led English psychology to explain mind by something which presupposes it. By a false abstraction, as he conceived, the natural philosopher takes his ready-made "natural world," interprets it as an order, a whole, a reality, and then interpolates into it, as a part or occurrence of it, the mind without which it would be neither ordered, whole, nor real, and subjects that mind to conditions of which it is itself the condition. The work which Professor Green had nearly completed when he died, begins with a discussion of the question, Can there be a natural science of man? At the outset he declares his intention of developing the apparent paradox, that "everyday perception is a determination of events in time by a principle that is not in time." In other words, to those who maintain consciousness, and with consciousness the moral life of man, to be a "phenomenon" among other phenomena, determined like other phenomena by its place in an order of "empirical conditions," he replies that the existence not only of an order of Nature, but of the simplest fact which is an element in that order, involves a conscious subject, which, though it operates through an animal organism and under empirical conditions, is itself "eternally complete." Thus the "freedom" of man, that is, the fact of his being an undervived self, is not merely a postulate of developed morality, but is already implied in the most rudimentary act of intelligent experience. It is the same self which is operative both in knowing and willing; in both there is present "a self-seeking and self-distinguishing consciousness;" in both the soul is conscious of a world not itself; in both it strives to find and realize itself in that world—in knowledge by carrying further the unity which it potentially is, in will by identifying itself with an object which it potentially has. The presence of self to feeling is as necessary to account for the fact of desire, as it is to account for that of perception. No feeling, as such, can be a constituent of happiness or well-being except by taking the form of "self-consciousness," i.e., unless the self presents it to itself as desirable, and, in so doing, identifies itself with it. To say, then, that mere feeling of pleasure is what moves to action, is

* 1 c. p. 125.

equivalent to saying that desire is excited by the anticipation of its own antisatisfaction. The feeling of pleasure, in order to become a motive, presupposes desire, i.e., presupposes a self which can regard its own satisfaction with pleasure. Thus the vital question upon which the possibility of moral philosophy depends, the question whether the motives which determine action are themselves links in the chain of natural phenomena, will be answered by saying that nothing is a motive that is not already consciousness of self, and self-consciousness is not a phenomenon or a chain of phenomena. Motive is action of self on its inner side, and will is the identification of an object of desire with self. The fact that we do so present objects to ourselves, or rather that we are objects to ourselves, is the ultimate fact upon which morality depends; without it there would be no sense in saying "we act," but only "something happens." Freedom, then, is one constituent element of personality; it is personality in one of its aspects. Eternity is another element of it, or in another aspect personality is eternal being. That *for* which events pass and things change cannot itself pass or change, any more than that which is the source of a conditioned series can be itself conditioned.

A bald indication of ideas such as these must necessarily be almost unmeaning, and even as exhibited in the "*Prolegomena to Ethics*" they will doubtless be a stumbling-block to many. The chief interest of the book will probably lie in its being a systematic attempt to give concrete embodiment to a theory, which, however real and living to its author, will often seem vague and distant to those who read it. The order of the work is briefly as follows:—Having determined the fundamental principle of self-consciousness which makes man what he is, at once human and divine, and explained in the light of this principle the relation of desire, reason, and will, Professor Green goes on to show how this principle accounts for man's moral capabilities, and is realized in the progress of human life and thought. The note of such growing realization he finds in the gradual expansion of the consciousness of self, by which man comes more and more to feel that his own good is the good of more than him and ultimately of all, and that Nature is a friend in whom he finds a second self; the institutions of a common life give expression to the one feeling, the arts and sciences to the other. This leads to an inquiry into the development of the idea of good which has governed the moral development; in other words, into the conception of virtue, Greek, Roman, and Christian, with the result that the "ideal of virtue which our conscience acknowledges has come to be the devotion of character and life to a perfecting of man." Lastly, the bearing of moral theory upon action is considered, and its importance illustrated by some typical cases of difficulty in which philosophy may help to a true solution or suggest an inadequate one. This introduces an elaborate examination of the later developments of utilitarianism, with the view of comparing it with the author's own principles. A corresponding examination of Kant would perhaps have followed, but the lectures were interrupted by death.

The books of a great character can never more than imperfectly represent him; and Professor Green himself would have been the first to insist that philosophy is "not in word but in power." Yet we cannot help feeling that the elemental granite of his nature has in some degree entered into his writings. They are mainly controversial, but the controversy which they wage concerns principles, not persons, and will recur under changing forms as long as there are men to think. The ideas which they contribute to its solution are not original in the sense that they had never been expressed before, but they are original in the truer sense that they had passed through the crucible of an original personality. To call them "German," "transcendental," "mystical," is not to deal with them; and sooner or later they must be dealt with. Though sometimes expressed in a way strange to Englishmen, they are of the same stuff and temper with the highest efforts of the English mind, whether in theory or in practice. It is for those for whom they have a meaning to work out their meaning, disengaging them from difficulties of expression, clearing them from the heat of controversy, fusing their rigidity in the vital element of experience. The more variously they are interpreted and applied, the better is the memory of their author honoured. Those who interpret them will only be untrue to their text when they unlearn its threefold lesson: that to explain human life can never be to explain it away; that if we would know what it is we must live it; and that, wherever it is really life and really human, its beginning and its end is something "which is eternal, self-determined, and thinks."^{*}

R. L. NETTLESHIP.

AS Mr. Green's work in speculative philosophy and his career as a teacher at Oxford are to be described by a friend and disciple eminently qualified for that duty, I shall, in these few lines, attempt nothing more than to give some notion of the impression which he made on those who knew him as a contemporary in his early manhood, and of the admiration they entertained not less for his character than for his splendid intellectual gifts.

His appearance was striking in those days, and made him a familiar figure even to those who did not know him personally. Thick black hair, dark eyebrows, eyes of rich brown with a peculiarly steadfast look, were the features which first struck one; and with these there was a remarkable seriousness of expression, an air of solidity and quiet

* Hume, vol. i. p. 299, concluding words of the Introduction.

strength. He knew comparatively few people, and of these only a very few intimately, having no taste for those sports in which university acquaintances are most frequently made, and seldom appearing at breakfasts or wine parties. This caused him to pass for unsocial; and I remember having felt a slight sense of awe, or alarm, the first time I found myself seated beside him. But as one came to know him better, one quickly perceived that under his reserve there lay not only a great capacity for affection,—no man was more tenacious of his friendships,—but qualities that made him a delightful companion. His tendency to solitude sprang not from pride but from the occupation of his mind by subjects which seldom weigh on men of his age. He had, even when a boy at school (where he lived much by himself) been grappling with the problems of metaphysics and theology; and they had given a tinge of gravity to his manner. The relief to that gravity lay in his humour, which was not only abundant but genial and sympathetic. It used to remind us of Carlyle,—he had both that and Puritanism in common with Carlyle, one of the authors who (with Milton and Wordsworth) had most influenced him,—but in him it was more kindly, and, above all, more lenient to ordinary people. While averse, perhaps too severely averse, from whatever was luxurious or frivolous in undergraduate life, he had the warmest interest in, and the strongest sympathy for, the humbler classes. No man had a truer love for social equality, or a higher sense of the dignity of simple human nature. He liked to meet farmers and tradespeople on their own level, and knew how to do so without seeming to condescend; the belief in the duty of approaching the people directly and getting them to form and express their own views was at the root of all his political doctrines.

Though apt to be silent in general company, no one could be more agreeable when you were alone with him. We used to say of him—and his seniors (among whom the late Professor Conington may be mentioned as attached to him by a specially close friendship) said the same—that you never talked to him without carrying away something to remember and ponder over. On everything he said or wrote there was stamped the impress of a forcible individuality, a mind that thought for itself, and whose thoughts had the rugged strength of an original character wherein grimness was mingled with humour, and practical shrewdness with a love for abstract speculation. His independence appeared even in the way he pursued his studies. With abilities of the highest order, he cared comparatively little for the distinctions which the University offers: choosing rather to follow out his own line of reading in the way he judged most permanently useful, than to devote himself to the pursuit of honours and prizes. History seemed in those days to have as much attraction for him as metaphysics, and no one who listened to him discussing it could have failed to see that he had all the gifts necessary for the fullest success in it. Two were especially conspicuous—a great

sense of its dramatic aspects, and a power of reaching those large results which sum up a multitude of minor phenomena. In this, as in everything he touched, he penetrated at once to what was vital. There were others who might appear to possess a larger familiarity with small facts; his mind was always fixed on the great facts.

He was constitutionally indolent, found it hard to rouse himself to exertion, and was apt to let himself be driven to the last moment in finishing a piece of work. There was a rule in his college that an essay should be given in every Friday evening. His was, I believe, hardly ever ready till the Saturday. But when it did go in, it was the weightiest, the most thoughtful, as well as the most eloquent, that the college produced. This indolence had one good result. It disposed him to brood over subjects, while others were running quickly through many books and getting up subjects for examination. It contributed to that fulness, completeness, and depth which struck us all in his thinking, and made him seem so mature beside even the brightest of his contemporaries. When others were being, so to speak, blown hither and thither, picking up and fascinated by new ideas, which they did not know how to fit in with their old ones, he seemed to have already formed for himself, at least in outline, a scheme of philosophy and life coherent and complete. There was nothing isolated, much less inconsistent, in his thinking; his mind, like his style, had a singular connectedness. You felt that all its principles were in relation with one another. This maturity did not, however, make him a dogmatist. With great firmness and tenacity, he was really humble—that is to say, he distrusted human nature in himself at least as much as in others. We never felt, in talking to him, that we could give him much—if anything—he had not already got, but we did feel that, whatever could be given, he was sure to receive and consider in a fair and candid spirit. I never knew him argue for victory.

In these early days, before, and to a less extent after, taking his degree, he used to speak a good deal, mostly on political topics, at the University Debating Society. His speaking was always vigorous, shrewd, and full of matter, yet it could not be called popular. It was, in a certain sense, too good for a debating society,—too serious, and without the sort of dash and sparkle and point which tell with audiences of that kind. Sometimes, however, and notably once in a debate on the American War in 1862 or 1863, he produced, by the concentrated energy of his language and the ardent conviction with which he spoke, a powerful effect. In a serious assembly, discussing practical questions, he would soon have become prominent, and would have been capable on great occasions of a brilliant oratorical success.

Quietly as he lived, he became by degrees more and more widely known beyond the circle of his own intimates; and became also, I think, more willing to make new friends. People respected his character,

with its high sense of duty, its simplicity, its truthfulness, its earnest devotion to an ideal, even more than they admired his intellectual powers. I remember one, himself eminent in undergraduate Oxford, and belonging to another college, between which and his there existed some rivalry or jealousy, who, having been defeated by him in competition for a University prize, said, "If it had been any one else, I should have been vexed, but I don't mind being beaten by a man I respect so much as Green." He knew Green very slightly; but this was the impression which the latter's bearing had made on him.

It need hardly be said that his friends expected a great future for him. His interest in politics was so keen that many supposed he would find his way into journalism or some other occupation connected with public life. He once said to me that his own impulse was towards preaching, and that rather as a minister in some Nonconformist body than in the Church of England, to which he by birth belonged. His religious feeling was strong and deep; and seldom as he spoke on religious topics, those who knew him could see that it pervaded his whole character. He felt, however, that his opinions on theological questions would develop themselves more naturally if he remained untrammelled by official connection with any ecclesiastical body: and finding a congenial sphere of work at Oxford, he remained there, and devoted himself more and more to philosophical studies. He was one of those who would have attained eminence in almost any line of life; but with that practical sense which never failed him in the midst of his abstract speculations, he judged that an Oxford career was the fittest for him; and the longer we watched him there, the more sure we felt that he had been right.

In the limited space allowed me, I cannot attempt to sketch the growth of his character and opinions during the years when he was a teacher; nor, indeed, having seen comparatively little of him in those years, should I be competent to do so. This, however, may be said, that as his powers developed in later life, so did those slight asperities which had been observed in undergraduate days soften down and disappear. I remember his saying with a smile, in 1866, when I had drawn him for a short excursion into Wales, "I don't know whether it is a sign of declining virtue, but I find as I grow older that I am less and less fond of my own company." He certainly did become more generally genial and accessible,—genial to his own friends he always was,—and seemed from the first to win the confidence and affection of his pupils. I can remember some of these who told me, after they had come to settle in London, that his teaching and his life had been the one great influence and example they had felt and found in Oxford. His singularly happy domestic life made it easier for him to see the bright side of things; nor could he fail to enjoy the sense of his growing power and opportunities for good. Even when ill-health had fastened on him

and checked him both in his studies and in his public work, it never seemed to affect the evenness of his temper, or make him any harsher in his judgments. Strongly as he felt on political questions, I can never remember his using a violent word about any political opponent, or saying more than what a grave observer might have said. The weight, coolness, wisdom for which he had been respected and looked up to, even as an undergraduate, were telling on an ever-widening circle, and would have made him as influential as a leader in practical matters as his speculative gifts had rendered him in the domain of philosophy. It is long since his University has seen any manhood so amply and worthily fulfil the promise of youth; long since she has had to mourn the sudden close of a life so fruitful, so noble, so inspiring.

JAMES BRYCE.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN IRELAND.

THROUGHOUT his long career Mr. Gladstone never spoke more momentous words than those in which he announced to the world that there was a social revolution in Ireland. Whether the Prime Minister should have used such words may well be doubted; but, spoken by him, they have fixed upon England a grave responsibility, for England created the social conditions which have resulted in revolution. To no one else would it have occurred to distinguish between a political and a social revolution. True, they are widely different. The English Revolution was entirely political. The French Revolution was wholly social, though it brought about a political revolution. But in these days, when power is in the hands of the people, it is impossible to conceive of one without the other. If the people are conscious of their power, the political change is the result of social forces. If the people, through ignorance or apathy, have been content with the old order of things, the social revolution can only be brought about by political agitation. The Irish Revolution is indeed social in its character, but it would be easy to show that in its inception it was political. It is true that if there had not been latent social forces capable of being awakened, the political motive-power would have been in vain; but it is also true that if the political influences had been restrained within good time, the movement, which has now developed into a revolution, would have been of a gradual character, thus obviating the necessity for hasty legislation and affording the threatened class an opportunity of escape.

Those who desire to study the origin and progress of a social movement, which history will probably consider as thorough as the French Revolution, cannot do better than read and read again the letter from Mr. John Devoy, of the Fenian Brotherhood, to the Editor of the *Freeman's Journal*, dated New York, 11th of December, 1878. No more powerful or remarkable political manifesto was ever penned, and

it is no exaggeration to say that to the principles which it inculcated, and the mode of action which it enjoined, is due the entire success of the movement. It furnished Mr. Parnell with a policy, without which he would never have risen from being a mere Parliamentary obstructionist; and it mapped out for him, in such a way that he could not go wrong, the lines upon which his policy should be conducted. This remarkable letter will be found in the appendix to Mr. P. H. Bagenal's admirable record of the revolutionary campaign in Ireland in the year 1879, entitled "The Irish Agitator in Parliament and on the Platform."* "A careful perusal," Mr. Bagenal observes, "of the Fenian Devoy's letter, doubtless the combined composition of himself and Mr. Davitt, who at the time was in America, will give the whole key to the new policy, not only of the land agitation in Ireland, but also to the new departure in Irish politics of the Fenian Brotherhood itself."

Mr. Devoy did not conceal the political object which the advanced National Party had in view—"The recovery of Ireland's national independence and the severance of all political connection with England." But he recognized that this party had no defined policy, and were without political training.

"The people," he writes, "have never been told what kind of an Ireland we should have if the making of it depended on the Nationalists, or how the Nationalists propose to grapple with any of the burning social and political questions which would demand solution if the country were free to-morrow. . . . The lack of political training, and of practical acquaintance with public business—such even as could be acquired by membership of a town council—has always told heavily against the Nationalists."

He accordingly enjoins the necessity of getting possession of the local bodies:—

"With the majority of these bodies in our possession, even without the Parliamentary representation, we should be in a position to do many things we can only dream of now. With the municipal bodies, and men of spirit and determination as Parliamentary representatives, backed by the country and by millions of the Irish race scattered over the world, there would be no necessity to go to London either to beg or obstruct, and Irish Nationalists would have no more Tullaghts or cabbage gardens hung in their faces."

But, above all, Mr. Devoy recognized that an appeal to the National sentiment would be in vain, unless the people were made to see that it would be for their advantage to join the movement. Accordingly he writes:—"No party or combination of parties in Ireland can ever hope to win the support of the majority of the people, except it honestly proposes a radical reform of the Land System." The extracts which have been given cannot possibly do justice to this remarkable letter; but, coupled with the events which have since taken place, and which are within the memory of all, they are sufficient to explain how it was that Mr. Parnell was able to carry to a successful issue a movement which Mr. Gladstone has announced from his place in the House of Commons to be a social revolution. Without Mr. Devoy's letter and Mr. Davitt's brains, the revolution would not have come yet.

* Published by Hodges & Foster, Dublin. Price 1s.

But the revolution ought to have been foreseen, for it was foretold. Ninety years ago the landlords of Ireland recognised what would happen, if the people were to be given a voice in the government of the country. Burke, writing to his son, and lamenting the determination of the Protestant oligarchy to maintain their exclusive power, represents the landlords as saying that, "If the people, under any given modification, obtain the smallest portion or particle of constitutional freedom, it will be impossible for them to hold their property." Burke ridiculed their fears, but time has shown that they were not without foundation.

As long as the United Kingdom was governed by the classes who had acquired capital, the Irish landlords were secure. From 1832 to 1867, power was in the hands of the middle and lower middle classes. By the Reform Act of 1867, power has been transferred to the classes who earn and live on weekly wages, or in other words to the Democracy. From that hour the revolution in Ireland was only a question of sooner or later. A handful of landlords in a nation of peasants, could hardly hope to retain the full measure of their proprietary rights when the latter had acquired political power.

The two first Parliaments elected after the Reform Act of 1867, differed so little in tone and character, save as to the Irish element, from previous Parliaments, that statesmen on both sides of the House seem to have been unaware of the magnitude of the change. But the Nationalist party in Ireland understood its importance, and more than once Mr. Parnell and his followers told the people that they were not without allies, for they had the English democracy at their back.

Mr. Gladstone charges the Opposition with having failed to appreciate, when in office, the meaning of what was taking place in Ireland. "I do not," he says, in reply to Mr. Gorst, "make it a matter of severe censure that the late Government did not foresee the magnitude to which the Land League would grow, or the extent to which it would take hold of the minds of the people of Ireland, over a circle infinitely wider than has been touched by any movement within the last fifty years." It is difficult to believe that these words were spoken by the same statesman, who, two years before, had described to an Edinburgh audience the condition of Ireland under the Land League in the following language:—

"There is an absence of crime and outrage, with a general sense of comfort and satisfaction, such as has been unknown in the previous history of the country. I do not hesitate to say, especially as very many able men co-operated with me in the passing of that law (Land Act, 1870)—as it would not have been in my power to have framed such a measure without assistance—that that land law has been one of the best specimens of prudent, and at the same time, benevolent and popular legislation in our time, while I believe it will contribute greatly to the benefit of the Irish landlord not less than to the benefit of the Irish tenant."

Three weeks before, Lord Beaconsfield had described the situation in very different terms. "Nevertheless," he writes to the Duke of Marlborough, "a danger in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than

pestilence and famine, and which now engages your Excellency's anxious attention, distracts that country. A portion of its population is attempting to sever the constitutional tie which unites it to Great Britain in that bond which has favoured the power and prosperity of both." It may be that Lord Beaconsfield looked too much at the political side of the agitation, and failed to recognize the social forces which the agitators had evoked. But if Lord Beaconsfield did not foresee the magnitude of the danger, it is quite certain that Mr. Gladstone did not see any danger at all—political or social. And yet the leaders of the Land League did not conduct their proceedings in secret. What they said they proclaimed from the housetop. The meetings at Irishtown in April, and at Westport and Milltown in June, 1879, were public meetings. The proceedings and the speeches were fully reported in the press; and Mr. Gladstone, in his leisure at Hawarden, had a better opportunity of watching the movement and studying the language of its leaders than had Lord Beaconsfield at Downing Street, oppressed with the care of an Empire and intent upon his Imperial policy. And if Mr. Gladstone had grasped the meaning of the situation in Ireland, what opportunities he might have had of warning the House that instant and effective legislation was required to grapple with it! How he could have availed himself of the occasions afforded by the debates on Mr. Macartney's Tenant Right Bill and Mr. Butt's Land Bill, the second reading of which was moved by Mr. Shaw—both of these debates being subsequent to the meeting at Irishtown!

If Mr. Gladstone had, during the Parliamentary Session of 1879, perceived the goal to which events were tending in Ireland, of what infinite service he might have proved to the State, not to say what a powerful cry he might have provided for his party! At the time that his eyes were apparently closed, there were a few who perceived the full meaning of what was taking place, and foresaw what was coming. Those who are familiar with Irish events are aware that an eminent person whose sagacity and foresight are proverbial, and who ought to have been the most trusted adviser of his party, warned the Irish Executive that if they allowed the meeting to be held at Milltown, in the county of Galway, on Sunday, the 15th of June, 1879, the corner-stone of a revolution, such as this generation had not seen, would be laid. Mr. Gladstone had the same opportunity of gauging the meaning of the movement, but he was so intent upon tripping up the Government upon their foreign policy, that he had neither time nor inclination to turn his attention to Ireland; and even in his Midlothian campaign, although in the interval the Land League had been formally founded and Michael Davitt had been arrested, he did not apparently think there was any ground for alarm. The result was most unfortunate, not to say disastrous, for when he took office he was prepared neither with a Land Bill nor yet with a measure for the restoration of order.

In his speech in reply to Mr. Gorst, on the 4th of April, Mr. Gladstone refers to the Peace Preservation Act as "having slipped from his han-

inasmuch as only ten days were left for its renewal;" but after his announcement at Edinburgh, within one month of his taking office, that "there was an absence of crime and outrage, with a general sense of comfort and satisfaction, such as was unknown in the previous history of Ireland," he would, under any circumstances, have found himself in a very peculiar position in proposing its renewal. Mr. Gladstone, however, now makes light of that Act, describing the question of whether it should have been renewed or not "as infinitely small and insignificant with reference to this great social revolution." Nevertheless, the provision which that Act contained, rendering the locality in which murders or outrages to the person were committed liable to pay compensation in respect of them, made it a far more effective instrument for the prevention of such crimes than is the present Act.

But if, even upon taking office, Mr. Gladstone had recognized that the movement in Ireland was rapidly developing into a social revolution, he would hardly have aggravated the situation by introducing the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, which was only intended to be a makeshift, which could have had no effect but to encourage agitation, and which he must have known would be rejected by the House of Lords. This was a fatal step, and made it a certainty that agitation would be renewed in the autumn; and Mr. Parnell was not slow to take advantage of it. He saw that the Government only wanted their hand to be forced, and accordingly he enjoined upon the people at every meeting he attended that the measure of the Land Bill would be the measure of their agitation. It suited Mr. Parnell's plans to attack the House of Lords for having thrown out the Bill, and to lay at their door the state of the country; but it is absurd to suppose that if the Bill had passed he would have taken any steps to abate the agitation. The Government, to their discredit, adopted Mr. Parnell's tactics, and excused the agitation on the ground that it was the direct result of the Bill having been rejected. If Mr. Forster, who repeated this charge both in Parliament and at Bradford, had studied the records of the movements of the Land League in 1879, he would have known that the leaders of the League would never have accepted such a measure as anything but an incentive to renewed action, and if he was serious in alleging the rejection of the Bill as the cause of the agitation in the autumn of 1880, his failure in the office of Chief Secretary ceases to be a matter of surprise.

At last Parliament met to pass coercion, and the Bill for the Better Protection of Person and Property in Ireland became law. It was, however, in its inception doomed to failure. If a Constitutional Government cannot govern within the limits of the Constitution, and seeks for exceptional powers, it is obvious that these powers must be independent of the Constitution. Coercion restrained by the Constitution is like a strong man in irons—it is terrible in form but harmless in reality. Such was and such is the Coercion Act of 1881. But such even as it was it might not have been ineffectual if in better hands.

Mr. Gibson has described, in his statesmanlike speech on the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne, how there came a lull in the agitation, and a cessation from outrages, upon the mere announcement that the Bill had passed. But Mr. Forster had donned the lion's skin, and the imposture soon became apparent. Under coercion, as administered by the Chief Secretary, the agitation grew and prospered. Here and there a "village tyrant" was arrested and attained martyrdom. At last the Land Bill passed the Commons, and in sheer despair, and in the belief that even at the eleventh hour the Government would declare the Land League illegal and render coercion effective, the landlords of Ireland brought all the pressure they could bear upon the House of Lords to pass the Bill. The sequel is before us.

Within a time shorter than he could have dreamed possible, Devoy has seen the corner-stone of his policy firmly laid. "*No party or combination of parties in Ireland can ever hope to win the support of the majority of the people except it honestly proposes a radical reform of the Land System.*" These were his words in December, 1878, and within three years the landlords have been disestablished and in part disendowed, and their position has become intolerable. From owners they have been converted into annuitants, and their annuities are unsaleable. The tenants will not buy upon the terms offered by the Act, and there are no other buyers. Creditors will soon become impatient. Mortgagees will call in their loans, and it will not be possible to avert ruin from thousands of families.

It is surprising that when the Bill was passing through Parliament these contingencies were not anticipated, and that the Opposition did not direct their energies to providing for them. Much, however, is to be hoped from the important resolution which Mr. W. H. Smith intends to move at an early date, and which is in these terms, "That further legislation is imperatively requisite to provide increased facilities to enable tenants to acquire the freehold of the land in their occupation." Mr. Smith's high character and reputation for sound sense and judgment render him peculiarly fitted to be the mover of this resolution, and if he can satisfy Parliament and the country that its object can be attained without imposing additional burthens upon the British taxpayers, it seems hardly possible for the Government to refuse to amend the Purchase Clauses of the Land Act.

It cannot, however, be too plainly stated that the tenants will not buy unless the whole of the purchase money is advanced by the State, and further, that even with this condition, they will not buy unless there is a substantial difference between the amount of the annual instalment and the judicial rent.

Assuming that the State will advance the whole amount, it is hardly possible that the sum to be paid to the landlords can exceed twenty years' purchase of the judicial rent, inasmuch as taking even the longest period for repayment that Parliament would sanction, the difference

between the instalment and the judicial rent would not, if it exceeded that amount, be sufficient to induce him to buy. But if the landlords were paid by debentures bearing $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest, which they could sell at a substantial premium; and if the trustees of their settlements were given wider powers of investment than they have at present, the loss of income would not be great, and would be as nothing compared with the sense of security from further inroads upon their property, and their immunity from what has not been sufficiently considered—the inevitable increase of local taxation. It is certain that the tenant will not buy at twenty years' purchase of the judicial rent, if the State requires him to repay the loan within 35 years, or in other words, taking the value of money to be $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., charges him 5 per cent. thereon, because in this case the annual instalment would exactly equal the rent, and the tenant would have to pay besides the landlord's share of the county cess. But if the State were to extend the period of repayment to sixty years, charging him only 4 per cent. on the loan, it would be clearly to his advantage to buy. Thus, if the rent is £50, the purchase-money would be £1,000, on which interest at 4 per cent. would be £40, or 20 per cent. under the rent. It is very doubtful, however, if the tenants, as a body, would purchase even on such favourable conditions, as, owing to their present state of demoralization, they believe before long they will obtain another slice of the landlords' property. Moreover, there is every probability that the No Rent party would advise them not to purchase on such terms.

But if the State is willing to advance the whole of the purchase-money, there is no reason why it should not itself become the purchaser. The annual instalments might be converted into a Land Tax extinguishable within a fixed period, and for the payment of which the Barony or some other area of the county should be made ultimately liable—a plan calculated to make every ratepayer a determined opponent of the No Rent policy.

It cannot be seriously urged that the State would be a loser by the transaction. Rents were as well paid in Ireland before the agitation as they were in England. Even now they are being paid over a large portion of the country, and it is morally certain that, when the reign of terror has been brought to an end—as brought to an end it must be if the Government desire to retain office—the judicial rents will be as well paid as the old rents had been. Mr. Goldwin Smith, in the *Times* of the 11th of April, advocates, with the view “to removing the encouragement to outrage,” that rents, “when justly fixed,” should be collected by a summary process, “which,” he adds, “would be no more a departure from principle than is the Land Act itself.” If, under certain conditions, the collection by summary process of rents payable to one class of the community is justifiable, it is more so when the rents take the form of a tax payable to the State as representing every class.

There are doubtless some landlords—the large proprietors—who have no wish to sell, who take a hopeful view of the future, and who prefer

to throw in their lot with their country. It would be well, indeed, that such should stay. For them there is a brighter day in store than has ever yet been, if they will but recognize their altered position, and heartily join hands with the people. But then they must remember that there are more important matters in the world than fox-hunting, and that the County Board room is the best training-school for Westminster.

It would be idle, however, to suppose that the creation of a peasant proprietary, such as Mr. Smith's resolution aims at, would turn "the dreary moorland and the barren shore" into a garden, or bring prosperity to the wilds and wastes of Connaught. For the problem of the West there can be but one solution—emigration of large masses of the people, wisely, kindly, and liberally promoted by the State. But it is just for this condition of things that it becomes all important to allow the landlords an opportunity of selling—not, however, to the occupiers, but to the State. As owner, the State could deal more effectively with the question of emigration than in any other capacity.

Apart from the moral obligation which the Empire is under to provide a means of escape to the landlords from the intolerable position in which they have been placed by Imperial legislation, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance to the Empire of allowing them to go. With the landlords forced to remain it will not be in the power of the present Parliament to carry any of the measures which are the logical consequences of the "radical reform of the land system," and which are necessary to remove any just ground for further agitation, because it is certain that the House of Lords would reject any measure tending to make the position of the present race of landlords more unendurable than it is. But if the landlords were permitted to retire, Parliament might forthwith, and without the aid of the Clôture, proceed to give Ireland a complete system of Local Government, providing for the administration of the counties by the representatives of the ratepayers, and establishing a Central Authority calculated to command the confidence of the people, and empowered to give effect to all measures of local importance. Then, with the franchises of both countries assimilated, and with a body of representatives expressing the wishes of the people, there will be no need for English members to intervene in Irish debates at the instance and in the interests of a particular class.

True there will still be left the chimera of political independence; but Ulster will never desert the Empire, and English parties are all agreed in this—that there can be no concession here. Nor is it conceivable that, having obtained for their country all that as patriots and statesmen they could desire, men so able and ambitious as the leaders of the Irish Party would continue to cherish a meaningless hatred of England, or consent to surrender their privilege of sitting in the oldest assembly of freemen in the world.

R. W. A. HOLMES.

PARLIAMENT AND THE REBELLION IN IRELAND.

ALL public questions are now for the time swallowed up in one, which demands the undivided attention and, what is of still more importance, the concentrated will, of Parliament. There is no exaggeration in saying that the three Celtic and Roman Catholic Provinces of Ireland are in a state of rebellion. That term is applicable to any organized resistance to law and Government on a large scale, by whatever means it may be carried on, whether by an army in the field, by guerrilla warfare, or, as in the present case, by widespread conspiracy, terrorism, and assassination. It is true, that the objects of the people have up to this time been, not political but agrarian, though with their agrarianism is combined a hatred of England which has been instilled into them by all who have their ear, and which makes landlords who are Englishmen doubly the marks of their hostility. But the objects of the leaders are political; they seek, with little disguise, while their American confederates seek without any disguise at all, the overthrow of the Government and the disruption of the commonwealth. Into this channel they strive to turn the current of agrarian discontent, and in order that the political rebellion may not lack aliment they do their utmost to bring about the miscarriage of the Land Act. They receive their supplies from the Fenians of the United States, with whom they are completely identified, and who openly, though under the shelter of a neutral flag, carry on war against England, having twice made armed incursions into her Canadian territory. The language of the leaders and that of their Press, burning with a furious and almost insane hatred, not of any particular law or any particular ministry, but of Great Britain and the British people, leaves no doubt as to their sentiments or as to the object of their operations. Government, then, is called upon to act as in case of rebellion, not shrinking from

the use of extraordinary powers necessary to restore the ascendancy of law any more than it would shrink from using the extraordinary power necessary to save the national independence in case of foreign invasion, to which indeed the American part of this Irish insurrection is closely akin. No principle of liberty is broken or imperilled by action the sole end of which is to uphold the law. To talk about being governed by the "public opinion" of rebel districts waging war on us by murder and destruction of property, is almost as preposterous as it would be to talk about being governed by the opinion of an invader. It is so at least unless those who hold this language have made up their minds that the object of the insurrection—that is to say, the severance of Ireland from Great Britain—is one which ought to be conceded, or the demand for which ought to be entertained; and if such is their opinion they are bound by their duty to their country, as statesmen or journalists, frankly to avow it, and not to undertake to advise the nation as to the measures to be adopted for the repression of disunion, with disunion or doubts about the righteousness and wisdom of maintaining the union lurking in their own breasts. I have heard it more than once and at least half in earnest proposed to let Ireland go and see what she would be when left to herself, after which she would soon be eager to return. To say nothing of the dishonour, it is hardly a triumph of practical statesmanship to allow a part of the community to become a political chaos in order to bring it to its senses. We should perhaps get back Ireland, but in what condition? England and Scotland would not stand by for a month and see the things which would take place in Ireland if she were cast adrift.

We must ask, too, how those who bid us be governed by the public opinion of Ireland in Irish affairs, as we are governed by the public opinion of Scotland in Scotch affairs, propose to secure the free expression of public opinion in Ireland against the somewhat drastic coercion of the Land League?

Action ought to be prompt as well as resolute. Bad as the outrages are, worse still are the state of moral and social anarchy, the recklessness in shedding blood, the habit of sympathizing with crime, the disregard of contracts and of the rights of property, into which the country is evidently sinking. There will soon be such mischief done in this way, as it will take the highest statesmanship half a century to undo.

Force, it has been said, is no remedy. It is no remedy for defects in laws or institutions; but it is the only remedy for anarchy or rebellion. Force used for the purpose of usurpation or despotic rule has nothing in common with force used in an emergency by a free commonwealth to compel submission to law. Submission to the law as it exists, coupled with full power of discussion, and of voting for amendment, is the perfect estate of freemen, and the only mode in which progress can be combined with order. Ireland is politically behind England and Scotland; some of her people in certain districts are actual savages, and

savages whose malignant passions have been cultivated by a dynamite press. This the most enthusiastic Liberal cannot deny, unless he regards the vilest murder, general sympathy with the murderers, and cutting off cows' udders as unimportant symptoms, nor can he refuse to recognize the practical consequences of the fact. Ireland is being gradually lifted up to the level of her partners, and accustomed to self-government; but from time to time, under pressure of distress or the excitement of demagogues, the anarchic tendencies of her people break out again, and it is necessary to use a certain means of force in order to bring her back into the path of law. Those who would indulge her in lawlessness, be they Irish agitators or British sympathizers, are her deadliest enemies, and the destroyers of her sole hope of salvation. Their counsels tend ultimately to a reign of force, indeed; for that, in some form or other, is the end of anarchy. This is said of the Celtic provinces: let Disunionists never forget the existence of Ulster.

When anarchy or rebellion breaks out, to put it down is the first object—concessions must come afterwards, though the Government may well be sustained in the performance of its bitter duty, by the consciousness that when that duty is done, it means to grant all that can be reasonably granted. Motions for the extension of the Purchase Clauses, or other improvements of the Land Act, may be in season to-morrow: the repression of murderous anarchy is the work of to-day. Proposals to buy the political alliance of the League out of the public purse, under the guise of voting indemnities to landlords, are treason to the country. Any further tampering with the question at present can only prolong unsettlement, and open to the Leaguers fresh vistas of successful agitation. Nor is parleying with rebels of much use, even though you may respect their motives, more than it is possible to respect the motives of men whose mouths are full of ruffianly invective and reckless falsehoods.

The Government is Parliament, of which the Executive is merely the minister, unable to pursue any course of policy, above all a policy of repression, without its approbation and support. In former times, the memory of which still haunts our political imaginations, the supreme power was the Crown with its Council, by which the Parliament was summoned, as the representation of the people, to give advice and grant supplies. Now Parliament is the supreme power, and upon its strength, its wisdom, its patriotism, its unanimity, the issue of the present struggle for national unity depends. In its party divisions and intrigues alone has lain the strength of Irish resistance, which would cower at once before its united power and will, but which will not cower while it finds, or hopes to find, a large body of English and Scotch Members of Parliament ready to dally with it, to march with it into the lobby, and practically to help it in cutting the sinews of the executive. Unhappily party feeling in the House of Commons has not run so high as it does now since the battle between Free Trade and Protection. Hatred of

the Prime Minister in many breasts swallows up regard for the country. The House of Lords thinks of nothing but the interest of landlords, unless it be the recovery of a legislative power which the nation must be in its dotage to give back. Of the two leaders of Opposition, one is recklessly ambitious, the other is too weak to keep his followers in the path of honour: both are incapable of acting as a patriotic leader of Opposition like Peel would have acted in the presence of national peril. Nor is one side only to blame. Nothing surely could be more unfortunate than the determination to force on the Clôture as a party measure, and thus to provoke a desperate faction fight, besides straining the allegiance of the Liberal party, at the moment when union was indispensable to the public safety. Some of us are growing sceptical about the party system altogether, and our doubts are likely to be increased by what is now going on; but all must admit that unless at moments of public peril like the present, party objects can be made to give way to national objects, the system stands condemned.

A new and sinister fact in British politics is the growth in great English and Scotch constituencies of an Irish element exercising the disproportionate power which belongs to all compact and self-seeking minorities under the party system. I suspect this influences the conduct of some English politicians more than they are themselves aware. The next election will show whether the English and Scotch constituencies are able to oppose a patriotic resistance to the imposition of the Irish yoke.

Coercion, we are told, has failed. Those who say so surely cannot mean that the cause of union and order would have been better off with a rebel government supplanting that of the nation, and six hundred conspirators at large. Coercion, or as it would properly be called repression, has failed to complete its work, because it has itself been incomplete. To have to resort to it at all is a hateful necessity, but when that necessity arises, no principle is saved by stopping short of an effective measure. The suspension of Habeas Corpus might have been followed by suspension of trial by jury in agrarian cases, and by the institution of a trustworthy court. Jury trial has utterly broken down, and its collapse has proclaimed immunity for crime, and license for a lawless tyranny of murder. To cling to a form of trial when it has ceased to answer the ends of justice is surely the merest superstition. The argument under which the superstition veils itself is that it is not a court that is wanting but evidence. The other day a ruffian was positively identified by his victim, yet the jury would not convict. But how can witnesses be expected to come forward, in a reign of agrarian terror, when they know that their testimony will go for nothing, and that they will be left to the vengeance of the accused? To provide a court which can be trusted, on proper evidence, to convict of murder is the plain duty of the community, and if the duty is neglected, on the head of the community rests the guilt and the shame. A poor boy of

seventeen, merely for doing what the law bids him do for his employer, is waylaid, his skull is beaten in with stones, his mother is wounded in trying to save him, while a crowd stands conniving if not applauding. For this we are told the only remedy is patience, in which the boy and his mother are invited to participate. To leave such things unpunished is a greater disgrace to a nation than the loss of any battle, and the reason why such things are left unpunished, if we go to the bottom of the matter, is mainly want of political courage. Ireland is wallowing in sympathy with crime, and the only way of redeeming her is to let her see the face of justice as she would see it in a judicial commission well selected and presided over by an eminent judge. The first good result of the measure would be a gaol-delivery of all the Suspects, whom it is becoming scandalous to hold longer without trial, while it would be futile, and worse than futile, to send them for trial before juries of their accomplices.

The *United Irishman* has been seized. But the repression of the journalism of murder ought hardly to have stopped there. It is common justice to the ignorant people to save them from incitements to crime. Nobody wants to prevent the expression of anything worthy of the name of political opinion; let the Union and the Act of Union, as well as the Land question, be freely debated; let the safety-valve of political discussion remain perfectly open. But incitement to robbery and murder is robbery and murder, and ought to be put down.

Parliament has broken through all ordinary principle to meet what is deemed a State necessity by cutting down rents. It is now bound to secure to the landlords what is left, and if it does not show itself determined to do so, it will very soon be called upon to deal with another, and perhaps more formidable, agitation. The most summary process of collection would not be a greater innovation than the Land Act itself. Agrarian crime will cease when it is seen to be fruitless, and matters may perhaps soon return to their ordinary course. Repression, when just and resolute, is brief. This is not said out of love of the Irish landlords, who are bad clients, and whose general failure to perform their duties has made their property as difficult for the State to defend as any property can be. But the national faith is pledged by the Land Act, and the pledge must be redeemed.

A peculiar and dangerous feature of the present rebellion is its representation in the House of Commons, where it has been openly and avowedly striving to paralyze legislation and government. The Clôture is a poor safeguard, because the Obstructionists may evade it simply by diffusing their operations over procedure in general. The proper remedy appears to be the suspension of the representation of proclaimed districts. If a loyal English constituency has its representation suspended for corruption, of which only a portion of its members is guilty, why should not we suspend the representation of an Irish constituency which, in avowed defiance of the law, elects by acclamation a man

convicted of treason-felony, and sends him to Parliament to thwart and obstruct the national councils in the interest of a rebellion? Parliament, as was said before, is now the supreme government, and rebellion can no more be allowed to sit there than it could have been allowed to sit in the Privy Council in former days.

Another peculiar feature of the rebellion is its foreign base of operations. This is also a serious element of peril, and an additional reason for the prompt and resolute action which would bring the crisis to an end. Not that there is any danger of war with the United States; threats of that kind are mere platform thunder; but there is danger of increased encouragement to Irish rebellion, and of increased embarrassment to our Government. The native Americans in general, so far as I have been able to read their sentiments, have no sympathy with the Fenians; they know the defects of the Irish character; they remember the conduct of the Irish in their own Civil War; they cannot wish to have their flag sullied and their soil polluted by sheltering a war of assassination. Secession has cured them of indiscriminate sympathy with rebellion, and they can understand our defence of our Union against savagery as they defended theirs against slavery. But the politicians intrigue with the Irish; and the Protectionists, of whom the late Chief Secretary was a leader, are just now specially tempted to encourage a spirited foreign policy. Foreigners landing in a country with which their government is at peace, for the purpose of helping to kindle civil war, are on a level with pirates, whose doom they deserve to share; and the sooner this is made clear to them and to their friends the better.

Opinion is weakened in dealing with Irish insurrection by compunction for past misgovernment, though the political memory of the Irish themselves, if we may judge by their conduct towards the framers of the Land Act, is not so long. But is Ireland to be chartered in perpetual anarchy because in bygone times she was misgoverned? Italy and Spain have been misgoverned more recently than Ireland. As soon as England had herself obtained self-government by the Reform Bill of 1832, indeed even before that, and as soon as public opinion had awakened and begun to prevail, Ireland felt the full benefit of the change, and since that time not only has she not been oppressed, she has been specially considered and indulged. She is even in some danger of being led to assume that the consequences of her thriftlessness are always to be averted at the expense of English and Scotch thrift. The reckless multiplication of the race, which the religious system encourages, and which is the root of calamity, not to be plucked up by any changes of land tenure, would soon add immeasurably to the sum of "Irish wrongs," if Great Britain did not find employment for hundreds of thousands of Irish in her factories, and homes for millions in colonies of her foundation. The historic woes of Ireland were a part of those of Christendom, and had their source, first in mediæval conquest, then in the attempts

of the Pope and the Catholic powers—of which Ireland was an unhappy retainer—to extirpate the Reformation. They are fast becoming the capital of political sharpers.

This crisis has revealed the weakness of hybrid institutions. Commonwealths do not shrink from asserting their unity, upholding against treason the interest of the community, and compelling all to obey the law. If you asked an American at the time of the Civil War for what he was fighting, he would tell you, for the law. The United States feared not to put down rebellion. Switzerland, when her Union was assailed by the Sonderbund, did not bow to the opinion of the seceding Cantons, but coerced them, and sent the Jesuits over the frontier. She has not been the less free.

Liberals shrink from what they call coercing a nation. It is with a conspiracy, and a conspiracy having its real base in a foreign country, not with a nation, that they have to deal. If the veil could be raised, we should probably see that the mass of the Irish people were slaves and victims rather than members of the secret societies. On both sides of the Atlantic alike, the Irish character, with all its attractiveness, is fatally wanting in moral courage and independence. Irishmen are driven and fleeced like sheep, not only by their priesthood, but by demagogues and political sharpers. The blow which strikes down the conspiracy will set the people free.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

To the EDITOR of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON,
11th April, 1892.

DEAR SIR,—In an article on "Vivisection and its Two-faced Advocates," which appears in the current number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, there are some inaccuracies which should be noticed, and as Miss Cobbe directly appeals to me to explain a point where she is in difficulty, I beg you will allow me an opportunity of gratifying her, and preventing your readers from being misled.

In page 611 Miss Cobbe says, "We find Dr. Brunton assuring the readers of the *Nineteenth Century* that 'he has calculated that about 24 out of every 100 of the experiments (in the Parliamentary Returns) might have given pain. But of these 24, four-fifths are like vaccination, the pain of which is of no great moment. In about one-seventh of the cases the animal only suffered from the healing of a wound.'"

Nothing resembling this occurs in Dr. Lauder Brunton's article in the *Nineteenth Century*. But it is a tolerably accurate quotation of the sentence by which I introduced the following table in the *Fortnightly Review* of last month, which shows the amount of pain inflicted in 100 vivisections.—

Absolutely painless	75
As painful as vaccination	20
" " the healing of a wound	4
" " a surgical operation	1
	<hr/>
	100

This is a perfectly correct statement of fact.

In page 614 Miss Cobbe refers to some remarks of mine about foreign physiologists, and, completely misinterpreting my meaning, makes it appear as if I accused a number of my foreign colleagues of perpetrating certain "horrors." I did not admit that the physiologists abroad are cruel, nor did I in the least intend to endorse the truth of the stories which I mentioned as having been "oft-told" by Miss Cobbe.

It never could have occurred to my mind to accuse the gentlemen named of anything like cruelty, because the one amongst them that I know best, and to whom Miss Cobbe refers with ironical pity, is a most kind and humane man, who never omits to give chloroform when it is possible to administer it, and is devotedly attached to the lower animals. I should be indeed sorry did any one imagine that I adopted Miss Cobbe's view of Professor Goltz's character, for I know him too well, and am proud to call him my friend. Perhaps I was premature in judging harshly of Mantegazza's operations—the one foreign experimenter I did "throw overboard"—because my knowledge of his work was derived solely from Miss Cobbe's writings, and may be quite incorrect. If she can attribute to Dr. Brunton words which I wrote one month ago, she may have put down to Signor Mantegazza the writings of some author of the old Italian school.

In page 622, Miss Cobbe, a second time, mistakes the total number of experiments done by Professor Rutherford for those done by him "under the express sanction of the law as it now stands." Professor Rutherford's experiments, though published in 1877-1878, extended over some ten or eleven years, and possibly were as numerous as is stated. All but twelve, however, were done without the "express sanction" of any special law, the Act not being in existence, and therefore Miss Cobbe's assertion, "that at least fifty dogs under the express sanction of the law as it now stands were used in the experiments," is as far from the truth as when I contradicted it a month ago.

There is no want of accord between Professor Rutherford's reports and those of the Home Office such as Miss Cobbe infers. The scientific description does not say when or under what restrictions the experiments were made. If, instead of being absolutely accurate, the Parliamentary Reports be as "untrustworthy" as Miss Cobbe implies, they surely set forth all the experiments "done under the express sanction of the law," and thus must include those in question. It was only in the year 1878 that Professor Rutherford held this special certificate, and in it

the number of experiments was limited to twelve. If Professor Rutherford did more than this number they were not "under the express sanction of the law as it now stands," and he must have acted illegally.

That he did not thus contravene the Act, and, further, that Miss Cobbe knows full well that he did not do so, I am thoroughly convinced by the fact that her vigilant Society has not instituted a prosecution.

The riddle Miss Cobbe so jocosely puts to me, "How twelve dogs can be killed thirty-one times over," now answers itself; and I venture to hope that the "little mistake of twelve dogs for thirty-one" now obviously appears—even to the meanest "lay intelligence"—to be of Miss Cobbe's manufacture, not mine.

I have received the following letter from Dr. Brunton, whose evidence is quoted by Miss Cobbe in refutation of what I said about the painlessness of Dr. Roy's experiments, and in support of the false assertion she makes (page 624), namely, "we absolutely deny the possibility of keeping an animal insensible by anaesthetic during curarization".—

"DEAR YEO,—I know of no reason whatever to prevent animals being kept perfectly insensible to pain by chloroform, during curarization, and I believe that any one who dogmatically denies the possibility of this is guilty either of gross ignorance or wilful misrepresentation.

"The sentences from my evidence before the Royal Commission, quoted by Miss Cobbe, do not apply to Dr. Roy's experiments. I there expressly said, 'in many instances' the administration of chloroform prevented satisfactory experiments from being made, knowing that this is *not* the case in all instances, but that some reflex actions, especially those connected with the vascular system, occur during the most profound chloroform narcosis.

"Truly yours,

"T. LAIDLER BRUNTON."

From this it would appear that the "gentleman perfectly qualified to deal scientifically" with the matter (as Miss Cobbe states) knows little or nothing about it. It is a pity she should depend for her skilled information upon a person whose chief discretion seems to lie in his not disclosing his name. For it would be mere waste of time to expose the numerous fallacies of an anonymous authority. But I think it only fair to Miss Cobbe to let her know that, in the few places where this prolix statement bears at all on the point at issue, the opinions it contains are completely wrong, or, to use her own well-worn phrase, not even "accurate enough for scientific purposes." And I must repeat, in a most positive manner, my assertion that "the infliction of pain had no part in Dr. Roy's experiments."

I am, dear Sir,

Yours obediently,

GERALD F. YEO.

ERRATA IN THE APRIL NO.

Page 653, line 6, for £2,700 read £7,200.

692 " 16 ought to have read as follows:—

ἀπὸ τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ ἐνὶ πρὸ γέλοιον μακάριον θεοῖσιν.

692, lines 19, 20, the phrase "in every country but Ireland" ought to have been within quotation marks.

SELF-GOVERNMENT FOR IRELAND.

AT the time of the English invasion of Ireland under Henry II., in the latter half of the twelfth century, civilization is stated to have been on the wane in Ireland. The learning and religion which had distinguished the eighth century had all but disappeared. There was hardly a trace of any central authority. Then, as now, the country was divided into four provinces, and each of such provinces was under a separate king. The people were divided into tribes or septs, the chieftainship of which was hereditary, descending, not to the eldest son, but to whoever was the eldest member of the ruling family at the time. The land belonged to the tribe, and was shared among its members, but redivided amongst them at certain intervals of years.

It is stated by the historian that when Henry II. sought permission of Pope Hadrian IV. to enter Ireland his aim was "to enlarge the bounds of the Church, to restrain the progress of vices, to correct the manners of its people and to plant virtue among them, and to increase the Christian religion."

Henry had but half accomplished the conquest when troubles in Normandy called him away, and the final result of his effort was that the districts of Drogheda, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Cork remained in the hands of the English, forming what afterwards became known as "The English Pale." And what was the result which was achieved by this invasion? We are told that the barbarism of the native tribes was intensified by their hatred of the English intruders. The invaders who were left in the Pale fell rapidly to the level of the barbarism around them. Every Irishman outside the Pale came to be deemed an enemy and a robber, and even his murder was not an offence cognizable by the law. As to the English themselves, it is stated that in the time of Henry VII. the great barons had sunk into Irish chief-

tains. In manners and outward seeming they had changed into what the historian calls "mere natives." Their feuds were as incessant as those of the Irish sept; and their despotism over the inhabitants within the Pale combined the horrors of feudal oppression with those of Celtic anarchy. As to the Irish people themselves? The historian answers that the Celtic tribes outside the Pale had lost even the remnant of civilization and of native union which had remained to them at the time of the invasion of Henry II. To adopt the words of "The Pander's satire," as Froude calls it, in the early part of the sixteenth century, Ireland was a land where most souls were lost, "for there is most continual war, root of hate and envy, and of vices contrary to charity, and without charity the souls cannot be saved."

The next great epoch in the history of English dealings with Ireland is the reign of Henry VIII. Henry "resolved to take Ireland seriously in hand." An army, with a train of artillery, was sent over; places hitherto found impregnable were reduced; and in seven years the power of the English Crown was acknowledged over the length and breadth of the land. The aim of Henry VIII., we are told, was to civilize—to rule the people not by force but by law. But that law was to be English law. The customary law which prevailed outside the Pale, the native system of class government, the common tenure of land by the tribe, as well as the poetry and literature which threw their lustre over the Irish tongue, were ignored by the English statesmen or despised. Their one mode of civilizing Ireland was to destroy the Celtic tradition of the Irish people—to make Ireland English in manner, in law, and in tongue. With this object in view Henry adopted the policy of trying to win over the chiefs, and to turn them by conciliation into English nobles. On the conditions of a pledge of loyalty, of abstinence from illegal wars and exactions on their fellow-subjects, and of rendering tribute and service in time of war, the chiefs were guaranteed in the possession of their lands. Compliance with these conditions was obtained sometimes by terror, sometimes by bribes. The lands of the abbey, which had been suppressed, were granted to them on their assuming English titles; and—greatest bribe of all!—the Law Courts established by the English, following the rules of the English law, and ignoring the Irish custom by which the soil belonged to the tribe at large, regarded the chiefs as sole proprietors of the soil.

But the changes attempted by Henry VIII. in the dress, customs, laws, and language of the Irish were not all. By Henry was begun the great effort, afterwards so prolonged and so productive of misery, which was made to subvert the Roman Catholic religion—in the words of the historian, to force a new faith on a people who, to a man, clung passionately to their old religion. We need not be surprised to learn that the struggle for a common faith united all Ireland against the Crown; and that the population within the Pale and without it became one, "not as the Irish nation, but as Catholics."

Before the reign of James I. the efforts of the English sovereigns had been mainly confined to the establishment of the English rule, or, as Henry II. put it, to "correct the manners of the Irish people," leaving them in possession of their lands. But this policy was now changed. An attempt at revolt was made the ground for declaring two-thirds of the land in the north of Ireland confiscated to the Crown, the lands so gained being allotted to new settlers of Scotch and English extraction. As regards the Province itself, and looking to the material results, the Plantation of Ulster, as this measure was called, has been a brilliant success. Its effect upon the Irish was to engender a sullen feeling of resentment and a profound distrust of English justice.

I pass over the merciless conquest of Ireland by Oliver Cromwell in revenge for the Irish massacre, when he went, as he said, "to ask an account of the innocent blood that had been shed," and over the bloody struggles which ended in the flight of James II. from Ireland, where he had made his last refuge as king, only remarking that on that conquest by William, in 1691, all hope of national freedom seemed for the first time to have been lost. The spirit of the people seems to have been completely broken in Ireland; and then followed, to use the historian's words, the most terrible legal tyranny under which a nation has ever groaned.

Let me illustrate the nature of this tyranny from the penal laws passed during William's reign against the Irish Roman Catholics. They are described by Edmund Burke in his "Tracts on the Popery Laws." The first operation of those Acts was wholly to change the course of descent. On the death of a Papist possessed of an estate in fee-simple or in fee-tail, the land was to be divided in equal portions between all the male children, and those portions were likewise to be parcelled out, share and share alike, amongst the descendants of each son; and so to proceed in a similar distribution *ad infinitum*. In this way the families of Papists, however respectable, and their fortunes, however considerable, would be reduced to obscurity and indigence. And by those laws the right to dispose of any property by will was taken away. If a Papist's eldest son would conform to the Established Church the father's estate was at once cut down to a life interest, and the son became entitled to the remainder in fee-simple.

Every child of a Popish parent was encouraged to resort to a Court of Equity, and by proceedings there to compel his father to confess upon oath the quantity and value of his substance, personal as well as real; upon which discovery the Court was empowered to seize upon, and allocate for the immediate maintenance of such child or the children any sum not exceeding one-third of his fortune. And this might be done, *toties quoties*, upon every improvement of the father's fortune.

Thus the law stood with regard to the property already acquired, to its mode of descent, and to family powers. As to the new acquisition of real property, all Papists were disabled from taking or purchasing

directly or to a third any other, nor mortgage them and any other and waste them and all proceeds of acquiring the wastes of common property in any way connected with and the same away and all was security for money was all off. As Burke remarks, "under the head of the acquisition of property law we put them in every head of industry."

Again, none but those who conformed to the Established Church could be at all admitted to study at the Irish universities. And yet they could not be admitted to sing in the choir or to receive appointments and offices of their own, the law itself stood with all its powers against such a practice. Papist schoolmasters of every species were prohibited and it was made felony to teach even in a private family so that Papists were entirely excluded from an education in any of the said fixed establishments for learning at home. In order to shut up every avenue to instruction, the Act of King William in Ireland added to this restraint by prohibiting them from all foreign education. Being sent for education to any Papist school or college abroad upon conviction, forfeiture of the party sent had any estate of inheritance, a kind of unalterable and perpetual disability.

Under the same laws, although admitted to be good and loyal subjects, there was a universal exclusion of the Catholics from every even the lowest office of trust and profit, from any vote at an election; from any privilege in a town corporate; from being even a freeman of such a corporation; from serving on grand juries; from a vote at a vestry; from having a gun in his house; from being a barrister, attorney or solicitor, &c. As Burke indignantly expresses it, there was universal, unmitigated, except as to disqualifications.

Such were some of the measures adopted by the successors of Henry II. "to increase the Christian religion!"

Can any one wonder that under a system of legislation so blighting the conquered people were degraded into slaves, the conquerors into tyrants? Sir G. C. Lewis thus describes its effect. Not only did the Irish landlord—

"become harsh and tyrannical to his inferiors but reckless and sensual in his habits of living; profuse in his expenditure, violent in his quarrels, intolerant in his assertion of his religious opinions."

"The labouring classes, on the other hand, suffered most of the evils of slavery without enjoying any of its advantages. Deprived of all self-respect by the operation of the penal statutes; prevented from rising in the world, or from bettering their condition, by legal disabilities and the localized oppression of their landlords; without education; excluded from a public participation in the rites of their religion; they endured all and more than the evils which belonged to the lot of a serf, without looking forward to the interested protection and reward which a master would afford his bondman."

Let us turn now to the operation of the English land system as applied to a people among whose ancestors at no long time before the land had belonged to the tribe and was shared among its members.

We read in Sir G. C. Lewis's work, entitled "Local Disturbances in Ireland," published in 1836, that after the desolating events of William III.'s accession, as the population of the country began to increase, the closer contact of the miserable peasantry led them to form local and limited combinations for the purpose of shaking off the burdens which pressed most heavily upon them. The first rising which took place was that of the Whiteboys, or Levellers, in 1761. And the cause of their rising is thus stated by a contemporary writer, Dr. Curry:—

"About this time great tumults had been raised and some outrages committed in different parts of Munster, by cottiers and others of the lowest class of its inhabitants, occasioned by the tyranny and rapacity of their landlords. These landlords had let their lands to cottiers far above their value, and, to lighten their burden, had allowed commonage" (that is, on the waste lands) "to their tenants. Afterwards, in d spite of all equity, contrary to all compacts, the landlords enclosed these commons, and precluded their unhappy tenants from the only means of making their bargains tolerable. Another cause of these people's discontents was the cruel exactions of tithe-mongers: these harpies squeezed out the very vitals of the people, and by process, citation, and sequestration, dragged from them the little which the landlord had left them."

In a letter written in 1762, cited by Sir G. C. Lewis, it is stated that the disorders of the poor in Munster proceeded from the throwing of that province, like Connaught and Leinster, into pasture-inclosures, which excluded these poor, and reduced them into a state of desperation, and into that rage which despair on such occasions will dictate; that the whole proceeded from laws which left the better sort of the people no occupation in the inland counties, but pasturage alone; and that agriculture was virtually forbidden by reason of the shortness of the tenures.

Again, we find it stated by a member in the debates in the Irish House of Commons, on the re-appearance of Whiteboy disturbances, which had broken out in 1775 and had continued with partial interruption till 1785:—

"The fact is that the landed man of Ireland is the great extortioner. There is hardly an estate which is not let to the highest penny, and much above its value. The poor tenant feels the oppression, and not knowing which way to turn, falls upon the clergy as the weakest and most unprotected body of men."

"As to the peasantry of Munster," said the Attorney-General in 1787, "it is impossible for them longer to exist in the extreme wretchedness under which they labour. A poor man is obliged to pay £6 for an acre of potato ground which £6 he is obliged to work out with his landlord for 5*d.* a day."

These disturbances have continued at intervals from 1761 to the present day. With regard to their character, we read that in the earlier Whiteboy disturbances—

"It was a common practice with them—that is, the Whiteboys—"to go in parties about the country, swearing many to be true to them, and forcing them to join by menaces, which they very often carried into execution. At last they set up to be general redressers of grievances, punished all obnoxious persons, and having taken the administration of justice into their own hands, were not

very exact in the distribution of it, forced masters to release their apprentices, carried off the daughters of rich farmers, ravished them into marriages, of which four instances happened in a fortnight. They levied sums of money on the middle and lower farmers, in order to support their cause, by paying attorneys, &c., in defending prosecutions against them; and many of them subsisted for some years without work, supported by these contributions. Sometimes they committed several considerable robberies, breaking into houses, and taking the money under pretence of redressing grievances. In the course of these outrages they burnt several houses, and destroyed the whole substance of men obnoxious to them. The barbarities they committed were shocking. One of their usual punishments (and by no means the most severe), was taking people out of their beds, carrying them naked in winter on horseback for some distance, and burying them up to their chin in a hole filled with briars, not forgetting to cut off one of their ears. In this manner the evil existed for eight or ten years, during which time the gentlemen of the country took some measures to quell them. Many of the magistrates were active in apprehending them; but the want of evidence prevented punishment, for many who even suffered by them had not spirit to prosecute. The gentlemen of the country had frequent expeditions to discover them in arms; but their intelligence was so uncommonly good, by their influence over the common people, that not one party that ever went out in quest of them was successful. Government offered very large rewards for informations, which brought a few every year to the gallows, without any radical cure for the evil. The reason why it was not more effective was the necessity of any person who gave evidence against them quitting their houses and country or remaining exposed to their resentment."

The crimes committed by the Whiteboys as a punishment for the violation of their commands Sir G. C. Lewis reduces to three heads:—1. Death; 2. Corporal infliction; 3. Destruction of property. Their homicides were sometimes accompanied with circumstances of great cruelty, and Sir George instances a case where a house was set on fire, and the persons who attempted to escape were caught on pitchforks. The crimes were sometimes committed in the face of day, and in the presence of large numbers of people, who were approving spectators of the acts. As to bodily infliction, severe beatings were very common; mutilation, as we have seen, was also practised. The usual modes of destroying property were the burning of houses and the houghing of cattle. In some cases the ears and tails of horses and the teats of cows were cut off; sheep were likewise shorn and mangled in a barbarous manner, not for the sake of the wool, but in order to spoil the sheep. A short and easy mode of arriving at a desired end was the turning up of grass land, sometimes practised by the Whiteboys. By these means the farmers were compelled to let their ground for setting potatoes, without the long and troublesome process of notices, burnings, beatings, and murders. This method, Sir G. C. Lewis says, was practised by the Terry Alts in the last disturbances in Limerick and Clare; bodies of several hundred or even several thousand men, with spades, assembling, sometimes in the daytime, and turning up a meadow in a few hours.

How little have these outrages changed to the present day! And what a grim contrast do they present to the aim of the first English

invasion, that it was embarked upon "to correct the manners of the Irish people, and to plant virtue amongst them!"

But not only did the Irish feel the tyranny of laws directed against their religion, not only did they groan under the exactions of extortionate landlords and still more extortionate middlemen, but restrictions were imposed upon their manufactures and commerce. Ireland was prohibited from exporting woollen goods to any part of Europe; it was prohibited from trading with the English settlements in America, in the West Indies, and Africa. Could any system more complete have been devised to enslave and impoverish a people?

If the aim of good government is to bring order, prosperity, and contentment to a people, good government has been unknown among the Irish. The failure has been total and absolute. Seven centuries of coercion have we had, tempered occasionally by conciliation. Never during this century has Parliament sat long without having before it a "Bill for the Suppression of Disturbances in Ireland." And here we are now, still considering, still debating, how Ireland is to be governed; and a stringent Bill is now pending in Parliament for the prevention of crime in Ireland.

And what has been the cause of failure? Is it that the Irish people are hostile to the English as a people? In what battles has England achieved glory or renown in which the Irish soldier did not bear a brave and gallant part? What efforts to extend or preserve her empire has England made during this or the last century in which the Irish soldier or the Irish sailor did not die side by side with his English comrade? To borrow an idea from Grattan, I would ask: What would have happened in the Peninsular War (let us say), if before any one of the brilliant victories achieved by Wellington he had ordered all the Irish to go out of the ranks? No, there is no hostility between the two peoples.

Is it that the Irish are disaffected towards the Crown? Not one of the movements of the people in Ireland since 1761 has been directed against the Crown. The risings have been against the system under which the people suffered, against the land laws, against the penal and disabling laws.

The failure has been due to this, that the main object of English policy has been to hold the country, to keep Ireland in the grasp of England. The happiness or misery of the people has been a matter of secondary concern. Laws have been enacted against the majority of the people, and laws so passed, as Burke truly says, are laws against the people itself. Again he says, as a law directed against the mass of a nation has not the nature of a reasonable institution, so neither has it the authority; for in all forms of government the people is the true legislator.

Now, has there ever been a period in the past history of Ireland when the happiness or misery of its people was among the primary

rather than the secondary concerns of its legislators? There has been such a time, and that time began in 1782. We have seen that at that time the Irish people had neither justice, nor liberty, nor education, nor manufactures, nor commerce. But they had a Parliament. They had had a Parliamentary institution for centuries; but their House of Commons could originate nothing; and their Bills could be altered or suppressed by the Privy Council. But in 1782, under the leadership of a number of able men, proceeding with caution and moderation and firmness, a movement was set on foot which gave to the Parliament in Ireland its freedom.

"That," to use the words of Grattan, to whom the success of the movement was mainly due, "was the age of the repeal of the Penal Code, and in that age the personal liberty of the subject was secured by an Habeas Corpus Act; the justice of the country was secured by a Judges' Bill (they held their office before during pleasure); the army of the country was made Parliamentary by an Irish Mutiny Bill—it had been before imposed on the country without law, and against it,—the revenues of the country were made annual—they had been in a great proportion the perpetual inheritance of the Crown; the trade of the country became free—it had been before, by English Acts, restrained and annihilated; the trade of the country with the British Colonies became open and direct—it had been, in the essential articles, interdicted; the power of the English Privy Council to originate and alter Irish Bills was annihilated; the power of the Irish Privy Council, to alter, originate, and suppress Irish Bills was annihilated; the power of the Courts of England to try Irish appeals was annihilated; the power of the British Parliament to make law for Ireland was relinquished; the power of the Irish Parliament, who before could only originate petitions, not Bills, was restored in full, complete, and exclusive authority."

Nor, as Grattan says, were these acquisitions a barren liberty. The exports from Ireland increased about one-half, her population near a third; and her agriculture, that was not before able to feed a smaller number of inhabitants, supplied an increased population of one million and sent a redundancy to Great Britain.

Nor was the wealth, says Grattan, slow in coming. The nation started into manhood at once. In less than ten years was the increase accomplished: in 1782 Ireland exported £3,500,000, in 1792 near £11,000,000, in 1781 24,000,000 yards of linen, and in 1792 45,000,000 yards of linen.

"The causes were evident. The country became cultivated, because the laws that deprived the Catholics of an interest in the soil were repealed, and an opportunity was given to the operation of her corn laws; her trade increased, because the prohibitions on her trade were removed; and the prohibitions were removed because she asserted her liberty; and she asserted her liberty because she suspended her religious animosity. Unanimity shut the gates of strife, and Providence opened the gates of commerce."

This state of things ceased in the year 1800, when, with the assent of the Irish Parliament,—an assent which was procured by means which are an indelible disgrace to the Government of the day, by force, by fraud, and by bribes,—the Irish Parliament was put an end to, and the light of Ireland went out. Since that time the genius of the country

has been blighted, and the hearts of the people have turned to despair. Since that time there has never been wanting a champion, some able and accomplished Irishman, to ask again for his country the light and liberty which she lost at the Union, and the Irish people have knocked loudly at the door to be heard, and are knocking at this moment with outrage and violence.

At the commencement of this present session, in the debate on the Address in the House of Commons, Mr. P. J. Smyth, recalling these things—recalling the system of barbarous and unnatural legislation to which Ireland had been subjected before 1782, the achievement of Grattan and his associates in asserting the right of Ireland to an unfettered Parliament,—recalling the legislation by which that Parliament, during its brief but brilliant career, had conferred more benefits on Ireland than any Parliament then existing conferred at the same period on any other country,—recalling the statement of Lord Clare that no nation in the habitable globe advanced in cultivation, commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, with the same rapidity that Ireland did in the same period; that since Ireland had been deprived of her Constitution, during a union of eighty years there had been fifty Coercion Acts; that ever since the Act of Union the public life of Ireland had declined—recalling all these things, he moved, as an Amendment to the Address, to add an assurance to Her Majesty, that “In the opinion of this House the only efficacious remedy for the deplorable condition of Ireland is a readjustment of the political relations established between Great Britain and Ireland by the Act of Legislative Union of 1800.” Mr. Gladstone, speaking with reference to this Amendment, expressed himself favourable to the introduction, rightly understood, of local government in Ireland, and he told the Irish members that they could not take the first, the most preliminary step, until they had produced a plan, and set forth the machinery, by which they meant to decide between imperial and local questions.

This has been called a new departure in Irish government, and the question I desire to consider is, “Is it right?” I think that there should not be much difference of opinion that the direction is right. Two courses, however, are suggested: one, a measure of local self-government, giving large powers to separate localities to deal with local affairs, but without any change in the central administrative authority as now constituted: the other, a measure giving similar powers of self-government to separate localities, but at the same time creating a central authority which shall be representative—in other words, a parliament, in which all matters of purely Irish concern can be dealt with. In my opinion no course which stops short of the second alternative will ever settle the Irish question. The central governing authority in Ireland must be elective and representative. The most illustrious and the most capable statesmen of our century have passed measures through the Parliament at Westminster for the good government of

Ireland, but, stopping short of such a solution as this, have failed. And why have they failed? Because their measures were not in accordance with the wishes of, and they failed to satisfy, the Irish people.

Give Ireland the management of her own affairs, and you will see called into her service the ablest and most capable of her sons; while, as things now stand, the intellect of Ireland is shut out from all share in the administration. With careers at home worthy of the best and ablest of the people, much of the wealth which is now drained off from Ireland without any return will be expended in developing the industrial resources of the country; industry will revive, and with the revival of industry will come employment for the people. It is the difficulty of living by wages in Ireland, says Sir G. C. Lewis, which makes every man look to the land for maintenance. With employment for the people half the difficulty of the land question will be solved. If, then, we wish to promote the moral and material welfare of the Irish people, let us make them masters of their own affairs.

But we live in an age of education and of rapid advance in intellectual development, and men now demand that the affairs which more immediately concern them they shall have the power of regulating and transacting for themselves. If, then, we wish to see good government in Ireland, we must engage the mind of Ireland in the administration of its affairs. Then, but not till then, shall we see confidence restored, industry revived, and all the pulsations of an eager national life in full flow. The people of England do not realize what resources of intellect, of poetry, of art lie dormant among the Irish people. Give to Ireland that which every one of the United States enjoys, what every province of the Canadian Dominion enjoys, what almost every one of our colonies enjoys. I know that we shall hear of difficulties—difficulties of detail they will be; but my object has been to direct attention to what I conceive to be the one great abiding cause of Irish discontent; and, should this conviction become general among the English people, all difficulties will vanish before the earnest determination of our countrymen to bring peace and contentment to Ireland, and to turn a discontented and distracted people into a loyal, orderly, and prosperous state. By so doing we shall have accomplished in Ireland something like the object with which the English first entered that country.

G. B. FISCH.

IRELAND UNDER THE LEGISLATIVE UNION.

IRELAND is ulcerated, socially, politically, and economically. Classes are fiercely opposed to each other. Crimes against life and property are of frequent occurrence, and the arm of the Executive fails to repress them. While this is the condition which Ireland presents, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. Stansfeld, and other English politicians, are reported to have said, "The Irish are what we (English) have made them." If, then, the present state of national disorganization and misery is the admitted result of English intrusion into Irish affairs; if, at the end of seven centuries, English statesmen are forced to avow that the rule of their country in Ireland is prolific of sanguinary turbulence and popular suffering; if, at the end of eighty years of legislative union, the history of Ireland deprived of her Parliament is a dreary record of coercion acts, famines, and insurrectionary movements in perpetual repetition,—the English public may fairly be invited to inquire whether justice or sound imperial policy can sanction the prolonged imposition upon Ireland of a governmental system so barren of the fruits that good government should produce, and so fertile of the evils which are usually attributed to criminal despotism.

There are few politicians of ordinary information who are not familiarly acquainted with the history of the confiscations of Irish estates in past centuries, and the incessant aggressions by the English Parliament on every form of Irish industry that could possibly compete with the corresponding industry in England. It is on this account that we find English publicists attributing Irish disorder to the crimes of their own ancestors. It is on this account we find them saying, "The Irish are what we have made them." Certainly, if any lesson can be taught by history, the history of seven centuries demonstrates the hopeless incapacity of England to rule Ireland in a manner conducive to the prosperity and

happiness of her inhabitants, or creditable to the reputation of the Imperial Government.

The oppressions of past ages might well be forgotten; the dead might be left to bury their dead, if the hostile spirit of the ancient oppressors were extinct. But, unhappily, that spirit is not extinct. It is because it continues to animate the modern opponents of Irish legislative independence that a brief retrospect becomes necessary.

Every one knows of the confiscation of Irish estates. Not to go farther back than the seventeenth century, there were vast confiscations under James I., Cromwell, and William III. The persons expelled from their estates were Irish Catholics; the persons to whom the estates were given were British Protestants. Here was a root of bitterness planted in our midst. There was inevitable enmity between the people who were robbed and the intruders who robbed them, and the enmity was intensified by their difference of creed. Not only were the native owners despoiled of their lands, but the whole Catholic ecclesiastical State revenues of the kingdom were confiscated by the alien power that got uppermost, and transferred to the Protestant clergy who were chiefly imported from England.

When confiscations are recent, there must of necessity be rancorous hatred between the expelled owners and the men who supplant them. But the lapse of time might soften those asperities, and would have probably obliterated their disturbing influence in Ireland, if the original spirit of the confiscators had not been carefully kept alive by every means which perverted ingenuity could suggest. An Irish Conservative journal in the English interest says, "Scratch an Irishman, and you find a rebel." It is, I think, tolerably plain that the course pursued for many generations towards our country has been eminently calculated to educate its inhabitants into disloyalty. Events of ancient date have a powerful influence on modern political thought. The historical element pervades our daily life, because the old sore is carefully kept raw and bleeding by the perpetual effort to choke out the natural and honourable aspirations of Irish nationality.

Readers of Mr. Lecky's most able and instructive work, "England in the Eighteenth Century," will find many details of the persistent endeavours of the English Government to destroy every source of the sustenance of the Irish people, commercial, manufacturing, agricultural, and even pastoral. To that masterly work I refer all inquirers into this portion of my subject, confining myself to the results of systematic English hostility to the natural rights of the Irish people, as testified by unimpeachable witnesses. "This kingdom," writes Dean Swift, in a letter to Pope, "is now absolutely starving by means of every oppression that can be visited on mankind. 'Shall I not visit for these things?' saith the Lord."

Again, referring to the legislative destruction of the Irish woollen trade, Swift writes to Mr. Motte, the London printer:—"I am so incensed

against the oppressions from England, and have so little regard to the laws they make, that I do, as a clergyman, encourage the merchants [of Ireland] both to export wool and woollen manufactures to any country in Europe, or anywhere else, and conceal it from the custom-house officers, as I would hide my purse from a highwayman if he came to rob me on the road, although England hath made a law to the contrary."

The Right Hon. John Hely-Hutchinson, Secretary of State for Ireland, writing in 1779, thus speaks of the effect produced upon the Irish people by the commercial restrictions with which English hostility had fettered their industry:—"Can the history of any other fruitful country on the globe, enjoying peace for fourscore years, and not visited by plague or pestilence, produce so many recorded instances of the poverty and wretchedness, and of the reiterated want and misery, of the lower orders of the people? There is no such example in ancient or modern story."

Mr. Lecky, referring to the destruction of the once prosperous Irish woollen trade by the English statute of William III., says, that "for nearly fifty years after its destruction the people were in such a state of poverty that every bad season produced an absolute famine."

Again this historian says, "It had become abundantly evident to all reasonable men that England possessed both the power and the will to crush every form of Irish industry as soon as it became sufficiently prosperous to compete in any degree with her own manufacture. It appeared useless to persist, and a general commercial despondency followed."

One more quotation from Mr. Lecky:—"She [Ireland] was thus completely within the grasp of England; and that grasp was tightened till almost every element of her prosperity was destroyed."

Lord Dufferin, in a letter to the *Times*, thus describes the operations of that dreary period:—"The various commercial confraternities of Great Britain never for a moment relaxed their relentless grip on the trades of Ireland. One by one each of our national industries was either strangled in its birth, or handed over, gagged and bound, to the jealous custody of the rival interest in England, until at last every fountain of wealth was hermetically sealed."

Why, it may be asked, are these ancient oppressions now recorded? I record them because the virulent malignity they indicate, and which for many generations characterized the policy of England towards Ireland, exhibits the true spirit of the Power to whose control we were consigned by the Union.

But, it may be said, the Irish Parliament existed during the continuance of those destructive and iniquitous oppressions. How is it that our Parliament failed to protect us from the ruinous oppressions of England?

Because that Parliament, after the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim, was crowded with men who had profited by the confiscations of Irish

estates. They were in constant terror lest some successful Jacobite movement might strip them of their territorial acquisitions. They were indeed, technically, an Irish Parliament; but they were in point of fact an English garrison in Ireland, depending upon English power to protect them against the native owners whom they or their fathers had despoiled. This fear of a possible territorial resumption made the Irish Parliament the instrument of English tyranny. England, they knew, would help them to keep the estates in Protestant hands, and they therefore did not venture to exasperate England by making a spirited stand against her onslaughts on every profitable Irish industry.

Thus matters continued for nearly three-fourths of the eighteenth century: trade shackled, languishing, or extinguished; penal laws against the great Catholic majority of the nation; royal favourites quartered as pensionaries on the Irish revenue; recurring famines in the poorer districts of the kingdom; and the best, the ablest, the most intellectual of the Catholic community expelled by laws that deprived them of an opening for their abilities in their own country, and forced them to seek distinction in various foreign fields.

But the progress of time, and the national sympathies generated by the fact of home legislation, had gradually worked a change in the Protestant landocracy of Ireland. The early bitterness of the victors of the Boyne and Aughrim had become much diluted in their grandsons. The commercial restraints were intolerable. Every Irish interest suffered. The inheritors of confiscated lands felt the evil. They began to feel that they were Irishmen; and that, being Irishmen, their interests were necessarily Irish. Our Parliament, defective as it was, had on five or six occasions made a good stand in matters of finance; and, as Mr. Lecky remarks, the very moderate taxation of the country shows that on the whole it was a vigilant guardian of material interests. A strong spirit against English usurpation sprang up. England, embarrassed by the revolt of her American colonies and by the fear of a French invasion, was unable to resist the growing spirit of Irish independence which found its expression in a volunteer army.

Events followed fast upon each other. In 1778 the Catholics were relieved from the worst of their legal disabilities. In 1779 the Irish Parliament broke the shackles that fettered Irish trade. In 1780, a meeting of the Dublin Volunteers, presided over by the Duke of Leinster, resolved, "That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only are competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm; and that we will not obey, nor give operation to, any laws save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, we are determined to support with our lives and fortunes."

The country soon bristled with resolutions similar to this; and in 1782, Henry Grattan, whose name should call forth from every Irishman and Irishwoman a fervent sentiment of reverential gratitude,

carried in the Irish House of Commons a Declaration of the Legislative Independence of Ireland. It must never be forgotten that in 1783 the English Houses, on their part, professed to recognize that independence by a statute, 23 George III. chapter 28, declaring, "That the said right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by His Majesty and the Parliament of that kingdom in all cases whatever . . . shall be, and it is here declared to be, established and ascertained for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable."

King George III. also personally pledged himself, in his reply to an address from the Irish Parliament in 1783, to concur with them at all times in the maintenance of their free Constitution.

This retrospect is indispensable to a right understanding of the present Irish Question. The people of Ireland can never forget that England, by a great international transaction, pledged her faith to respect their constitutional independence to all future time.

We have seen the destructive effects of English usurpation during the black period when the Irish Parliament was held in English fetters. Let us now see the results produced by constitutional freedom. The following testimonies are familiarly known in Ireland; but as they will probably be new to English readers, I reproduce them here.

Mr. Jebb, member for Callan in the Irish Parliament, afterwards a judge in the Court of King's Bench, thus speaks of the advance of Ireland when emancipated for a time from English legislation:—"In the course of fifteen years, our commerce, our agriculture, and our manufactures have swelled to an amount that the most sanguine friends of Ireland would not have dared to prognosticate."

Mr. Jebb's pamphlet was published in 1798.

The bankers of Dublin held a meeting on the 18th December, 1798, at which they resolved:—"That since the renunciation of the power of Great Britain in 1782 to legislate for Ireland, the commerce and prosperity of this kingdom have eminently increased."

The Dublin Guild of Merchants met on the 14th January, 1799, and resolved:—"That the commerce of Ireland has increased, and her manufactures have improved beyond example, since the independence of this kingdom was restored by the exertions of our countrymen in 1782."

Mr. Plunket, afterwards Lord Plunket and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, thus describes the progress of Ireland in a speech delivered in the Irish House of Commons on the 15th January, 1800:—"Her revenues, her trade, her manufactures, thriving beyond the hope or the example of any other country of her extent; within these few years advancing with a rapidity astonishing even to herself; not complaining of deficiency in any of these respects, but enjoying and acknowledging her prosperity."

The Right Hon. John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of

Commons, in his speech delivered on the 11th April, describes the effect of the Irish Constitution of 1782 :—"It only secured, but absolutely showered down upon you, more and more trade, more affluence, than ever fell to your lot in the space of time which has elapsed since its attainment. Will [he went on to ask the House] be cajoled, duped, or threatened into a surrender of it?"

In the same speech, Mr. Foster quotes an address presented to the Viceroy by the Irish House of Commons the previous July, in which the House unanimously assured his Excellency "that under his benevolent auspices, his kingdom of Ireland had risen to a prosperity unlooked for, and unparalleled in any former era."

In the English Parliament, Mr. Charles Grey, afterwards Earl of Howe, said :—"Since the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions the progress of Scotland has been considerable; but certainly not so great as Ireland has been within the same period."

The witnesses whose testimony I have cited were enemies of the Union; and it is therefore desirable that we should see to what extent their statements are corroborated by the friends of the measure. First comes its author, Mr. Pitt, who, in his speech in the English House of Commons, 31st January, 1799, having spoken of the prosperous condition of Irish commerce in 1785, goes on to say :—"But how stands the case now? The trade is at this time more advantageous to Ireland."

Lord Chancellor Clare, one of Pitt's Irish tools in effecting the Union, published in 1798 a pamphlet, containing, as quoted by Grattan, the following account of Irish progress from the Union to the national triumph of 1782 :—"There is not a nation on the habitable globe which has advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agriculture and manufactures, with the same rapidity in the same period."

Mr. Edward Cooke, Under-Secretary at the Castle, was one of Castlereagh's agents of corruption. He published a pamphlet, entitled, "Arguments for and against a Union Considered," in which, at page 52, he fully admits the prosperity of Ireland since the Constitution of 1782, although he erroneously attributes the prosperity to the constitution, but to the administration. Here are his words :—"We must ask, what is meant by a firm and steady administration? Does it mean such an administration as attends to the increase of population, its advancement in agriculture, in manufactures, in wealth and prosperity? If that is intended, we have had the evidence of it these twenty years; for it is universally admitted that no country in the world ever made such rapid advances as Ireland in these respects."

The above testimonies are conclusive as to the enormous benefit to Ireland of getting rid of English legislation. It is the fashion in some quarters to say that our Constitution of 1782 was a failure.

was *not* a failure. It was prolific of benefits, so far as the malevolence of Pitt's Government allowed it to operate. True, its existence was terminated in eighteen years; but its fall was caused, not in the least by any inherent element in Ireland's right to make her own laws, but by the active malignity of our powerful rival, who could not endure the spectacle of prosperity and dignity which Ireland, under Grattan's constitution, exhibited.

No rational man can suppose that the Irish triumph of 1782 had altered the ingrained hereditary enmity which, in Lord Dufferin's words, had "strangled all our nascent industries and hermetically sealed every fountain of our national wealth." The exercise of that enmity was indeed frustrated, but the *animus* remained—only awaiting an opportunity to re-enact its old deeds of oppression. When in 1785 a commercial arrangement between England and Ireland was negotiated, the selfishness of the English manufactory and counting-house took alarm. An important representative deputation of manufacturers addressed a remonstrance to Pitt, deprecating the proposed arrangement as being too favourable to Irish interests; complaining of the injury which the contemplated concession to Ireland would inflict on British manufactures, alleging that the admission into England of Irish cottons would ruin their own cotton trade; and pointing out, as the surest way to destroy Irish rivalry, "THAT A REAL UNION WITH IRELAND UNDER ONE LEGISLATURE WOULD TAKE AWAY EVERY DIFFICULTY."

No doubt of it. The remonstrants well knew that the destruction of the Irish Parliament would restore to them the power of strangling our national industries by the irresistible competition of English capital. This they had done by adverse statutes while the fears and the bigotry of Irish Parliaments had kept them in the leading-strings of England. This they could do more effectually when no Irish Parliament should exist to protest or to oppose.

It was resolved to destroy the Irish Parliament. Notwithstanding the most solemn pledges, royal and statutory, by which England had engaged that the right of Ireland to legislative independence should at no future time be questioned or questionable, the old jealous hatred was at work, and the train was laid for our overthrow with diabolic art. Although England had renounced all claim to legislate for Ireland, yet her Government retained a commanding power in the appointment of the Irish Executive, and of the principal officials in the Irish Ministry. That power was employed to our detriment. There were strong indications that Irish Protestants and Catholics, if left to themselves, would sooner or later consign their old animosities to oblivion, and blend into one great brotherhood of national citizenship. If this fusion could be once well established, Ireland would become too strong for any future English machinations against her prosperity. It was therefore necessary to exasperate the two great parties against each other by blowing into flame whatever lingering embers of old sectarian hatreds

still existed. Two modes of producing internal convulsion were adopted. One of these was the appointing to positions of power enemies of the people, under whose auspices the people were barbarously persecuted. The other mode consisted in raising the hopes of the Catholics by a promise of immediate and complete emancipation, and then suddenly disappointing their hopes by the adoption of an opposite policy. The witnesses of the persecuting system are the Earl of Moira, the Earl of Gosford, the Marquis Cornwallis, the Right Reverend Doctor Dickson, Protestant Bishop of Down, Henry Grattan, Lord Holland, besides many others. Grattan, speaking of the mode in which Pitt's Government contrived to undermine the constitution of 1782 by an adverse executive, says that after 1789 there was a calamitous ascendancy in the Irish Cabinet of counsels "at once servile and insolent, who had opposed the establishment of the Irish Constitution: and scarce were they placed in power when they planned its overthrow."—*Grattan's Answer to Lord Clare*.

In 1794 and 1795, Pitt had directly encouraged Grattan and the Catholics to expect the support of his Government to Catholic emancipation; Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed Viceroy, with full powers, as he honestly believed, to carry the question. But it was deemed essential to the *arrière pensée* of a legislative union to lash Ireland into rebellion; and it was resolved to exasperate the Catholics by suddenly recalling Lord Fitzwilliam, and replacing him by Earl Camden, a Viceroy of strong anti-Catholic politics; which process, together with the burning of houses, the personal tortures, the murders committed on the people with impunity, would, it was calculated, provoke a civil war, which would give England a pretext for overwhelming Ireland with an irresistible army of occupation—an army strong enough to crush popular opposition to the Union.

Good, honest Lord Fitzwilliam warned Pitt's Cabinet that their exploits in Ireland "would raise a flame that nothing but the force of arms could keep down." But to raise that flame was an essential portion of their policy; so the warning was disregarded, and Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled at the end of March, 1795. In anticipation of that event, Grattan thus addressed a deputation of Catholics:—"I tremble at the return to power of your old taskmasters—that combination which galled the country by its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice. Should such a combination (inflamed as it must be now by the favour of the British Court and by the reprobation of the Irish people) return to power, I have no hesitation to say, that they will extinguish Ireland, or Ireland must remove them."

It would be tedious to recapitulate the evidence of Lords Gosford and Moira, and of the other persons I have named, of the persecution inflicted on the people. Let one sentence from Lord Holland's work, "Memoirs of the Whig Party during my Time," suffice to describe this

portion of Pitt's preparations for the Union. "My approbation," says Lord Holland, "of Lord Edward Fitzgerald's actions remains unaltered and unshaken. His country was bleeding under one of the hardest tyrannies our times have witnessed."

Let it not be said that these reminiscences are obsolete. The Union is not obsolete. It unhappily exists at this day; and it is redolent of the horrible crimes committed to achieve it. The Union was conceived in treachery, born in corruption, and baptized in Irish blood. Rejected in 1799 by the Irish House of Commons, it was again introduced in 1800; the interval having been employed in packing the Parliament; all the seats which the Government could influence being filled with persons of whom the greater number were placemen, pensioners, or officers on the staff. The bribes were enormous. The country, despite martial law and every species of intimidation, forwarded to Parliament petitions against the Union signed by 707,000 persons. The signatures in its favour obtained by the Government only amounted to 5,000.

But the enemy prevailed. Military terror in the country and fabulous bribery within the walls of a carefully packed Parliament, overthrew the edifice of national prosperity and honour which Grattan and his fellow-labourers had erected.

How is it possible that such a Union could produce any other than the worst results? How is it possible that the Irish people can ever regard it in any other light than as a crime in its perpetration and a curse in its consequences? Mr. Gladstone complains that the Irish "obstructives" have made the English Parliament a laughing-stock. He should remember that his predecessors in the Government have made the Irish Parliament a corpse. I know not what concern Ireland has in the dignity of the English Legislature. True, it has coercive power over us; but we know how that power was acquired, and how our country has fared since we got into its hands. When English statesmen say, "The Irish are what we have made them"—implying that Irish turbulence and discontent are ascribable to misgovernment—they might improve their phrase by saying, "The Irish are what the Union has made them." A London journal lately said that at the end of eighty years the Irish members did not look on the Imperial Legislature as *their* Parliament. This is true. It has no claim on our sympathies; and the suppression of the Irish Parliament is a perpetual outrage on our national principles.

It is instructive to compare the present deplorable condition of Ireland with the predictions of the anti-Unionists in 1800. Mr. Arthur Moore, who was afterwards a judge, said in the Irish Parliament in 1799:—

"I have no hesitation to say that if they carry this measure [the Union] under all the circumstances which I have stated and observed upon, it will be a robbery, not a treaty—an act of constraint and violence, not of compact and volition—a conquest, not a Union. Union upon such principles, and accomplished by such

means, policy can never require, justice can never sanctify; wisdom never can approve, patriotism never can reconcile, time never can cement, and force never can establish. It might be an Union for a few days, a few months, perhaps a few years; but it would be followed by ages of ill-blood, generations of hostility, centuries of contest and desolation, and misery to this island to all eternity: it would be an Union founded on the violation of public faith, erected on national degradation, equally subversive of the moral, physical, and political fitness of things, and equally odious and abominable in the sight of God and man."

Plunket (afterwards Lord Chancellor) said the Union would resolve society into its original elements.

When we look at the decay of manufactures, at the consequent misery of a population thrown almost wholly for support upon the soil, at the reciprocal alienation of important classes, at the flight of our best peasants to foreign lands, at the wild conspiracies of multitudes who, seeing the prostration of their country, and hopeless of a constitutional remedy, are beguiled into the dangerous and frantic vagaries of Fenianism, it is useful to record the words of Grattan, predicting this condition of complex popular disease as the certain result of destroying our Parliament. Having asked whether, by banishing the Parliament, you could also extinguish the popular sentiment, he thus goes on:—

"Do you put out the spirit of liberty when you destroy that organ, constitutional and capacious, through which that spirit may be safely and discreetly conveyed? What is the excellence of our constitution? Not that it performs prodigies, and prevents the birth of vices which are inseparable from human nature; but that it provides an organ through which those vices may play and evaporate, and through which the humours of society may pass without preying on the vitals. Parliament is that body where the whole intellect of the country may be collected, and where the spirit of patriotism, of liberty, and of ambition may all act under the control of that intellect, and under the check of publicity and observation. But if once those virtues or defects were forced to act in secret conclave or in dark divan, they would produce, not opposition, but conspiracy."

How true, how prophetic were these words! Parliament has been abolished, and Lord Salisbury proclaims the fact that there now exists among the Irish a more extensive and more powerful hostility to English rule than during any part of the last century. This was foretold by nearly all the anti-Unionists in the last Irish Parliament. Grattan called our Parliament one of the pillars of the British Empire. The anti-Unionists declared that its destruction would tend to the ultimate separation of the countries by disgusting the Irish with British connection. It has at any rate had the effect of making that connection a connection of force. "No reluctant tie," said Burke, "can be a strong one."

In 1810, Wellington wrote from Portugal: "The Ministers are not aware of the great and general detestation of the Union. . . . They forget the political situation of Ireland, the detestation of the whole people of the connection, and particularly of the Union, and all the measures which have been the consequence of it."—*Supplementary Despatches*, vi. 588.

Words as true to-day as when Wellington wrote them, so far as

affects the feelings of the Irish masses to the Union. What sort of statesmanship is it that persists in forcing on a nation a system of rule which they execrate? The nonsense talked about "dismemberment of the Empire," "disintegration," and so forth, cannot impose on the people who utter it. Why should a Parliament in Ireland dismember the Empire any more than a Parliament in Australia, or a Parliament in Canada? The real dismemberment consists in the alienation of the people—in a system which makes nearly every Irish emigrant all over the globe an enemy of England. The strongest opponents of the Union in the Irish Parliament were the strongest friends of connection with Great Britain.

In 1800 the great body of Irish landlords were against the Union. Since then, however, they have, with few exceptions, abstained from the movement for Repeal conducted by O'Connell, and the movement for Home Rule conducted by Butt. This depravation of their sentiments is ascribable to many causes, of which one is the sectarian bigotry infused by that most inveterately anti-Irish of all institutions which jocosely styles itself the "Irish" Church. Its income was about £700,000 a year, and its officers and expectants entertained the belief that a Union with England would secure its perpetual stability. Its revenues furnished comfortable incomes to members of the Protestant landocracy; and although many of its ministers were excellent, benevolent men, yet even they could not help being tainted with the anti-national spirit inherent in its anomalous position. Some of its more effervescent clergy now and then exploded in virulent attacks on the Catholic Church. Their flocks were taught to look on England as the strong protector of their establishment, and as their guardian from the surrounding hostile population. Thus influenced, the Protestant gentry formed a melancholy contrast to their ancestors, who, in 1779 and the years that immediately followed, had proclaimed on a thousand platforms that no power on earth was entitled to make laws for Ireland save the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. The extent of their degradation is well indicated by the following extract from one of the publications of the Landlord Committee, bearing date November, 1880:—

"It is true," they say, "that old associations bind the landlords to the old land; but apart from the old associations there is little to induce them to reside in Ireland. The Union deprived them of a force which even a minority of high-spirited, and wealthy, and educated men possess—the force which restrains the dominant majority by the fear of civil war. For there is danger even in a small minority when it is driven to desperation and at bay. Of that force the Union has deprived the *English interest in Ireland*—and what has it given to replace it? Nothing. The lives and properties of the *friends of England* are not protected by the English rule."

It would not be easy to conceive a more disgraceful document than this, or one which places its writers in a more contemptible light. In it they figure as an English garrison, whining and whimpering their pitiful complaint to John Bull, that he does not protect them against

their own countrymen! They are much concerned for "the English interest in Ireland;" but they—Irish landlords, living upon Irish rent—do not seem to have any idea of an Irish interest. They call themselves "the friends of England," and they assume the despicable rôle of bullies at home and sycophants to the external power whose aid they invoke against a people maddened by the system that has hunted millions of them across the Atlantic from a land which, if the Union had not blasted its prosperity, would have furnished abundant manufacturing and commercial, as well as agricultural, sources of support to its inhabitants. Friends of England! Helping John Bull to prolong the subjugation of their native land! Language fails to express the shameful depth of their degeneracy. But they are "kept at bay." Why? Precisely because they are an English garrison; precisely because they have chosen to occupy an unnatural and anti-national position. They have ignored the true basis of their strength. They have turned their backs on Irish nationality, and fawned on the power whose dealings with Ireland form a dark record. They owe their present difficulties to their false and unnatural policy. They abandoned the national field, and now they find it occupied by a host of wild spirits who clamour for their overthrow. They should have held possession of that field, and made common cause with their own countrymen. Had the extortioners among them lowered their rack-rents, and had their class in general rallied their people to insist on the restoration of our Parliament, they would have fortified their own position beyond the power of any assailant to shake it. Had the landlords stood by Ireland, Ireland would have stood by the landlords. But instead of standing by Ireland, they have satuously chosen to act as jackals to the British Lion; and in doing this they have probably accomplished their own downfall.

There is something infinitely despicable in the anti-national spirit. That spirit is, in regard to Irish politics, pretty much what atheism is in regard to religion and morality. It annihilates the manly, healthy sense of duty to our country, and substitutes for it a coarse, degrading, sordid, individual selfishness.

Had the Irish landlords acted in the spirit of Grattan, they would have been masters of the situation: powerful in the confidence, honour, and love of their countrymen. They seem now to contemplate an appeal for compensation for the losses sustained from the land agitation. Whatever may be thought of the merits of such a claim, there is at least one species of relief to which, in point of equity, they are fully entitled—relief, namely, from tithe rent-charge. They should vigorously demand its extinction; their claim is irrefutable, for the Land Court is cutting away much more than the portion of their income which is applicable to the payment of that impost.

While I deplore the anti-national course pursued by great numbers of landlords, and execrate the extortions of the rack-renters, I cannot, on the other hand, acquiesce in the proceedings or policy of the Land Leaguers.

I look with horror at the crimes that have accompanied the land movement. I wish Mr. Parnell would denounce the perpetrators of those crimes as miscreants who combine the intellect of idiots with the wickedness of demons. I wish he would tell them that mutilation of cattle, arson, and murder may entail the curse of God on the country they defile, but can have no other political effect than to obstruct our progress to national freedom.

I have indicated what I believe to be the radical disease of Ireland: the want of a domestic legislature racy of the soil, and acting in harmony with the national sentiment. God has created Ireland with the needs of a separate nation, and with the needs are associated the rights. "Our patent to be a State, not a shire," said Goold in 1799, "comes direct from Heaven. The Almighty has in majestic characters signed the great charter of our independence. The great Creator of the world has given our beloved country the gigantic outlines of a kingdom."

If Ireland had been left the unfettered use of the natural materials of wealth in her soil and in her people, and of the facilities of internal and external commerce supplied by her physical configuration and her geographical position—if her interests were protected by a Parliament sitting in her capital, securing the expenditure at home of her annual revenue both public and private, rendering impossible that destructive hæmorrhage of her income by which she is impoverished, aiding the development of her industries, and resisting all aggression on her commercial and political rights—in a word, if the Irish Constitution had not been treacherously undermined and overthrown, we should now have been the best support of the Empire instead of being its scandal and its weakness. So long as we are deprived of that "constitutional and capacious organ" of public sentiment, our Parliament, so long will chronic turbulence exist; and it is a just Nemesis that the evils of the Union should extend from Ireland to the country that forced it upon us.

Some of our British monitors say, "Keep quiet—do not agitate—and English capital will flow in upon you." This is said to us while Irish income is annually drained out of our country to an extent that leaves no savings to accumulate into adequate national capital. If it were not for those drains we would have abundant capital of our own. But while we are thus fleeced on the one hand, on the other hand we are told that our quiescence would invite English capital. Well, from the suppression of the Young Ireland movement in 1848 to 1853 inclusive, we were as quiet as the graves into which the famine of those disastrous years precipitated great numbers of our people. Did that prolonged quiescence invite English capital? No, truly. But instead of English capital Mr. Gladstone inflicted an addition of 52 per cent. on the taxation of a country prostrated to the lowest stage of misery by a famine of nearly seven years' continuance.

All the records of the Union are records of disaster and disgrace.

The Irish landlords who support it, and who parade their disgusting anti-national servility as a merit entitling them to English assistance, are the authors of their own calamitous condition. Mr. Gladstone has given some vague hints about conferring Home Rule on our country. Home Rule is indispensably needed, unless Ireland is to perish by quicker or slower degrees. If the Premier can rise to the height of the Irish demand, it would be desirable that on the concession of Home Rule exceptional power should be given, at least for a time, to Irishmen who have shown distinguished administrative ability; men whose sagacity has been enlarged by experience; such men as Lord Dufferin and Sir Charles Gavan Duffy. Lord Dufferin, when Viceroy of Canada, thus addressed the Canadians:—"Life would be scarcely worth living unless it gave us something for whose sake it was worth while to die. Outside our domestic circle there are not many things that come up to that standard of value. But one of these you possess—A COUNTRY OF YOUR OWN; and never should a Canadian forget, no matter what his station in life, no matter what his origin or special environments, that in this broad dominion he has that which is worth while both to live for and die for."

We should see a new era of internal prosperity, international peace, and imperial integrity, if that distinguished Irish nobleman, enthroned as Her Majesty's Viceroy in Dublin Castle, should be enabled to announce to his countrymen that the Union was crumbled into dust; that they now had a country of their own; and that in that possession they had regained what was worth while both to live for and to die for.

W. J. O'N. DAUNT.

THE BOUNDARIES OF ASTRONOMY.

IT is proposed in the following paper to trace some parts of the boundary line which divides the truths which have been established in astronomy from those parts of the science which must be regarded as more or less hypothetical. It will be obvious that only a small part of so wide a subject can be discussed or even alluded to in the limits of a single paper. We intend therefore to select certain prominent questions, and to discuss those questions with such fulness as the circumstances will admit.

It will be desirable to commence with that great doctrine in astronomy which is often regarded as almost universally established. The doctrine to which we refer is known as the law of universal gravitation. It is customary to enunciate this law in the proposition that every particle of matter attracts every other particle with a force which varies directly as the product of the masses and inversely as the square of their distance. It is no doubt convenient to enunciate the great law in this very simple manner. It might seem awkward to have to specify all the qualifications which would be necessary if that enunciation is to assert no more than what we absolutely know. Perhaps many people believe, or think they believe, the law to be true in its general form; yet the assertion that the law of gravitation is *universally* true is an enormous, indeed, an infinite, exaggeration of the actual extent of our information.

To make this clear, let us contrast the law of gravitation as generally stated with the proposition which asserts that the earth rotates on its axis. No one who is capable of understanding the evidence on the question can doubt that the earth really does rotate upon its axis. I purposely set aside any difficulties of a quasi-metaphysical character, and speak merely of words in their ordinary acceptation. In stating that

the earth rotates upon its axis we assert merely a definite proposition as regards one body, all the facts which the assertion involves are present to our minds, and we know that the assertion must be true. Equally conclusive is the evidence for the statement that the earth revolves around the sun. Concrete truths of this kind could be multiplied indefinitely. We can make similar assertions with regard to the planets. We can assert that the planets rotate upon their axes, and that the planets revolve around the sun. But the law of gravitation is a proposition of quite a different nature. Let us examine briefly the evidence by which this law has been established.

The science of dynamics is founded upon certain principles known as the laws of motion. The simplest of these principles asserts that a body once set moving in a straight line will continue to move on uniformly for ever in the same straight line, unless some force be permitted to act upon that body. For Nature as we know it, this law seems to be fully proved. It has been tested in every way that we have been able to devise. All these tests have tended to confirm that law. The law is therefore believed to be true, at all events throughout the region of space accessible to us and to our telescopes. Assuming this law and the other principles analogous to it, we can apply them to the case of the revolution of the earth around the sun. As the earth is not moving in a straight line, it must be acted upon by some force. It can be shown that this force must be directed towards the sun. It will further appear that the intensity of this force will vary inversely as the square of the distance between the earth and the sun. The movements of the planets can be made to yield the same conclusions. All these movements can be accounted for on the supposition that each planet is attracted by the sun with a force which varies directly as the product of the masses, and inversely as the square of the distance between the two bodies. When more careful observations are introduced it is seen that the planets exhibit some slight deviations from the movements which they would have were each planet only acted upon by the attraction of the sun. These deviations do not invalidate the principle of attraction. They have been shown to arise from the mutual attractions of the planets themselves. Each of the planets is thus seen to attract each of the other planets. The intensity of this attraction between any pair of the planets is proportional to the masses of these planets, and varies inversely as the square of the distance between them. We may use similar language with regard to the satellites by which so many of the planets are attended. Each satellite revolves around its primary. The movements of each satellite are mainly due to the preponderating attraction of the primary. Irregularities in the movements of the satellites are well known to astronomers, but these irregularities can be accounted for by the attraction of other bodies of the system. The law of attraction thus seems to prevail among the small bodies of the system as well as among the large bodies. It is true that there are still

a few outstanding discrepancies which cannot yet be said to have been completely accounted for by the principle of gravitation. This is probably due to the difficulties of the subject. The calculations which are involved are among the most difficult on which the mind of man has ever been engaged. We may practically assume that the law of gravitation is universal between the sun, the planets, and the satellites; and we may suppose that the few difficulties still outstanding will be finally cleared away, as has been the case with so many other seeming discrepancies. But even when these admissions have been made, are we in a position to assert that the law of gravitation is universal throughout the solar system? We are here confronted with a very celebrated difficulty. Do those erratic objects known as comets acknowledge the law of gravitation? There can be no doubt that in one sense the comets do obey the law of gravitation in a most signal and emphatic manner. A comet usually moves in an orbit of very great eccentricity; and it is one of the most remarkable triumphs of Newton's discovery, that we were by its means able to render account of how the movements of a comet could be produced by the attraction of the sun. As a whole, the comet is very amenable to gravitation, but what are we to say as to the tails of comets, which certainly do not appear to follow the law of universal attraction? The tails of comets, so far from being attracted towards the sun, seem actually to be repelled from the sun. Nor is even this an adequate statement of the case. The repulsive force by which the tails of the comets are driven from the sun is sometimes a very much more intense force than the attraction of gravitation.

I have no intention to discuss here the vexed question as to the origin of the tails of comets. I do not now inquire whether the repulsion by which the tail is produced be due to the intense radiation from the sun, or to electricity, or to some other agent. It is sufficient for our present purpose to note that, even if the tails of comets do gravitate towards the sun, the attraction is obscured by a more powerful repulsive force.

The solar system is a very small object when viewed in comparison with the dimensions of the sidereal system. The planets form a group nestled up closely around the sun. This little group is separated from its nearest visible neighbours in space by the most appalling distances. A vessel in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean is not more completely isolated from the shores of Europe and America than is our solar system from the stars and other bodies which surround it in space. Our knowledge of gravitation has been most entirely obtained from the study of the bodies in the solar system. Let us inquire what can be ascertained as to the existence of this law in other parts of the universe. Newton knew nothing of the existence of the law of gravitation beyond the confines of the solar system. A little more is known now.

Our actual knowledge of the existence of gravitation in the celestial spaces outside the solar system depends entirely upon those very inter-

esting objects known as binary stars. There are in the heavens many cases of two stars occurring quite close together. A well-known instance is presented in the star Epsilon Lyrae, where two stars are so close together that it is a fair test of good vision to be able to separate them. But there are many cases in which the two stars are so close together that they cannot be seen separately without the aid of a telescope. We may take, for instance, the very celebrated double star Castor, well known as one of the Twins. Viewed by the unaided eye the two stars look like a single star, but in a moderately good telescope it is seen that the object is really two separate stars quite close together. The question now comes as to whether the propinquity of the two stars is apparent or real. It might be explained by the supposition that the two stars were indeed close together compared with the distance by which they are separated; or it could be equally explained by supposing that the two stars, though really far apart, yet appeared nearly in the same line of vision that when projected on the surface of the heavens they seemed close together. It cannot be doubted that in the case of many of the double stars, especially those in which the components appear tolerably distant, the propinquity is only apparent, and arises from the two stars being near the same line of vision. But it is, also, undoubtedly true that in the case of very many of the double stars, especially among those belonging to the class which includes Castor, the two stars are really at about the same distance from us, and, therefore, as compared with that distance, they are really close together.

Among the splendid achievements of Sir W. Herschel, one of the greatest was his discovery of the movements of the binary stars. It was shown by Herschel that in some of the double stars one star of the pair was moving around the other, and that their apparent distances were changing. The discoveries inaugurated by Herschel have been widely extended by other astronomers. One of the more rapidly moving of the double stars lies in the constellation of Coma Berenices. The revolution of one component around the other requires a period of 25.7 years. The two components of this star are exceedingly close together, the greatest distance being about one second of arc. There is very great difficulty in making accurate measurements of a double star of which the components are so close. More reliance may consequently be placed upon the determination of the orbits of other binary stars of which the components are further apart. Among these we may mention the remarkable binary star ξ Ursae Majoris. The distance between the two components of this star varies from one second of arc to three seconds. The first recorded measurement of this object was by Sir W. Herschel in 1781, and since that date it has been repeatedly observed. From a comparison of all the measurements which have been made it appears that the periodic time of the revolution of one of these components about the other is about sixty years. This star has thus been followed

through more than one entire revolution. The importance of these discoveries became manifest when an attempt was made to explain the movements. It was soon shown that the movements of the stars were such as could be explained if the two stars attracted each other in conformity with the law of gravitation. It would, however, be hardly correct to assert that the discovery of the binary stars proved that the two stars attracted each other with a force which varies inversely as the square of their distance. Even under the most favourable circumstances the observations are very difficult; they cannot be made with the same accuracy as is attained in observing the movements of the planets; they have not even the value which antiquity will often confer on an observation which has not much else in its favour. There are probably many different suppositions which would explain all that has yet been observed as to the motions of the binary stars. Gravitation is but one of those suppositions. Gravitation will no doubt carry with it the prestige acquired by its success in explaining phenomena in the solar system. I do not know that any one has ever seriously put forward any other explanation except gravitation to account for the movements of the binary stars, nor is any one likely to do so while gravitation can continue to render an account of the observed facts; but all this is very different from saying that the discovery of the binary stars has *proved* that the law of gravitation extends to the stellar regions.

Except for what the binary stars tell us, we would know nothing as to the existence or the non-existence of the law of gravitation beyond the confines of the solar system. Does Sirius, for instance, attract the pole star? We really do not know. Nor can we ever expect to know. If Sirius and the pole star do attract each other, and if the law of their attraction be the same as the law of attraction in the solar system, it will then be easy to show that the effect of this attraction is so minute that it would be entirely outside the range of our instruments even to detect it. Observation is hopeless on such a matter. If we cannot detect any attraction between a star in one constellation and a star in another, no more can we detect any attraction between our sun and the stars. Such attractions may exist, or they may not exist: we have no means of knowing. Should any one assert that there is absolutely no gravitation between two bodies more than a billion miles apart we know no facts by which he can be contradicted.

If we know so little about the existence of gravitation in the space accessible to our telescopes, what are we to say of those distant regions of space to which our view can never penetrate? Let a vast sphere be described of such mighty dimensions that it embraces not only all the objects visible to the unaided eye, not only all the objects visible in our most powerful telescopes, but even every object that the most fertile imagination can conceive, what relation must this stupendous sphere bear to the whole of space? The mighty sphere can only be an

infinitely small part of space. It must bear to the whole of space a ratio infinitely less than the water in a single dew-drop bears to the water in the Atlantic Ocean. Are we then entitled to assert that every particle in the universe attracts every other particle with a force which is proportional to the product of their masses, and which varies inversely as the square of their distance? We have, indeed, but a slender basis of fact on which to rest a proposition so universal. Let us attempt to enunciate the law of gravitation so as to commit ourselves to no assertion not absolutely proved. The statement would then run somewhat as follows:

Of the whole contents of space we know nothing except within the infinitely small region which contains the bodies visible in our telescopes. Nor can we assert that gravitation pervades the entire of even this infinitely small region. It is true that in one very minute part of this infinitely small region the law of gravitation appears to reign supreme. This minute part is of course the solar system. There are also a few binary stars in this infinitely small region whose movements would admit of being explained by gravitation, though as yet they can hardly be held to absolutely prove its existence.

It must then be admitted that when the law of gravitation is spoken of as being universal, we are using language infinitely more general than the facts absolutely warrant. At the present moment we only know that gravitation exists to a very small extent in a certain infinitely small portion of space. Our knowledge would have to be enormously extended before we can assert that gravitation extended entirely through this very limited region; and even when we have proved this, we should only have made an infinitesimal advance to a proof that gravitation is absolutely universal.

I do not for a moment assert that our ordinary statement of the law of gravitation is untrue. I merely say that it has not been proven, and we may also add that it does not seem as if it ever could be proved. Most people who have considered the matter will probably believe that gravitation is universal. Nor is this belief unnatural. If we set aside comets' tails, and perhaps one or two other slightly doubtful matters, we may assert that we always find the law of gravitation to be true whenever we have an opportunity of testing it. These opportunities are very limited, so that we have but very slender supports for the induction that gravitation is universal. But it must be admitted that an hypothesis which has practically borne every test which can be applied has very strong grounds for our acceptance: such, then, are the claims of the law of gravitation to be admitted to a place among the laws of Nature.

The wondrous series of spectroscopic researches by which Mr. Huggins has so vastly extended our knowledge should also be here referred to. Mr. Huggins has shown that many of the substances most abundant on the earth are widely spread through the universe. Take, for instance, the metal iron and the gas hydrogen. We can detect the existence of

these elements in objects enormously distant. Both iron and hydrogen exist in many stars, and hydrogen has been shown, in all probability, to be an important constituent of the nebulae. That the rest of the sidereal system should thus be composed of materials known to be to a large extent identical with the materials in the solar system is a presumption in favour of the universality of gravitation.

In what has hitherto been said, we have attempted to give an outline of the facts so far as they are certainly known to us. Into mere speculations we have no desire to enter. We may, however, sketch out a brief chapter in modern sidereal astronomy, which seems to throw a ray of light into the constituents of the vast abyss of space which lies beyond the scope of our telescopes. The ray of light is no doubt but a feeble one, but we must take whatever information we can obtain, even though it may fall far short of that which an intellectual curiosity will desire. The question now before us may be simply stated. Are we entitled to suppose that the part of the universe accessible to our telescopes is fairly typical of the other parts of the universe, or are we to believe that the system we know is altogether exceptional; that there are stars in other parts quite unlike our stars, composed of different materials, acted upon by different laws, of which we have no conception? The presumption is that the materials of which our system is composed are representative of the materials elsewhere. This presumption is strengthened by the very important considerations now to be adduced.

In the first place, let us distinctly understand what is meant by our sidereal system. We have already dwelt on the isolated position of the sun and the attendant planets. The grandest truth in the whole of astronomy is that which asserts that our sun is only a star separated by the most gigantic distances from the other stars around. Our sun, indeed, appears to be but one of the vast host of stars which form the milky way. We need not here enter into the often discussed question as to whether the nebulae are, generally speaking, at distances of the same order as the stars. There seems to be no doubt that some of the nebulae are quite as near to us as some of the stars. At all events, for our present purpose, we may group the milky way, the nebulae, the stars, and the clusters, all into one whole which we call our sidereal system. Is this sidereal system as thus defined an isolated object in space? are its members all so bound together by the law of universal gravitation that each body, whatever be its movements, can only describe a certain path such that it can never depart finally from the system? This is a question of no small importance. It presents features analogous to certain very interesting problems in biology which the labours of Mr. Wallace have done so much to elucidate. We are told that the fauna and flora of an oceanic island, cut off from the perpetual immigration of new forms, often assumes a very remarkable type. The evolution of life under such circumstances proceeds in a very different

manner to the corresponding evolution in an equal area of is connected with the great continental masses. Is our side to be regarded as an oceanic island in space, or is it in such with the systems in other parts of space as might lead us to the various systems had a common character?

The evidence seems to show that the stars in our system are not permanently associated together, but that in the course of stars enter our system and other stars leave it, in such a manner suggest that the bodies visible to us are fairly typical of the contents of the universe. The strongest evidence that can be put on this subject is met with in the peculiar circumstances of one star. The star in question is known as number 1830 of Groombridge's catalogue. It is a small star, not to be seen without the aid of a telescope. This star is endowed with a very large proper motion. It is correct to say that its proper motion exceeds that of any other star, but it certainly has the largest visible proper motion of which the distance is known. The proper motion of 1830 Groombridge amounts to over seven seconds annually. It would take two and three centuries to move over a distance in the heavens equal to the apparent diameter of the moon. The distance of this star is greater than might have been anticipated from its very large proper motion. The estimates of the distance present some irregularities, but we shall probably be quite correct in assuming that the distance is less than two hundred billions of miles. This star is indeed much farther from us than α Centauri, which is generally considered to be our nearest neighbour in our sidereal system. The proper motion of 1830 Groombridge being both assumed, it is easy to calculate the velocity with which that star must be moving. The velocity is stupendous and worthy of a majestic sun; it is no less than 200 miles a second. It would seem that the velocity may even be much greater than this. The proper motion of the star which we see is merely the proper motion of the star foreshortened by projection on the plane of the heavens. In adopting 200 miles a second as the velocity of 1830 Groombridge, we therefore make a most moderate assumption, and probably does fall considerably short of the truth. With this very moderate assumption, it will be easy to show that 1830 Groombridge seems in all probability to be merely travelling through our system, and not permanently attached thereto.

The star sweeps along through our system with this great velocity. Now there can be no doubt that if the star were permitted to retain this velocity, it would in the course of time travel right out of our system, and after leaving our system would retreat into the void of infinite space. Is there any power adequate to recall this star on its voyage to infinity? We know of none, unless it be the power of the stars or other bodies of our sidereal system. It becomes a matter of calculation to determine whether the

of all the material bodies of our sidereal system could be adequate, even with universal gravitation, to recall a body which seems bent on leaving that system with a velocity of 200 miles per second. This interesting problem has been discussed by Professor Newcomb, whose calculations we shall here follow. In the first place we require to make some estimate of the dimensions of the sidereal system, in order to see whether it seems likely that this star can ever be recalled. The number of stars may be taken at one hundred millions, which is probably double as many as the number we can see with our best telescopes. The masses of the stars may be taken as on the average five times as great as the mass of the sun. The distribution of the stars is suggested by the constitution of the milky way. One hundred million stars are presumed to be disposed in a flat circular layer of such dimensions that a ray of light would require thirty thousand years to traverse one diameter. Assuming the ordinary law of gravitation, it is now easy to compute the efficiency of such an arrangement in attempting to recall a moving star. The whole question turns on a certain critical velocity of twenty-five miles a second. If a star darted through the system we have just been considering with a velocity less than twenty-five miles a second, then, after that star had moved for a certain distance, the attractive power of the system would gradually bend the path of the star round, and force the star to return to the system. If, therefore, the velocities of the stars were under no circumstances more than twenty-five miles a second, then, supposing the system to have the character we have described, that system might be always the same. The stars might be in incessant motion, but they must always remain in the vicinity of our present system, and our whole sidereal system might be an isolated object in space, just as our solar system is an isolated object in the extent of the sidereal system. We have, however, seen that for one star at all events the velocity is no less than 200 miles a second. If this star dash through the system, then the attractions of all the bodies in the system will unite in one grand effort to recall the wanderer. This attraction must, to some extent, be acknowledged; the speed of the wanderer must gradually diminish as he recedes into space; but that speed will never be lessened sufficiently to bring the star back again. As the star retreats further and further, the potency of the attraction will decrease; but, owing to the velocity of the star being over twenty-five miles a second, the attraction can never overcome the velocity; so that the star seems destined to escape. This calculation is of course founded on our assumption as to the total mass of the stars and other bodies which form our sidereal system. That estimate was founded on a liberal, indeed a very liberal interpretation of the evidence which our telescopes have afforded. But it may still fall short of the truth. There may be more than a hundred million stars in our system; their average weight may be more than five times the weight of our sun. But unless the assumption we have made is enormously short of the truth, our inference cannot be challenged.

If the stars are sixty-four times as numerous, or if the whole mass of the system be sixty-four times as great as we have supposed, then the critical velocity would be 200 miles a second instead of twenty miles a second. Our estimate of the system would therefore have been enlarged sixty-four fold, if the attraction of that system is to be adequate to recall 1830 Groombridge. It should also be recollected that our assumption of the velocity of the star is very moderate, that it is not at all unlikely that a system at least 100 times as massive as the system we have supposed would be required if this was to be recalled. The result of this inquiry is really only to be stated as an alternative: either our sidereal system is not an entirely isolated object, or its bodies must be vastly more numerous or more massive than even our most liberal interpretation of observations would seem to warrant. It seems more reasonable to adopt the first branch of the alternative. If this be so, then we see that 1830 Groombridge, having travelled from an indefinitely great distance on one side of the heavens is now passing through our system for the first and the only time. After leaving our system this star will retreat again into the depths of space, to a distance which, for anything we can tell, may be practically regarded as infinite. Although we have only used this one star as an illustration, yet it is not to be supposed that the peculiarities which it presents are absolutely unique. It seems more likely that there may be many other stars which are at present passing through our system. In fact, considering that most or all of the stars are actually in motion, it can be shown that in the course of ages, the whole face of the heavens is gradually changing. We are thus led to the conclusion that our system is not an absolutely isolated group of bodies in the abyss of space, but that we are visited by other bodies coming from the remotest regions of space.

The whole range of astronomy presents no speculations which have attracted more attention than the celebrated nebular hypothesis of Herschel and of Laplace. We shall first enunciate these speculations, and then we shall attempt to indicate how far they seem to be warranted by the actual state of scientific knowledge. In one of his most memorable papers, Sir W. Herschel presents us with a summary of his observations on the nebulae arranged in such a manner as to suggest his theory of the gradual transmutation of nebulae into stars. He first shows us that there are regions in the heavens where a faint diffused nebulousity is that can be detected by the telescope. There are other nebulae in which a nucleus can be just discerned; others again in which the nucleus is easily seen; and still others where the nucleus is a brilliant star-like point. The transition from an object of this kind to a nebulous star is very natural, while the nebulous stars pass into the ordinary stars by a series of graduated stages. It is thus possible to enumerate a series of objects beginning at one end with the most diffused nebulousity, and ending at the other with an ordinary fixed star or group of stars. Each object

the series differs but slightly from the object just before it and just after it. It seemed to Herschel that he was thus able to view the actual changes by which masses of phosphorescent or glowing vapour became actually condensed down into stars. The condensation of a nebula could be followed in the same manner as we can study the growth of the trees in a forest by comparing the trees of various ages which the forest contains at the same time. In attempting to pronounce upon the positive evidence available in the discussion of Herschel's theory, we encounter a well-known difficulty. To establish this theory, it would be necessary to watch the actual condensation of one single nebula from the primitive gaseous condition down to the stellar points. It may easily be conceived that such a process would require a vast lapse of time, perhaps enormously greater than the period between the invention of the telescope and the present moment. It may at all events be confidently asserted that the condensation of a nebula into a star is a process which has never been witnessed. Whether any stages in that process can be said to have been witnessed is a different matter, on which it is not easy to speak with precision. Drawings of the same nebula made at different dates often exhibit great discrepancies. In comparing these drawings, it must be remembered that a nebula is an object usually devoid of distinct outline, and varying greatly in appearance with different telescopic apertures. Take, for instance, the very splendid nebula in Orion, which is one of the most glorious objects that can be seen in a telescope. There can be no doubt that the drawings made at different times do exhibit most marked differences. Indeed, the differences are sometimes so great that it is hard to believe that the same object is depicted. It is well to look also at drawings made of the same object at the same time, but by different observers and with different telescopes. Where we find contemporary drawings at variance—and they are often widely at variance—it seems hard to draw any conclusion from drawings as to the presence or the absence of change in the shape of the nebula.

There are, however, good grounds for believing that nebulae really do undergo some changes, at least as regards brightness; but whether these changes are such as Herschel's theory would seem to require is quite another question. Perhaps the best authenticated instance is that of the variable nebula in the constellation of Taurus, discovered by Mr. Hind in 1852. At the time of its discovery this object was a small nebula about one minute in diameter, with a central condensation of light. D'Arrest, the distinguished astronomer of Copenhagen, found in 1861 that this nebula had vanished. On the 29th of December, 1861, the nebula was again seen in the powerful refractor at Pulkova, but on December 12, 1863, Mr. Hind failed to detect the nebula with the telescope by which it had been originally discovered. This instrument had, however, only half the aperture of the Pulkova telescope. In 1868, O. Struve, observing at Pulkova, detected another nebulous spot in the vicinity of the place of the missing object, but this has also

now vanished. Struve does not, however, consider that that of 1868 is distinct from Hind's nebula, but he says—

"What I see is certainly the variable nebula itself, only in altered and spread over a larger space. Some traces of nebulosity are still exactly on the spot where Hind and D'Arrest placed the variable nebula. A remarkable circumstance that this nebula is in the vicinity of a star which changes somewhat irregularly from the ninth to the twelfth magnitude. At the time of the discovery in 1761, both the star and the nebula were brighter than they have since become."

This is the best authenticated history of observed change in an astronomical object. It must be admitted that the changes are such as would not be expected if Herschel's theory were universally true.

Another remarkable occurrence in modern astronomy may be mentioned as having some bearing on the question as to the actual evidence for or against Herschel's theory. On November 21, 1876, Dr. C. G. F. Peters noticed a new star of the third magnitude in the constellation Cygnus. The discoverer was confident that no corresponding object had been seen in the evening of the 20th of November. The brilliancy of the star gradually declined until on the 13th of December Mr. Hind found it of the sixth magnitude. The spectrum of this star was carefully examined by many observers, and it exhibited several bright lines, which showed that the star differed from other stars by the possession of vast quantities of glowing gaseous material. This star was observed by Dr. C. G. F. Peters at the Earl of Crawford's observatory on September 2, 1877, when it was then below the tenth magnitude, and of a decidedly blue color. Viewed through the spectroscope, the light of this star was apparently monochromatic, and appeared to be indistinguishable from that which is often found to come from nebulae. Dr. Cope concludes:—

"Bearing in mind the history of this star from the time of its discovery by Schmidt, it would seem certain that we have an instance before us in which a star has changed into a planetary nebula of small angular diameter. It may be safely affirmed that no astronomer discovering the object in its present state would, after viewing it through a prism, hesitate to pronounce it to be a nebula of the present nebulous character."

It should, however, be added that Professor Pickering has found slight traces of a continuous spectrum, but the object is so extremely faint that such observations are very difficult. This remarkable history might be adduced if we wished to show the evidence of the conversion of stars into nebulae, but for the theory we require evidence of the conversion of nebulae into stars.

Care must be taken not to exaggerate the inferences to be drawn from the two instances I have quoted—viz., the variable nebula in Cygnus and the new star in Cygnus. I think it more likely that both are to be regarded as exceptional phenomena. It is certainly true that they are perhaps the most remarkable instances in which the conversion of nebulae into stars has actually been witnessed; but the probability is

only reason why they have been witnessed is because they were very exceptional. Those who have observed the nebulae for many years are well assured of the general permanence of their appearance. The nebulae we have referred to are chosen out of thousands. The ordinary nebulae appear just as constant as the ordinary bright stars. Every one expects to see Vega in the constellation Lyra; and with equal confidence every astronomer counts on seeing the celebrated annular nebula when he directs his telescope to the same constellation. This permanence is very probably merely due to the stupendous distances at which these objects are placed. Only gigantic changes could be detected, and for these gigantic periods of time would be required. We are bound to believe that heated bodies radiate their heat; and if so they must contract. This general law, which pervades all Nature, so far as we know it, seems to be the real basis—indeed, the only basis—on which the nebular theory of Herschel can be maintained. Up to the present, it must be admitted that this theory has received no direct telescopic confirmation.

The nebular theory by which Laplace sought to account for the origin of the solar system seems, from the nature of the case, to be almost incapable of receiving any direct testimony. We shall here enunciate the theory in the language of Professor Newcomb:—

"The remarkable uniformity among the directions of the revolutions of the planets being something which could not have been the result of chance, Laplace sought to investigate its probable cause. This cause, he thought, could be nothing else than the atmosphere of the sun, which once extended so far out as to fill all the space now occupied by the planets. He conceives the immense vaporous mass forming the sun and his atmosphere to have had a slow rotation on its axis. The mass, being intensely hot, would slowly cool off, and as it did so would contract towards the centre. As it contracted, its velocity would, in obedience to one of the fundamental laws of mechanics, constantly increase, so that a time would arrive when, at the outer boundary of the mass, the centrifugal force due to the rotation would counterbalance the attractive force of the central mass. Then those outer portions would be left behind as a revolving ring, while the next inner portions would continue to contract, until at their boundary the centrifugal and attractive forces would be again balanced, when a second ring would be left behind; and so on. Thus, instead of a continuous atmosphere, the sun would be surrounded by a series of concentric revolving rings of vapour.

"Now, how would these rings of vapour behave? As they cooled off, their denser materials would condense first, and thus the ring would be composed of a mixed mass, partly solid and partly vaporous, the quantity of solid matter constantly increasing and that of vapour diminishing. If the ring were perfectly uniform this condensing process would take place equally all around it, and the ring would thus be broken up into a group of small planets like that which we see between Mars and Jupiter. But we should expect that, in general, some portions of the ring would be much denser than others, and the denser portion would gradually attract the rarer portions around it, until instead of a ring we should have a single mass, composed of a nearly solid centre, surrounded by an immense atmosphere of fiery vapour. This condensation of the ring of vapour around a single point would have produced no change in the amount of rotary motion originally existing in the ring; the planet surrounded by its fiery atmosphere would therefore be in rotation, and would be, in miniature, a reproduction of the case of the sun surrounded by his atmosphere with which we set out. In the

same way that the solar atmosphere formed itself first into rings, and then the rings condensed into planets, so, if the planetary atmosphere were sufficiently extensive, they would form themselves into rings, and these rings would condense into satellites. In the case of Saturn, however, one of the rings was so perfectly uniform that there could be no denser portion to draw the rest of the ring around it, and thus we have the well-known rings of Saturn."

It will thus be seen that one of the principal features in the solar system for which the nebular theory has been invoked is the fact that the planets all revolve round the sun in the same direction. It will therefore be natural to take up first the discussion of this subject, and to inquire how far the common motion of the planets can be claimed in support of Laplace's nebular theory. The value of the argument is very materially influenced by another consideration of somewhat peculiar character. If it were quite immaterial to the welfare of the planetary system whether all the planets moved the same way, or whether some moved one way and some another, then the nebular hypothesis would be entitled to all the support which could be derived from the circumstances of the case. Take, for instance, the eight principal planets—Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune. All these planets move in the same way around the sun. The chances against such an occurrence are 127 to 1. The probability that the system of eight planets has been guided to move in the same direction by some cause may be taken to be 127 to 1. If we include the two hundred minor planets the probability would be enormously enhanced. The nebular theory seems a reasonable explanation of how this uniformity of movements could arise, and therefore the advocates of the nebular theory may seem entitled to claim all the high degree of probability in their favour. There is, however, quite a different point of view from which the question may be regarded. There are reasons which imperatively demand that the planets (at least events the large planets) shall revolve in uniform directions, which is quite outside the view taken in the nebular theory. If the big planets did not all revolve in the same direction, the system would have perished long ago, and we should not now be here to discuss the nebular or any other hypothesis.

It is well known that in consequence of the gravitation which pervades the solar system, each of the planets has its movements mainly subordinated to the attraction of the sun. But each of the planets attracts every other planet. In consequence of these attractions, the orbits of the planets are to some extent affected. The mutual actions of the planets present many problems of the highest interest, and, it should be added, of the greatest difficulty. Many of these difficulties have been overcome. It is the great glory of the French mathematicians to have invented the methods by which the nature of the solar system could be studied. The results at which they arrived are not a little remarkable. They have computed how much the planets act and react upon each other, and they have shown that in consequence of these actions the

orbit of each planet gradually changes its shape and its position. But the crowning feature of these discoveries is the demonstration that these changes in the orbits of the planets are all periodic. The orbits may fluctuate, but those fluctuations are confined within very narrow limits. In the course of ages the system gradually becomes deformed, but it will gradually return again to its original position, and again depart therefrom. These changes are comparatively so small that our system may be regarded as substantially the same even when its fluctuations have attained their greatest amplitude. These splendid discoveries are founded upon the actual circumstances of the system, as we see that system to be constituted. Take, for instance, the eccentricities of the orbits of the planets around the sun. Those eccentricities can never change much; they are now small quantities, and small quantities those eccentricities must for ever remain. The proof of this remarkable theorem partly depends upon the fact that the planets are all revolving around the sun in the same direction. If one of the planets we have named were revolving in an opposite direction to the rest, the mathematical theory would break down. We would have no guarantee that the eccentricities would for ever remain small as they are at present. In a similar manner, the planets all move in orbits whose planes are inclined to each other at very small angles. The positions of those planes fluctuate, but these fluctuations are confined within very narrow limits. The proof of this theorem, like the proof of the corresponding theorem about the eccentricities, depends upon the actual conditions of the planetary system as we find it. If one of the planets were to be stopped, turned round, and started off again in the opposite direction, our guarantee for the preservation of the planes would be gone. It therefore follows that if the system is to be permanently maintained, all the planets must revolve in the same direction.

In this connection it is impossible not to notice the peculiar circumstances presented by the comets. By a sort of convention the planets have adopted, or, at all events, they possess, movements which fulfil the conditions necessary if the planets are to live and let live; but the comets do not obey any of the conditions which are imposed by the planetary convention. The orbits of the comets are not nearly circles. They are sometimes ellipses with a very high degree of eccentricity; they are often so very eccentric that we are unable to distinguish the parts of their orbits which we see from actual parabolas. Nor do the directions in which the comets move exhibit any uniformity; some move round the sun in one direction, some move in the opposite direction. Even the planes which contain the orbits of the comets are totally different from each other. Instead of being inclined at only a very few degrees to their mean position, the planes of the comets hardly follow any common law; they are inclined at all sorts of directions. In no respect do the comets obey those principles which are necessary to prevent constitutional disorder in the planetary system. The conse-

quences of this are obvious, and unfortunate in the highest degree the comets. A comet possesses no security for the undisturbance of its orbit. Not to mention the risk of actual collision with planets, there are other ways in which the path of a comet may experience enormously great changes by the disturbances which they are capable of producing. How is it that the system has been able to tolerate the vagaries of comets for so many ages? Solely because the comets, though capable of suffering from perturbations, are actually incapable of producing any perturbations on the planets. The efficiency of a body in producing perturbations depends upon the mass of the body. Now all we have hitherto seen with regard to comets tends to show that the masses of comets are extremely small. Attempts have been made to measure the masses of comets, but all attempts have always failed. They have failed because the methods which we have attempted to weigh the comets have been too inaccurate to weigh anything of the almost spiritual texture of a comet. It is unnecessary to go as far as some have done, and to say that the weight of a large comet may be only a few pounds or a few ounces. It might be more reasonable to suppose that the weight of a comet was thousands of tons, though even thousands of tons would be far too small a weight to admit of being measured by the coarse balance which is at our disposal.

The enduring stability of the planetary system is thus seen to be compatible with the existence of comets solely because of the condition of being almost imponderable in comparison with the mighty masses of the planetary system. The very existence of the planetary system is a proof of the doctrine that the masses of the comets are but small. Indeed, to those who will duly weigh the matter, it probably appears that this negative evidence as to the mass of the comets is more satisfactory than the results of any of the more direct attempts to place the comets in the weighing scales. If we restate the facts of the solar system, and if we include the comets in our calculations, it will appear how seriously the existence of the comets affects the validity of the argument in favour of the nebular hypothesis derived from the uniformity in the directions of the planetary motions. If we include the whole host of minor planets, we find the population of the solar system something under three hundred planets, and an enormous multitude of comets. It will probably be an over-estimate if we suppose that the comets are ten times as numerous as the planets. The case, then, stands thus: The solar system consists of some thousands of different bodies; these bodies move in orbits of the most varied degrees of eccentricity; they move in a common direction; their planes are situated in all conceivable positions, save only that each of these planes must pass through the sun. Stated in this way, the present condition of the solar system is surely no argument for the nebular theory. It might be said that it is inconceivable on the nebular theory how a

of this form could be constructed at all. Nine-tenths of the bodies in the solar system do not exhibit movements which would suggest that they were produced from a nebula: the remaining tenth do no doubt exhibit movements which seem to admit of explanation by the nebular theory; but, had that tenth not obeyed the group of laws referred to, they would not now be there to tell the tale. The planetary system now lives solely because it was an organism fitted for survival. It is often alleged that the comets are not indigenous to the solar system. It has been supposed that the comets have been imported from other systems. It has also been urged with considerable probability that perhaps many comets may have had their origin in our sun, and have been actually ejected therefrom. I do not now attempt to enter into the discussion of these views, which are at present problematical; let me pass from this part of the subject, with the remark that until the nature and origin of comets be better understood, it will be impossible to appraise with accuracy the value of the argument for the nebular hypothesis which has been based on the uniformity of the directions in which the planets revolve around the sun.

There are, however, other circumstances in the solar system which admit of explanation by the nebular theory. It is a remarkable fact that the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn are all known to rotate upon their axes in the same direction as their revolutions around the sun. The nebular theory offers an explanation of this circumstance. It does not appear that this common rotation of the planets is absolutely necessary for the stability of the system. Should it further be proved that there is no other agency at work which would force the planets to rotate in the same direction, then it must be admitted that the nebular theory receives very substantial support.

There is another way in which we can examine the evidence on behalf of the nebular hypothesis. There are certain actions going on at present in the solar system; and by reasoning backwards from these present actions we are led to believe that in extremely early times the condition of things may have resembled that which is supposed by the nebular hypothesis. Let us begin with the consideration of our sun, which is, as we know, daily radiating off light and heat into space. This heat is poured off in all directions; a small portion of it is intercepted by the earth, but this portion is less than one two-thousand-millionth part of the whole; the planets also, no doubt, each intercept a small portion of the solar radiation; but the great mass of radiated heat from the sun entirely escapes. This heat is supposed not to be restored to the sun. The sun certainly must receive some heat by the radiation from the stars; but this is quite infinitesimal in comparison with the stupendous radiation from the sun. We therefore conclude that the sun's heat is being squandered with prodigal liberality.*

* A remarkable theory has recently been put forward by Dr. Siemens, according to which the sun's radiant energy is ultimately restored to the sun. Even the possibility of some such theory being true most seriously affects the above arguments in favour of the nebular hypothesis.

We also know that the store of heat which the sun can possess, though no doubt enormously great, is still limited in amount. It is, indeed, a question of very great interest to decide what are the probable sources by which the sun is able to maintain its present rate of expenditure. The sun must have some source of heat in addition to that which it would possess in virtue of its temperature as an incandescent body. If we suppose the sun to be a vast incandescent body, formed of materials which possess the same specific heat as the materials of which our earth is composed, the sun would then cool at the rate of from 5° to 10° per annum. At this rate the sun could not have lasted for more than a few thousand years before it cooled down. We are therefore compelled to inquire whether the sun may not have some other source of heat to supply its radiation beyond that which arises merely from the temperature.

Of the various sources which have been suggested, it will here only be necessary to mention two. It has been supposed that the heat of the sun may be recruited by the incessant falling of meteoric matter upon the sun's surface. If that matter had been drawn only by the sun's attraction from the remote depths of space, it would fall upon the sun with an enormously great velocity, amounting to about 300 miles a second. It follows from the principle of the equivalence between heat and mechanical energy that a body entering the sun with this velocity would contribute to the sun a considerable quantity of heat. It is known that small meteoroids abound in the solar system; they are constantly seen in the form of shooting stars when they dash into our atmosphere, and it can hardly be doubted that myriads of such bodies must fall into the sun. It does not, however, seem likely that enough matter of this kind can enter the sun to account for its mighty radiation of heat. It can be shown that the quantity of matter necessary for this purpose is so large that a mass equal in the aggregate to the mass of the earth would have to fall into the sun every century if the radiation of the sun were to be defrayed from this source. That so large a stream of matter should be perennially drawn into the sun is, to say the least, highly improbable. But it is quite possible to account for the radiation of the sun on strictly scientific principles, even if we discard entirely the contributions due to meteoric matter. As the sun parts with its heat it must contract, in virtue of the general law that all bodies contract when cooling; but in the act of contraction an amount of heat is produced. By this the process of cooling is greatly retarded. It can, indeed, be shown that, if the sun contracts so that his diameter decreases one mile every twenty-five years, the amount of heat necessary to supply his radiation would be amply accounted for. At this rate many thousands of years must elapse before the diminution in the sun's diameter would be large enough to be appreciable by our measurements.

Looking back into the remote ages, we thus see that the sun was

larger and larger the further back we project our view. If we go sufficiently far back, we seem to come to a time when the sun, in a more or less completely gaseous state, filled up the whole solar system out to the orbit of Mercury, or, earlier still, out to the orbit of the remotest planet. If we admit that the present laws of Nature have been acting during the past ages to which we refer, then it does not seem possible to escape the conclusion that the sun was once a nebulous mass of gas such as the nebular theory of Laplace would require.

It will also throw some light upon this retrospective argument for the nebular theory if we briefly consider the probable past history of the earth. It is known that the interior of the earth is hotter than the exterior. It has been suggested that this interior heat may arise from certain chemical actions which are at present going on. If this were universally the case, the argument now to be brought forward could not be entertained. I believe, however, most physicists will agree in thinking that the interior heat of the earth is an indication that the earth is cooling down from some former condition in which it was hotter than it is at present. The surface has cooled already, and the interior is cooling as quickly as the badly conducting materials of the earth will permit. We are thus led to think of the earth as having been hotter in past time than at present. The further we look back the greater must the earth's heat have been. We cannot stop till the earth was once red-hot or white-hot, till it was molten or a mass of fiery vapour. Here, again, we are led to a condition of things which would certainly seem to harmonize with the doctrines of the nebular theory.

The verdict of science on the whole subject cannot be expressed better than in the words of Newcomb:—

"At the present time we can only say that the nebular hypothesis is indicated by the general tendencies of the laws of Nature; that it has not been proved to be inconsistent with any fact; that it is almost a necessary consequence of the only theory by which we can account for the origin and conservation of the sun's heat; but that it rests on the assumption that this conservation is to be explained by the laws of Nature as we now see them in operation. Should any one be sceptical as to the sufficiency of these laws to account for the present state of things, science can furnish no evidence strong enough to overthrow his doubts until the sun shall be found growing smaller by actual measurement, or the nebulae be actually seen to condense into stars and systems."

ROBERT S. BALL.

NOTES ON THE ROYAL ACADEMY EXHIBITION.

*"Not from a cold or shallow thought
He useful Justice Phœbus brought,"*—EXTRACT.

THERE are few things more dispiriting to a lover of art than a large exhibition of modern pictures, and to any one who is at all behind the scenes the feeling is almost painful in its intensity. There is so much that is good in intention, and feeble or wrong in execution; so much brilliant but flashy work which has no object but to show its own dexterity, and so small a quantity of painting which is at once capable in its methods and worthy in its aims. And yet this is by no means the chief difficulty of the critic, for the slightest general acquaintance with artists reveals the fact that each of them has a special theory of art, in accordance with which he works, and that these theories are as many and as various in their character as the artists themselves. It is difficult to discover a single point upon which all agree; even such a matter as good drawing presents innumerable points of contention, and it was only a week or two before the opening of the Royal Academy that an Academician gravely assured me that there was "no such thing" as good colour. "Every man saw colour differently, and so what was good to one was bad to another;" such was the gist of his argument. And yet every criticism worthy of the name that was ever written, nay, every single opinion on a picture that has ever been expressed, presupposes that some judgment upon art is possible, and that there are some canons by which such judgment can be guided.

The great crux of this problem may be shortly stated. It is the question as to the morality, or rather the sufficient morality, of beauty. Is it enough for a work of art to be beautiful, or must there be some prior meaning to justify its existence? Now one thing is evident in the matter from what is left to us of the greatest art, and that is, that, in very rare exceptions, the most beautiful art has always had for its object, something besides, before beauty; that, speaking broadly,

when an artist has desired nothing but beauty, he has attained less of it than when he sought other things first. This fact lies at the root of all theories of art; if this can be proved to be wrong all judgment of art that is not purely technical is absurd. Fortunately, so far from its being disproved by inquiry,¹ all inquiry only strengthens its truth. Delight in Nature, sympathy with and interest in mankind; the hopes, the fears, the sorrows, and the joys of life; these are what produce for us great art, and it is in the delineation of them that there comes, subtly interwoven, the spirit of beauty. Art is a wondrous developer, but no magician; it can mature the wine of a man's nature, and give it fresh beauty, power, and richness, but can never alter its character, and an artist to whom the world has had no meaning save a superficial one will only give us pictures of analogous merit. After all, you can only "get out of a man what he has in him to give," as Swinburne said of Coleridge: how can you hope for great art from a small nature? For the truth is, that the power of art is owing to its expression of all the sides of human energy: aspiration, thought, and emotion all find a place within its sphere, and at its highest it strikes that chord of meaning that passes "in music out of sight."

But the subject is one beset with difficulties, that only grow the greater the more closely they are examined. Though history bears us out in the general assertion that the desire for beauty alone has never afforded us the highest forms of art, yet is it no less certain, that the desire for beauty must always be the chief factor in the production of great paintings, for without this factor, what we have, can hardly be considered art at all. The relation in which beauty of thought and feeling, stand in a picture, to the physical beauty of colour and form, and the proportion in which these elements must be combined to give us the greatest art, is the one problem of the critic which never seems to approach solution. Even our best writer upon art has shirked this enigma in his famous definition, and leaves us to gather what help we may from the dictum, that that art is the greatest which embodies "the greatest number of the greatest ideas." But on the hither side of this great difficulty we may find several secure bases for criticism. We may not be able to decide whether the restless *graudcur* of Tintoretto, full to the lips with movement and meaning, is preferable to the voluptuous beauty of a Titian: we may doubt whether the freshness, purity, and *naïveté* of the ascetic painters, do not confer a greater charm upon their work, than all the increase of skill and power which mark the paintings of the great Venetians; but we shall be in no danger of preferring to either, the conventionally splendid art of Byzantium, which rested upon no basis of natural fact or human feeling, or the art of the later Italian schools, in which beauty gave way to the exhibition of the painter's dexterity, and feeling became merely a conventional adjunct.

And following the development from Italy to Holland and Flanders,

we shall still find that though Rubens and Rembrandt stand, were, face to face, the one following the glory, and the other the ing of life; though the one may be called the last of the Venetians, the other the first of the modern school, yet they are but continuing old contrasts of Italy, and Rubens is the Titian, and Rembrandt Tintoretto, of the North. One plays the harp in a king's palace, the other fiddles in a village inn, and their melodies are such as fit audience. The harp discourses to the king and courtiers, glorious, sounding strains, of gods, and goddesses, warriors, and monarchs, everything that can tell of the pomp and luxury of life, and then talks to the villagers, as they drink their beer, of toil and sorrow, rough pleasure, and rougher pain, and a dark world, brightened here there by glimpses of sunlight. I am not concerned to draw any comparison between their art, further than to mark this difference of, and this only because that difference has never disappeared, but exists to the present day. You may cast in your lot with either artist, follow the march of heroes or the heavy sabots of the peasants, steep yourself to the lips with every glory that colour and form can give, or rest content with the prose of life as it exists amongst the poor, and still it will be well with you and your art, if the choice is wisely made and gladly abided by. But—and it is to this conclusion I have been trying to point—the choice must be made. If you choose outside beauty only, take it in God's name, but don't attempt to combine it with the simple record of commonplace joys and sorrows, bring your Rubens into the garret or the kitchen, and, so to speak, him try to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear. And, even if you do, certainly, don't let your Rembrandt ape Rubens. Let him be content with the life he sees, *as he sees it*. Don't let him attempt to add a fictitious splendour to commonplace lives. Let him find his power in feeling, and his beauty in truth. "*Quicquid agunt homines*" is as attractive now as in the days of Lucretius, but it must be what they really do, not what it might be pretty or picturesque for them to do.

No doubt this is a wearisome preamble to a notice of the Royal Academy, but it will not have been wasted time if it enables the reader to comprehend the grounds upon which I have endeavoured to base my judgment of the pictures mentioned herein. I shall endeavour to consider them from the standpoints of beauty and meaning, and consider the skill that does not result in the attainment of one or the other of these as holding but a very second-rate place.

It is needless to say anything about the constitution and management of the Royal Academy. As an institution for the encouragement and promotion of good art, it is simply indefensible; as a private art house, wherein outsiders are permitted, on certain conditions, to view their wares, it has a certain use. The solemn nonsense which is talked at the "dinner" given by the Academicians at the opening

the gallery, is irritating, no doubt, but after all it injures nobody, and it helps to keep alive the delusion, that we English people care a little bit for art. Possibly, by "making believe a great deal," we shall one day get to think our "orange-peel and water" tastes like real wine.

But as a matter of courtesy to the Academicians in their own house, their pictures should be first noticed; and of these, Sir Frederick Leighton, as President, must begin the roll. An artist whose aim is beauty,—there can be no question about that,—his pictures have long since ceased to have much concern with the work-a-day world. This year he sends six contributions, all of considerable importance, the largest being a picture of "Phryne at Eleusis": a golden-brown woman, with slight draperies of crimson and orange, clinging here and there to her soft limbs, and standing in a flash of sunlight against a blue sea. The first thought of this composition is, that it justifies the artist; he has set before himself one principal object, and attained it. The second thought is, that this is a decoration rather than a painting; that it is too lifeless to be considered as a representation of a living being. Take the most simply voluptuous figure that Titian ever painted, and compare it with this work, and the difference will be felt at once. The first is flesh and blood, however perfect in its development; the second is carved out of some beautiful brown substance which has no life. Perfect and pure as the sunlight that falls upon her, Phryne stands between the great marble columns, but of womanhood she has nothing. She stands as a type only. Look at the fair girl, with peach-blossom face and violet eyes, whom the President has entitled "Day-dreams." We recognize even more strongly the want of natural life. All the beauty of this delicately lovely face is marred for us by the conviction that nothing like it was, or ever could be. Indeed, two-thirds of the picture represents nothing but a violet robe, hanging in beautifully arranged folds, but having no human form beneath it. Below the arms, the figure does not exist at all. Nevertheless the delicacy of the craftsmanship is beyond all praise, and there is over the whole composition an undefined violet mist, which bathes the background and the robes in the softest luxuriance of colour; it has only that damning defect of unreality, not only to Nature, but to emotional insight—it is a beautifully coloured superficies, not a woman. In truth, Sir Frederick has educated himself out of all emotion, and can only give us in his pictures what may be called a "Society" beauty. He has ascended (or descended) into what would be an ideal region, were it not a region from which all ideas are banished. The one thing that moves him still, is a kind of shadowy emotion, a hint of half-uttered feeling. The truest thing he has done for years, is in the composition called "Wedded," where the young lover bends down to kiss his mistress's hand, as he is leading her home. In this, too, the figures are unreal, but the action is genuine and beautifully given. For once the grace of line is wedded to true feeling. A strange transformation of an artist, this which has taken place under

our eyes, so to speak, in successive exhibitions. Who could that the young painter whose first picture was of a great triumph, would grow to be so careless of true art, as to let the maturity of his powers in the delineation of feeble and trivial things. The very thing that made the people of Florence rejoice in the Madonna of Cimabue, was its truth to natural fact and a truth which they had never before seen. What an irony of fate that Sir Frederick should have painted the joy of the Florentine people, and then, in the next life, to vanish from his own work as a very thing which in another life was to vanish from his own work as a strange proof of the inadequacy of technical skill to supply the truth to Nature and feeling, that the most accomplished painter in England, should be unable to stir one pulse of emotion, and that thousands would not enter the Academy. As we have said above, now decorations only, not pictures. They would be beautiful to the furniture of a room, but they have little individual life or

If we turn to Mr. Millais' work we find ourselves in a very different atmosphere. Here it is not that we have a man educated into a book, but one whose strength is marred and maimed by haste and nervousness. Never was there in England, in my opinion, a truer genius than Mr. Millais, and I cannot resist the temptation of telling a little anecdote of this painter, as honourable to his kindness as it is corroborative of his artistic feeling. It happened more than twenty years ago that an artist, since become very famous, who was a pupil of Mr. Millais', came to him and announced his intention of leaving painting. He could not sell his work, would not live on his own, and was going as a farm pupil. "No," said Millais, "you are doing nothing of the kind. I've saved £500, and you shall draw on that, if all gone, if necessary, but you must not quit art; you're sure to succeed." The help was accepted frankly, and within a year or two the "Lion and the Unicorn" was one of the results. Mr. Millais' power is so surprising, so varied, that one never quite knows what to expect from him. Never, also, has a man who could paint well, so frequently painted badly, and sent calmly side by side to exhibitions, work of third-rate quality. This refers more especially to his portraits, and his landscape work. Of late years he seems to have done but little to destroy his genius, and his work has lost those beautiful tenderness and genuine sentiment, which first made him famous. It is pitiful to think that the artist who sent a thrill through a quarter of a century ago, by the picture of two lovers standing face to face, should have done nothing for the last ten years, but turned out a dozen good portraits, one good landscape, and half a dozen indifferent likenesses, of rich but commonplace people. Pretending to be the little children in mob-caps, or with brooms in their hands (as in the picture by the sea-shore, as in the last of the series),* or the others who are the daughters of this prince, or that commoner, we do grudge

* "Caller Herrin," exhibiting at present at the rooms of the Fine Art Society.

delineation of these, the painter of "The Huguenots," "The Vale of Rest," and "The Autumn Leaves." There was an artist in England who seemed able to touch all our hearts by the truthfulness of his sentiment, while he delighted our eyes by the magnificence of his colour; and now he has disappeared, and we have in his stead a keen, clever portrait-painter, the only relics of whose genius, flash out now and then in a vivid bit of character-painting, like the portrait of Sir Henry Thompson in this exhibition, or the wistful expression of some child-model's eyes. Mr. Millais must not blame us if the painter of "Mrs. Budgett" (505) only reminds us how much we have lost since the days of a certain pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

Recurring to my old text, Mr. Millais' work must still rank high amongst our chief painters. He has always in his painting combined beauty with meaning, and though of late his meaning has narrowed to the limits of a child's intellect, it is still there, whenever he paints a subject at all. Occasionally, indeed, in some of his women portraits, as in that of Mrs. Whilby in the Grosvenor Gallery this year, there is to be found nothing whatever save a certain amount of technical skill. But this is rare; his better portraits, as for instance those of Sir Henry Thompson and Cardinal Newman, are full of outside meaning, and show a very keen sight of superficial characteristics. As a man walks about the street, or stands in the crowd at an "At Home," Mr. Millais will show him to us full of life and spirit. He has never read the inner life of a man as Watts has done. "*Ce n'est pas son métier*"—it may be doubted whether he believes that there is an inner life to read. A good deal of Lord Macaulay's "cocksureness" hangs about his renderings of humanity; they are singularly untroubled by doubts or limitations. Perhaps the strongest quality of the pictures, is one which is scarce sufficiently recognized—a certain dignity of manhood, a reflection probably from the painter's own character. A celebrated artist once said to me *apropos* of Millais' painting, "It is as great as painting *can be*, which has no soul; he has one of those wonderful minds that can reflect any idea with the same impartial clearness." If this be so, it was the surrounding atmosphere in those early pre-Raphaelite days, that occasioned the choice and mode of representation of such subjects as "The Huguenots" and "The Black Brunswicker," though it is difficult to believe that the author of those pictures did not feel the story he depicted. At all events he now shows no desire to return to his old poetic loves, and his admirers have to be content with everyday prose.

It seems ridiculous to speak of the Royal Academy, and not mention Mr. Watts, but he has nothing in this exhibition either new or important, and there has been so much written about his work of late, that little remains that I can say. He is our one painter who has throughout a long life followed what we hold to be the worthy course for an artist; and if he has not quite attained his ideal of perfection, he has at all events shown us what it is, and that it does exist. Of the limitations of his work in

feeling and technique I do not care to speak: they are such easily seen and understood, while many of his finer qualities means so superficial. The truth and beauty of his treatment of a nude figure, for example, could hardly be understood save by an artist, and one versed in the study of ancient sculpture, and the method of portrait-painting surrenders much outside attraction for penetration into character, and the endeavour to paint the inside rather than the outside man. Such effort can never be more than successful, yet it gives a dignity and meaning to portraiture and elevates it into one of the highest branches of art. After these we have to take a long step downwards in merit, and speak of Mr. Poynter's work, though here again we are met by the difficulty that there is nothing to this year's exhibition, except a portion of a design for a proposed decoration of St. Paul's, and a small nude figure entitled *Trepidarium*." Mr. Poynter reminds us somewhat of a picture-maker always trying vainly to fill the leaky vase of art. He is in his task, pouring in composition, and dull colour, and careful but ugly form, and muscles, and robes, and architecture, and clouds, and waves, and all the rest of it—and—the vase gets emptier. The painter is no nearer to being a great artist. Alas, art is mastered *by* effort any more than *without* it! There is another factor that Mr. Poynter lacks. All that industry and will give him he has plentifully; he is a living embodiment of Kensington, and might not unfairly be nicknamed "This-is-it-do-it." But the old story of King James and his nurse, comes on looking at his pictures, and we feel that though the Queen might make him a professor, the "devil himself" could never make an artist. Take, for instance, this design for the proposed decoration of St. Paul's, which, by the way, it is to be hoped will be adopted. What single quality does it possess of good design? Not to dwell upon technical details, it must be premised that the first thing in decoration is, that it should be simple, effective, and and that it should fill, and even slightly emphasize, the space it is to be placed. Can it be said that Mr. Poynter's design fulfils one of these conditions. As to its simplicity, the fact that it requires more than a page of the catalogue to describe its meaning requires supplementing. As to its effectiveness, the design is divided into numerous small and large panels and medallions, awkwardly connected by semi-architectural borders. As to its beauty, we can only say it certainly is not beautiful as a whole, and there does not appear any special beauty either of colour or design, in the individual parts. And lastly, in its decorative suitability, it fails most completely. The device of inserting circular panels and medallions into upright architectural ribs, is feeble in the highest degree, and we cannot imagine anything more unsuitable for a dome of such a height and size as St. Paul's. In the course of a couple of years, the smaller medallions

invisible through smoke and dirt, and in ten years probably we should see nothing but the golden ground of the mosaic, broken at intervals by the architectural ribs. If any decoration in mosaic is wanted for the dome, which is, we think, somewhat questionable, Mr. Poynter would do well to study that which still exists over the apse of the cathedral at Torcello, in which a single gigantic figure of the Virgin with the Saviour in her arms, stands upon a golden ground. In a place of such size, and at so great a height, it would be thoroughly bad art to put decoration so small in character and so broken up in detail as that which is here proposed. It is far more inapplicable than the design made by Mr. Poynter for the roof of the lecture theatre at South Kensington, and that we are glad to say was never carried out. Nevertheless, Mr. Poynter's design shows the master at his best; it is a careful adaptation, in some of its main features, of the style in which Michael Angelo treated the roof of the Sistine Chapel, and the figures, though lacking in individual beauty, are well grouped and carefully drawn. Its one and all-condemning defect is, that it attempts to put labour in the place of design, and that the effort is apparent throughout; for, as Mr. Ruskin once said to this artist, "whatever decoration is, it should be easy."

I hope I shall not be misunderstood as wishing to undervalue or depreciate the work of Mr. Poynter as a whole. He has, I am informed, inaugurated better methods of instruction at South Kensington, and he has set a most honourable example of earnestness and industry, and indifference to popular applause, to all young artists. His claims upon the artistic fraternity are in consequence very considerable, and he is quite in his right place as a Royal Academician; but it was necessary to speak out in time about his proposed decoration of St. Paul's—if, indeed, there is still time to reconsider the matter. There are only two men in England at the present time who are capable of undertaking and carrying out such a task with thorough success, and these are Mr. Watts and Mr. Burne Jones. They would do it in utterly dissimilar ways, but both would do it well. What Sir Frederick Leighton can do in decoration on a large scale, we have all seen in his frescoes at South Kensington, and *quod* decorations these are failures.* Mr. Watts' fresco in Lincoln's-Inn Hall has more of the necessary qualities, and Mr. Burne Jones' large designs for stained glass, which were exhibited the winter before last at the Grosvenor Gallery, are exactly of the character needed. Indeed, if the work is to be carried out, as at present suggested, in mosaic, Mr. Jones is the only artist thoroughly fitting, for he has entirely grasped the spirit of the old Byzantine mosaics, than which the world has never seen more beautiful work. The limitations of their designers' art, were exactly those which suited the limitations of the material, for it

* These frescoes are in the *lunettes* at the ends of one of the large galleries at the South Kensington Museum, and represent "Industrial Art, as applied to War and Peace." In detail they are full of fine draughtsmanship and composition, but are singularly ineffective when viewed as decorative works.

must be remembered that any attempt to make mosaic imitate the refinements of painting, not only fails, but loses in its failure the essential characteristics of the medium, and becomes but a bad imitation of mosaic and painting. Any one who doubts this may find a striking confirmation of my words by comparing the Byzantine mosaics upon the north porch of St. Mark's, with the later works of the other doorways.

With the mention of the four men whose work I have mentioned above, the list of Academic painters who seriously attempt the representation of the figure may be said to close. Of the remaining Academics and Associates, some such division as this will approach the truth.

Painters of historical incident (chiefly from the point of view of costume), nineteen—forming the largest class.

Painters of domestic incident, wholly trivial in import, but affording opportunity for picturesque dresses, and sentimental or humorous treatment, fifteen.

Portrait-painters, four; animal painters, three; landscape-painters, five, of whom only two are Academicians. And the remaining members are made up of sculptors, engravers, and architects. For our present purpose, we may leave out of account.

It will be seen at once from the above list what an enormous portion of what may be called costume-art there is to be found upon the Academic walls, for it must be remembered that by far the greater proportion of those painters whose works I have classed under the heading of historical incident, are historical only in the name, and deal with subjects mainly with a view of enduing them with the special interest which they consider to be most picturesque, or which they can depict most easily. It sounds like a satire, but it is really a fact, that the same ruffs, boots, and breeches re-appear year after year on the walls, till their inanimate faces are as well known as those of the gilded youths, whose canes, flowers, and toothpicks make the decorations of the Gaiety Theatre. Thus, Mr. Marks affects a long waistless garment, with hanging sleeves; Mr. Horsley rarely escapes from the use of hose; Mr. Pettie dates his costumes chiefly from the sixteenth century; Mr. Yeames takes us back to Queen Elizabeth, and Mr. King John; Mr. Leslie, Mr. Storey, Mr. Boughton, and Mr. Stone, all stick religiously to the costume of the latter part of the sixteenth century; Mr. Goodall, Mr. Burgess, and Mr. Hodgson give us a variety of Eastern and Spanish costumes; Mr. Alma Tadema has made dresses his own specialité; and Messrs. Thorburn, Long, and others commonly give us the flowing, shapeless robes that belong to the Christian era.

Of course there are exceptions to be made every now and then, but we may say broadly of the mass of these painters, that the chief interest of their pictures is an interest of dress, and that the predominant interest has led them far away from all truly great art.

young painter, not long since elected an Associate, whose art stands a good chance of being entirely ruined, by his unfortunate possession of a wardrobe of square-skirted coats, and long flapping waistcoats. Having these coats and waistcoats, and a lot of top-boots, he feels bound to paint them, and so we see them appear at decent intervals, now in a palace, and now in a hunting-field.

Directly an artist gets into this slough of dress, it is all over with his art; all the beauty of the outside world disappears, all emotion and thought narrows, till at last a breastplate is an equivalent for heroism, and a silk dress a substitute for love.

It is strange with how uniform an error the Academicians have sought, and do seek, with infinite pains, false picturesqueness, unheeding of the true picturesqueness that lies beneath their hands.

In the present exhibition, the costume pictures are in great force, and in several instances of better quality than usual. Mr. Yeames' "Prince Arthur and Hubert" is a fine strong piece of work, in which the interest rightly centres in the faces of the Prince and his gaoler, and is of considerable intensity. The moment selected for the picture is where Arthur is praying to Hubert to spare his eyes, and the expression of Hubert's face, in which a stern resolution is just beginning to waver with pity, is very powerfully rendered. In saying that this composition would look better as an engraving than it does as a painting, I touch both its chief defects and merits. Its merits are those of simple, intelligible, and forcible rendering of a scene we have all read of with interest, if not emotion; its defects are, that it has no beauty of colour or painting, to atone for the size of the canvas, and the claim it makes upon our attention. There are great blank spaces in it which might be cut out without materially injuring the picture, or which might be filled up with anything else. The truth is, that though the artist has remembered interest, he has forgotten beauty. This and many of the other Academic pictures, especially those of the St. John's Wood and Scotch schools, lose much of their value by lack of concentration, and being executed on too large a canvas. The thought and merit of many of them is, comparatively to their size, as a teaspoonful of water spilt upon a marble floor; the scattered drops slake no thirst. The only cure that we can imagine for this evil would be to have three or four small first-rate pre-Raphaelite pictures—say, for instance, "The Strayed Sheep" of Mr. Holman Hunt, the "Chant d'Amour" of Mr. Burne Jones, and "The Ophelia" of Mr. Millais—hung upon screens in the middle of the large room, and underneath them the following inscription:—"To the Academicians and Associates of the Academy of Arts. These works are hung here to show you how much meaning, beauty, and true poetry there is to be found even in such commonplace things as a bed of tulips in an old-fashioned garden, a few sheep on the ridge of a down, or the willow-shadowed banks of an English streamlet."

Perhaps, if such a proceeding were possible, and a comparison could

be quickly made, even the general public would begin to with "how little wisdom" their artistic world had been going. They would demand for the future something more akin to the truth than the large splodgy canvases with which the Academy is content. For instance, no one would, we imagine, accept the work of Whistler as an adequate representation of Nature, if he had not been acquainted with the subtle lovelinesses of colour and form. It would gain from an examination of the pre-Raphaelite art; it is possible to tell the beneficial effect that would be exercised on young artists, if they once saw that all such hurried and superficial work as that which distinguishes the Scotch school of landscape painting is not considered good art, nor accepted as a substitute for the work of picture buyers.

But I must return to my survey of the historical pictures. I draw attention to the best of this class, which is undoubtedly "Monmouth before James II." Some of the papers have been enough to fall foul of this picture for its unpleasantness; but I remember, said Monmouth's attitude was absurd, because it was from which he would have difficulty in rising. But so is wholly beside the mark. When a man is pleading for his life, he does not choose his attitude, unless he be an operatic tenor, and the unpleasantness of the picture is of the essence of the subject. It is unpleasant, because all degradation of one human being before another is painful. I do not say a painter does wisely in choosing a theme of such subject-matter; but putting aside this question, which is a question for morality rather than art to answer, the picture is excessively fine. The power is intense, its colour deep and powerful throughout. The face of Mr. Pettie, carefully painted; and it is on a mercifully small scale. I cannot conceive, speaking frankly, that any human being could live with such a picture; it would be worse than a skeleton. But it is a bit of true painter's work, and has even a desolate beauty of its own, like the ribs of a wrecked ship standing out against a stormy sky.

In every Academy Exhibition there are eight or ten pictures which stand out from the rest, less, perhaps, for their intense ability than for some charm of style, subject, or treatment that makes them attractive to the beholder. Before continuing our classification of the pictures, let us speak of these pictures, which may be called the "Academy's favourites," and mention first the one which aims most at being beautiful. This is the "Dreamers," by Mr. Alington, an artist whose claims to Academic recognition have been acknowledged by all except the Academicians themselves. It is a special work, a row of maidens, in the thinnest of classical drapery, group themselves in various reposeful attitudes on a low platform. The picture is painted in most delicate harmonies of pink, and white, and its motive is simply to show the beauty of the female form.

lines of drapery, as they half follow and half contrast with the curves of the human body. The figures are alike in their variety, as variations upon the same air; and the lines of one seem to echo while they contrast with those of all the others. The picture is, in fact, a scientific study of beauty; scientific in its thoroughness and skill, but most artistic in its freshness and ease. Decorative work this, of the very highest kind, in which the appearance of having been done with ease and pleasure prevents the spectator from suspecting the labour, thought, and toil which have been necessary to produce it. It is very noticeable, too, how the decorative effect of this work is so complete as to almost prevent our feeling any desire for more vital meaning than this lovely arrangement of tint and curve, which may probably be attributed to the fact that the beauty gained is an entirely true one, and depends upon the artist's untiring reference to natural fact. These draperies are not disposed beautifully without reference to Nature, but with the most intense knowledge, and the eye recognizes their truth as quickly as it does their beauty. A little regret is felt for the fresh breezy loveliness of Mr. Moore's earlier work, and I for one would gladly surrender some of his later science for pictures like those of the earlier days, when he painted action as well as repose, and brought imagination to the help of truth. The picture must, however, be accepted with the genuine thankfulness that is due to a beautiful work; one which will always be a joy to mankind, whatever may be the artistic fashion of the day.

In some ways related to this, in artistic aim, is Mr. Frank Dicksee's picture of "A Love Story," which represents a Romeo-and-Juliet-like scene in an Italian garden by moonlight. It is a pleasant picture, very thoroughly painted, and possessing much persevering beauty of detail. I say persevering beauty, for the impression that the picture makes is, that the artist has kept the ideal of beauty before him in every portion. Its fault is that it has a *confectioned* look, as if it had been made up, not grown nor sprung into life. There is nothing of freedom of thought, or heat of imagination, about the work; it is calm, equable, we might almost say scholarly. The praise that is its due is to be given to its fine and solid painting; its desire to produce a beautiful picture at any cost, its surrender of all tricks of effect, and its perfect purity of intention. With all this, it must be confessed that the picture is a little dull, and seems to be waiting for some touch of celestial fire to call it into life.

Contrast with this a little idyll of common life, hung far above the line, called "A Harvest Song;" three girls singing in a cornfield at twilight. A picture which might teach both the last-mentioned artists a good deal if they would only read its lesson rightly. It has probably caught its inspiration from French art, and reminds us dimly of Jules Breton and François Millet; but the intense truth of the sentiment, the unaffectedness of its representation, and the simplicity of its beauty, are

very deserving of notice. It is a small and (as far as height at which it is hung) a roughly painted picture, but it has a touch of genuine life which Mr. Dicksee's work lacks, and a feeling which Mr. Moore's disdains.

If we want the two best sea-scapes here, we put them above the line, though they are by such well-known painters as Henry Moore and Mr. Walter J. Shaw. Between them a little comparison to be made, since these painters give us different views of the scope of their art. Mr. Moore is perhaps the more genuine painter in England. Mr. Shaw is perhaps the more all events, the most clearly defined. The one is a painter of an impression of certain phases of sea and sky, the other is almost equally skilful in painting the details of given conditions of wind and tide. The one invites the eye to feel into his pictures, and no small amount of feeling rarely gets unity of more than a portion, and never all: perhaps their styles might be compared, not to the style of which Mr. Froude and Mr. Freeman write histories, but to the style of which Mr. Froude and Mr. Freeman write histories, fervid, inaccurate, in a dozen ways, but true to the facts; the other, cold, calm, detailed, irrefutable, yet misapprehending the sphere, which his less accurate rival possesses. The pictures of Mr. Moore and Mr. Shaw are fair examples of the above difference. Mr. Moore's picture is a little below, and Mr. Shaw a little above, his picture is a dark-grey, stormy sea, entitled, "Wind and Sea," and the other a scene of rough waves breaking on a rocky shore, entitled, "The Great Orme's Head, North Wales, during a storm, 14th, 1881." Personally, Mr. Moore's picture is better, but there is nothing so technically fine in it as the picture of Mr. Shaw's work; and there is evident in Mr. Shaw's work a dingy-quality of painting which is one of the faults of Mr. Moore's. That both are excessively fine pictures, and that upon the "line," there is no doubt. May I hint that the sea has other "secrets" besides those of its waves? The pictures will only gain in attractiveness, as well as meaning, given of their relation to human endeavour, please Mr. Brett and Mr. Hook, it is not necessary to say that their work this year shows no increase of power, and that a few words only are necessary to point out the difference between the elder and the younger painter. Mr. Hook, with his simplicity, is nevertheless a little of a stylist in his pictures, to some extent the traditions of the grand school. Mr. Moore is a composition as well as a record; Nature has put it upon his canvas. Mr. Brett is a realist, and devotes all his powers to literal fidelity. Both have special merits and drawbacks: one is the most delicate, the other the truest of painters; but Mr. Brett is the most lim-

only because he sees nothing in Nature, except what he can reproduce so admirably. All the subtler manifestations of the world, all what may be called the "undertones" of creation, do not exist for him: in the glow of his powerful sunshine, all the finer shades of meaning disappear. The connection of landscape with mankind, which Hook has always seen, and to the delineation of which his pictures have owed much of their beauty, is a sealed book to the younger painter. A camera and lens could hardly look at shore and sea with more dispassionate eyes. The best of his contributions here, "The Grey of the Morning" (506), shows this very plainly; there is absolutely nothing in it to explain with what feeling the painter looked at the morning, and whether he was glad or sorry, or indifferent, towards its fair beauty. It must be a happy artistic temperament this, which finds no limitations to its power; which can placidly disbelieve in there being anything in "heaven and earth which is (not) dreamt of in its philosophy." With these few words as to the sea-scapes of the exhibition, let us turn to the portrait-painting, on the whole the strongest branch of English art, and one that yearly gathers recruits from amongst our best painters.

There is certainly an increase this year in the number of portraits, and many of the Academicians and Associates are chiefly represented by such works. Of these, the chief are Messrs. Holl, Orchardson, Oulless, Herkomer. The work of all these artists is fine in quality, and each has a speciality that the others lack. Mr. Oulless emulates Mr. Millais in his rendering of flesh tints, and poses and paints his sitter with a sort of respectability which is essentially English—and, alas! essentially dull. The work is lifelike in all but the varying qualities of life. Mr. Oulless's sitter never seems to have had more than one emotion, and that a thoroughly respectable one. Perhaps as his favourite subjects are judges, bishops, and professors, this may really have been the case! His work in this exhibition does not call for special remark, though it is rather above than under the usual average. So far as I am able to judge without personal knowledge of the various persons depicted, I should imagine that the portrait of Sir Frederick Roberts was the best likeness, as it is certainly the best picture; the other portraits are of Mr. Norman, Mr. Stephen Halli, and Professor Monier Williams. Mr. Holl must come next to Mr. Oulless, if only for the sake of contrast: he may well form the shadow to the other's light, the antitype to his respectability. Indeed, there is something singularly Bohemian and revolutionary about Mr. Holl's work; he gives all his sitters a reckless, dare-devil look. His studies of character seem hurried yet penetrating ones, as if they were, as Rossetti once said, "half read by lightning in a dream." And by the irony of fate, he too generally paints clergymen, schoolmasters, and officers of the Inland Revenue; in fact, embodiments of law and order. It is hard to characterize such painting in any way that will help its comprehension to those readers who are unacquainted with it. One of its peculiarities is a certain magnificence of

manner; his portraits are never trivial and never insignificant. In some ways he reminds us of Carolus Duran, but his work has none of the voluptuousness of the great French painter, and he abominates all luxury of surroundings, confining himself to the most unobtrusive furniture, and clothing his sitters by preference in black. Like most artists who have done much wood-work, his contrasts of light and shade are rather forced, but this is atoned for in his case by the wonderful dexterity with which he manages black, and the amount of colour he gets into that very impracticable tint. He is a colourist in black and white; and it is curious to note that though he frequently paints pictures with hardly any other colour in them, there never seems to be any lack of colour; they never appear to be painted in monochrome. Mr. Orchardson is in light, what Mr. Holl is in shadow, a Bohemian of portrait-painters, whose sitters must frequently consider whether they did wisely or unwisely to entrust themselves to his untended mercies. He is a ragged, and occasionally slovenly painter, using habitually too large a canvas, and filling it up with anything that comes handy, or, if not, leaving it carelessly three parts empty. His greatest power is shown in dealing with broad masses of lighted surface, and in subduing pale tints of pink and yellow into a pleasant harmony of colour. Yellow, however, is frequently his Capua, and he apparently gets savage with it, and tosses it here and there over his picture, as a bull tosses a scarlet cloth. He is one of the painters with whom one never feels secure of anything but sensation, and may be summed up as a most genuine artist, reduced to second-rate rank by want of sufficient study, and by too easy success. In his portraiture it is notable that one never thinks of the sitter, but only of a new development of the artist. Mr. Herkomer as a portrait-painter has taken the Academy by surprise. He has two works, both of which, though tinged with his own somewhat aggressive personality, are in their way excellent. Their way is a bad one, we think, in which the ability is chiefly on the surface, and in which there is no depth of feeling or thought to make the work enduringly beautiful. Besides this, Mr. Herkomer has a way of alternately ignoring colour, and inventing a colour of his own, which is particularly objectionable to us. He looks upon colour from the point of view of a scene-painter. The consequence is, that his works, especially his landscapes, of which there is a good example in this exhibition, have only an outside attractiveness, and cease to please almost in proportion to the intimacy of our acquaintance with the kind of scene they depict. He is a painting Alexander, who is always sighing for more worlds to conquer, and running hither and thither in art, doing now peasants and now poets, painting huge subject pictures, and then larger landscapes; etching one day and engraving the next; painting miniatures the next, and designing the biggest advertisement ever seen the next, and so on throughout the whole range of art. The only thing he doesn't do, as far as I know, is stand

glass, and it is quite likely that one day he will take to that. A certain Athenian, Aristeidian feeling, comes over one on meeting everywhere this bustling, restless genius, and one wishes, very foolishly no doubt, that he would find a difficulty in doing something. But this, it seems to me, he will never do; his six-foot line will still go on plombling infinity, with perfect ease and satisfaction—still, it is but a six-foot line after all.

The portraiture exhibited here by outside artists must as a whole be placed on a decidedly lower level than that of the Academicians and Associates, but there are several artists who regularly contribute good work of this kind. Mr. H. Fantin, Mr. John Collier, Mr. Weigall, Mr. Rudolf Lehmann, Mrs. Jopling, and Mr. A. Stuart Wortley are all meritorious and thoroughly capable painters of the second class. The two first of these are especially worthy of attention, and form a capital contrast to one another. Mr. Fantin is an artist whose painting is entirely French in its method, and whose pictures have absolutely no attractiveness of colour or accessory to recommend them: they win what favour we have to give, by their sheer truth to certain effects of dull atmosphere upon the human face. It is a kind of winter-afternoon light, in which Mr. Fantin poses his sitters in their black dresses, and against their dark grey backgrounds; everything else is surrendered to what the French call "*les valeurs*." The result is a strange and, in some ways, unattractive art, but one in which certain results of tone, and a certain unity of impression, are undoubtedly gained. These pictures are extremely subtle in their gradations of colour, and the work is such as to grow upon the liking, more than to arrest the attention. The effort of the artist is to combine a picture and a portrait, and in this process the dress and background of the sitter, and the light and shade upon the face and body, become of primary importance. What may be called the English method (though as a matter of fact he learnt most of his art from a Belgian) is well shown in Mr. John Collier's compositions. Here a sitter is placed in full light against a fairly dark background, and painted simply and straightforwardly as he appears, without reticence of any kind. Has the gentleman put on a new cloak, or the lady a new dress—the cloak and dress appear forthwith. Have they on old ones—we recognize the fact. A certain uniform level of painting covers the whole portrait, and the texture of any given part of it is *paint*, rather than flesh, or silk, or wool, or wood. The general effect is inartistic, but life-like; if we know the person represented, we are certain to recognize him. The looking-glass is a coarse one, but it reflects with sufficient accuracy. On the whole, it is painting which is thoroughly wholesome in intention, and industrious in execution, but which tastes more of manufacture than art, because its author does not quite understand what art is.

One change which has passed over the Academy during the last ten years must be briefly noticed, though it is questionably a change for the

better. This is the introduction into the yearly exhibitions of considerable quantities of foreign pictures, chiefly of the *genre* species. It is questionably just, it seems to me, to use the limited space at the disposal of the Hanging Committee, for the exhibition of these alien works, to the exclusion or the neglect of English painters; and when we consider that the forty Academicians and the thirty Associates hang their pictures, as is quite right and natural, in the best places, we feel still more strongly that our other native painters should be well hung, before room is found for French or Dutch painters. It is more generous than just to hang Mynheer Van Beers and Signor Francesco Vineà on the "line," and put Mr. Henry Moore's magnificent sea-scape, and Mr. Sadler's elaborate picture of "The Refectory," up in the "sky;" and the Hanging Committee should remember that, if they and their fellows pose annually as the patrons of good English art, they have duties as well as privileges, and should consider more things in the selection and arrangement of the pictures, than the number of shillings which they can extract from the public. Indeed, nothing can be more shortsighted than for the Academicians to neglect the claims of the artists outside their ranks, for it is by their contributions that the annual exhibition is made. If the outsiders had an exhibition of their own, there would be comparatively little general interest taken in the exhibition at Burlington House. I do not propose, therefore, to speak at any length of the foreign pictures, clever though they be, though just a word must be said as to the three best ones. These are—"Avant la Fête du Papa," by Michael de Munkacsy, a Hungarian painter; "The Yacht La Sirène," by Jan Van Beers; and "The Queen of the Revels," by Francesco Vineà. Of these, the first might be called "A Tragedy of Bric-à-brac," the second, "A Feuilleton in Muslin," and the third, "A Hymn to Bacchus." M. de Munkacsy's work is to painting, something like what Walt Whitman's ballads are to poetry, a jumble of inconsequent phrases, only made bearable by the strong individuality beneath them. Just as there is in Whitman little of the "long resounding march and melody divine" of great poetry, but a current of wildly flowing words, that tumble over one another in profuse haste, so in Munkacsy's work the painter seems to heap together recklessly anything which comes to his hand. His painting is full of broken lights and shadows, of pieces of exquisite work side by side with patches of ugliness and carelessness, and the impression given by the whole is one of mingled splendour and waste, much as if we saw a navvy wiping his boots on a Persian carpet. In spirit, it seems to me that this would be the most immoral style of painting in the world, were it not to some extent redeemed by the tragic power of the artist; a power which is no less certain, and hardly less evident, for being habitually kept in restraint. If, however, we want to see how low art can sink, and yet retain the recognition and sanction of our most moral Academy, look at Mynheer Van Beers' picture of "The Yacht La Sirène." Let us imagine ourselves at Trouville, on a baking summer's day, so hot that a grey mist hangs

over the sky, shutting out sea and air; the atmosphere is stifling, the boards of the jetty crack with heat, even under the tread of those dainty feet that come tripping down the steps of the jetty to the yacht's gig that waits below. Look at these muslin skirts, uplifted to show the delicate silk stockings, at the ribbons fluttering behind her, at the jersey fitting closely to an inimitable Parisian corset—and then look at the little French dandy sailor, who is handing her down to the boat, at his blue coat, and white trousers, and patent leather shoes. Is he not a worthy owner of the yacht—and the lady?—

Let us agree that this picture is done as well as it could be done—that never was there a more suggestive illustration to *La Vie Parisienne*; it marks a point beyond which the degradation of art cannot go. It has not even the courage of its opinions, and proclaims its immorality in a sort of society whisper. If that art be the best which gives us “the greatest number of the greatest ideas,” what shall we say of this?

More cynically frank in speech, but less objectionable in meaning, is Francesco Vineà's “Queen of the Revels,”* a hymn in praise, not of Bacchus, but Silenus—taking it altogether, perhaps the most powerful picture in the Academy, full of wonderful bits of painting, and conceived with a vividness of detail and a skill of composition which are worthy of the greatest praise. It represents a sort of Bacchanalian revel in a wine-cellar, at the moment when all the company are three-parts drunk, and have enthroned one of the wildest Mænads of the company upon a great wine cask. What would Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough have said to this picture, I wonder, if it had been sent to the Academy in their day? How much we have learnt about great art since then!

The only other foreign picture of great merit is Mr. Van Haanen's composition of “Luncheon-time in a Venetian Sartoria,” an interior, with girls gossiping and eating in the interval of their dressmaking. This has much of the same merit as the last picture, without its bestiality of subject, and is noticeable for the fine passages of colour and painting which it contains. It is of the same somewhat meretricious Italian school, in which all the faces are painted from dark to light, instead of from light to dark, but it is very genuine artistic work. What such work issues in, in the hands of an English pupil, may be seen in the picture by Mr. Woods, called “Bargaining for an Old Master,” which hangs almost next to Van Haanen's. This also is a Venetian street scene, and is an echo of Van Haanen's and Vineà's manner of painting, in which all the essential merits of these masters have disappeared, and nothing is left but their showy superficial cleverness. The Academy, for some inscrutable reason, have just thought fit to elect Mr. Woods as an Associate, over the heads of half-a-dozen far better men, as if what was wanted in the Academy to-day, was a clever imitation of second-rate Italian *genre* painting.

* It is curious that in the illustrated Catalogue of the Salon for this year there is a picture identical in composition with this of Signor Vineà's, ascribed not to him but to G. Fraipont, and entitled “A la plus Belle.” Is it possible that one work is the copy of the other? And if so, which?

A few words must be said of the battle-pieces here, if only to give the praise that it deserves, to Mr. Caton Woodville's picture of "Saving the Guns at Maiwand," which is one of the most splendid and stirring war pictures that England has seen for many a year. How good it is, is felt only after comparing it with all the other pictures of battles and soldiery in the exhibition. It is, in fact, the real thing, painted with knowledge as well as power, and instinct with a grim earnestness and reality that makes the work of Mr. Crofts and Mrs. Butler seem trivial or affected. Indeed, Mrs. Butler's picture called "Floreat Etona," is as affected as its name, and only deserves notice for a certain amount of "go" which marks the action of the horses. Mr. Crofts is well represented by two pictures, both of Waterloo, one at Hougoumont, the other of the farm of St. Jean. They are skilful and faithful almost to a fault, but the figures are too small to have much individual interest, and Mr. Crofts' skill does not extend to giving any personality to his soldiers; they are but puppets properly dressed and accoutred. If we turn from these, and look at the leading "driver" in Mr. Woodville's picture, and at the wonderful expression of resolution upon his face, we see the difference at once between vital and mechanical art; the Maiwand picture is so *real*, that we are taken into the very thick of the conflict, and almost feel as if we were lending a hand to "save the guns." If ever there was a suitable picture for the Academy to have purchased with the Chantrey fund money, this is one, for it depicts worthily a fine subject, and it is the work of a painter who is doing thoroughly good and original work, with but little general recognition. I am excessively glad to notice that Mr. Woodville is in a fair way to conquer that dull clayiness of colour which disfigured his earlier work; if he only becomes fairly good in this respect, he will be without a rival in England in the delineation of battles, for in truth he is the only painter who shows us the very bones and sinews of war; our others only give us the outside incidents.

I have left the mention of the landscapists, and the subject pictures by artists outside the Academic pale, too long, and must speak of them with the utmost brevity. This is the more easily done, as there is little work in this year's exhibition of this kind which requires detailed notice. Glancing quickly round the galleries, the absence of good landscapes is the first thing noticeable, and it is well worthy of remembrance that this absence must be attributed in no small degree to the insolent indifference and unmerited neglect which the Academicians habitually show to the exhibitors of landscape. The result of this indifference is beginning to show very clearly. Forty years ago we stood at the head of the world in landscape painting, and the French school could only follow humbly in the footsteps of our Constable. To-day, we have practically no school of landscape at all; and with the exception of half-a-dozen rather pre-Raphaelite painters, all our works in this style are either futile or meretricious. In this exhibition, the good landscapes can be reckoned upon the fingers, and

if we omit the coast and sea-scenes of Brett and Hook, upon the fingers of one hand. A fine work by Mr. W. H. R. Davis, called "*In Ross-shire*," splendidly executed, especially in the cattle and foreground portions, but deficient in concentration, and very cold in its beauty; a river picture by A. W. Hunt, delicate and faithful, but rather monotonously executed, and, like most of his work, over-refined, containing a sort of weak poetry, highly polished, like a sonnet by "*Aubrey de Vere*;" "*In the Evening there shall be Light*," a fine desolate effect of sunlight after a wet day, by Mr. Leader—one of his best works; a coast-scene by Mr. Peter Graham, called "*The Inflowing Tide*," a picture of misty clouds, green water, and white sea-birds, done with an inimitable freshness of impression; and two or three smaller pictures by comparatively unknown men, of which the best are, "*Silver and Gold*," by Mr. John White; "*The North-west Coast of Cornwall*," by Mr. E. Gill; "*A Land of Flowers*," by Mr. George Cook; and "*Violets*," by Mr. David Carr. All these last four show unpretendingly good work. If it were not supposed to be unfashionable to go to the National Gallery, I would suggest to any reader interested in English landscape, that after his next visit to the Academy, he should walk down to Trafalgar Square, and there look for ten minutes or so at Turner. It would explain to him, more than reams of writing, the difference between great landscape art, and art which is only splendid technical execution joined to enormous industry. Mr. Hook is in some ways our nearest approach to Constable, and when he dies we shall not have a single artist connected with what may be called the old English school of landscape. Mr. Brett, who, had he not ignored all the great art of the past and the emotions and meanings of the present, might have been a great artist, will do nothing beyond what he has already accomplished,—that is, paint large, splendid, and soul-less pictures, which the public will wonder before, the technical painter reverence, and the genuine artist condemn. What the English school of landscape is coming to, and what the Academy intends to encourage, we may discover by looking at the work of Mr. Keeley Halswelle, who has three large landscapes here (and one at the Grosvenor Gallery), all more or less upon the "line." Suppose we were to take a Brett landscape and scumble it over with grey, till the colour had all but disappeared—the result would be very much like one of Mr. Halswelle's pictures, except that Brett can draw water in motion, and such little problems as the retreating curves of a wave as it retires along the shore; and Mr. Halswelle only attempts river scenery. He is a painter of grey atmosphere, whose chief delight is to depict a long stretch of cumulus clouds, passing from the horizon to the front of the picture. To say that his work is dull, does not express my meaning sufficiently; it is so dull that we cannot conceive its being anything else; just as when listening to a bore, we only pray that he won't talk about anything to which we

are attached—lest we should be unable to care for it again. That is exactly the impression that Mr. Halswelle makes upon pictorial hearing. I feel incredulous that the “sun ever shone and flowers ever blew” on a green and gracious earth, when I look at the grey shadows; and certainly it was on no rivers like those which Mr. Halswelle shows us, that we used to drift along gently in the summer evenings. What right has a painter to take all the poetry out of the world, and give us nothing in exchange? is it not worse than taking the coin out of our pockets? I must leave the landscapes here, with staying to speak of Mr. Vicat Cole, the most accomplished of mechanical painters; Mr. Mac Whirter, the weakest member of the Academy; Mr. Cooper, whose cattle have stood so long munching their green grass under the shade of the willows.

These very rambling and disjointed notes of the Academy must cease here, though I have scarcely noticed a tithe of the pictures. Enough has, perhaps, been said to show the main features of the exhibition, and an attempt to do more would only weary the reader.

HARRY QUilter.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION :

A HISTORY AND A CRITICISM.

II.

SCHELLING and Hegel are the two names that represent the most daring and laborious attempts to construct a Philosophy of Religion. They did not, like the previous workers in the same field, limit themselves to speculations and discussions as to its nature, with a more or less hurried and violent endeavour to construe in their light the great Religion of the Western world; but they each tried to explain, classify, and characterize the religions of man. Their problem was not simply the nature and idea of religion in the abstract, but the meaning and mission, the reason and right, of religion in the concrete, its relation to man and to the Providence that made and rules him. These two men were, we may say, the first to comprehend the immense significance of the problem religion proposes to philosophy. They saw that into it, as into a living and rational head, were gathered the centres of the nerves that pervaded and moved the body of truth; it was the turning point to which converged all the questions that touched the reason, the source, and end of man and his universe. They saw that those wonderful creations of human thought we call the religions of the world could not be irrational, could not be explained by accident or ignorance, or sensuous fears, or tendencies, themselves in need of explanation, to idealize the material and personalize the dead, but must be worthy of the reason that lived in man and ruled in the universe. The reason of man is universal, one with the reason of God. The system of the world is to us rational, because it articulates a reason akin to our own. Did it not do so, it could not seem reasonable; between it and our reason there could be no intelligible relation whatever. The being of the Divine Reason can alone explain the rationality of man and his world. But if so, then all the religions that have ever anywhere appeared rational to men must, when seen from the right point of view,

also appear in their degree rational to us, and must also have a place in the scheme, the diamond network of the divine thought, into and at which time is being built. Hence men who so regard our religions are inevitably driven upon the question, Whence, What, and Why are they? And so it was in obedience to a supreme logical necessity, springing from the very nature of their respective systems, that Schelling and Hegel each attempted a Philosophy of Religion.

Their philosophies of religion stand in very different relations to their general philosophical activity. Each, indeed, was throughout occupied with religious problems. Theology first quickened the restful and speculative spirit of Schelling and the massive and encyclopaedic intellect of Hegel, and neither was faithless to his first love. Schelling's progress in speculation was a continuous progress towards theosophy. Hegel's philosophy was an explication of the Absolute Idea, or God. But while Schelling early attempted a speculative theory of religion as a philosophical construction of Christianity, yet it was only after long silence, when he had been called to Berlin to undo the work of his great rival, that he elaborated his positive philosophy of religion. While Hegel's grew out of the maturity of his powers and stood in necessary connection with his principles, formal and material, Schelling's belongs less to his vigorous maturity than to his fanciful age, and the converse rather than complement of his earlier philosophy—though within the differences there are also many points of agreement. Hegel explained religion through his philosophy, but Schelling through theosophy. To the former it was the central division of the philosophy of the absolute spirit; art, or the spirit embodied in the sensuous symbol standing on its left hand, and philosophy, or the spirit in the form of thought, on its right; but to the latter it was a mirror and expression of God, of forces and processes in the divine nature. Hegel tried to explain the historical religions from the standpoint of mind, the qualities and relations of spirit they expressed; but Schelling from the standpoint of the divine action and providence, classifying and arranging them as if they were transcripts of his theistic idea. Hegel's work has the greater philosophical, but Schelling's the greater scientific worth. The first has a more masterly analysis of religious ideas, the profounder and truer notion of religion; but the second has the broader historical outlook, a deeper insight into the meaning and constituents of the historical religions. And so Hegel has far the greatest significance for the study of the philosophy of religion, but Schelling for the student of its history, its historical evolution and relations.

It is not our intention to discuss or expound in the present paper Schelling's philosophy of religion, though it has a worth other and deeper than what belongs to it as a dream of one of the most marvellous and quickening intellects of our century. While he regarded it as the complement and corrective of all his earlier speculations, it seemed to a world that had grown as remote from him as from the

scholastic of schoolmen, or ecstatic of mystics, hardly in any sense a philosophy, being visionary and phantastic rather than rational and real, a magnificent speculative dream, illumined here and there with lights that help us to see as into the heart of things. Zeller has well remarked that his speculations recall the gnosis of the second century. His system was, indeed, a species of Gnosticism—its centre a sort of divine dark, though as we move towards the circumference we come upon points that surprise us with their light and meaning. To Schelling the history of religion is in its order and causes identical with the history of creation and the development of the Godhead. The forces that achieve the evolution of the religious consciousness are also the potencies that operate the realization of God in the world-process. These potencies constitute the divine life, institute and conduct the creative process, take possession of the human consciousness and work in it a development whose order agrees with and reflects the order followed in creation. Cosmogony is, as it were, the mythological process in nature, mythology is the cosmogonic process in spirit; the one is the same process in fact or reality which the other is in parable or allegory, yet an allegory which is not altogether allegorical. And so the history of the consciousness of God is at the same time the history of God in consciousness—mythology is theology. The human consciousness is never without God—possesses Him from the very beginning, but not consciously; it is full of the divine, but is without a clear and distinct knowledge of God. This is the stage of relative monotheism; God is known, but not as an object of definitive, affirmative thought. The first movement of the consciousness is not one in search of the God it carries within itself, but a movement away from Him. The monotheism which man unconsciously possesses must be lost to consciousness through a polytheistic process in order that he may return out of this into a free and intelligent, *i.e.*, an affirmative and real, monotheism. Polytheism is thus the necessary transitional form through which the primitive religious consciousness must pass, that it may develop into a consciousness of the true religion. This process is worked by the divine potencies which, under the form of successive gods, seize and govern the human consciousness. From this point, as stages in the divinely operated return out of the lapse from primitive or relative, to absolute monotheism, Schelling presents the religions of man. First comes astral religion, Sabæism in its first form; then comes a more spiritual belief, the gods are personalized and sexualized, whence issues animal worship, represented by Egypt, while Greece achieves the next stage, the evolution of deities as human. But thought could not stand there; the Greek mysteries become the home of a more spiritual faith, and are the precursors and prophets of the next change, the transition to the Religion of Revelation, the absolute monotheism, where the process ends and all antitheses are reconciled.

Now these speculations are, in a sense, above criticism—at least, they

are beyond it. We are here in the region of things unreal—of phantasies, of processes that belong to dreamland. But as mysterious as are these mysteries of the later Schelling, it is not true, as has been asserted, that they remained without scientific result. His philosophy, indeed, remained his own, was too peculiar, too much the outcome of his personal character and history to become any other; but in his method of handling and presenting the religions, in his knowledge of themselves and their roots and relations, there was real knowledge of what had been, insight into its causes, and a power so admirable that it rarely failed to give a distinct image of each specific religion in its collective character and living action. By the science has suffered from being incorporated with the philosophy, it has not been made entirely ineffectual. Schelling has not contributed towards the study of the religions in history. It is enough to say that his speculations exercised so great an influence on Bunsen, that we might almost venture to maintain the position he owed his most genial and fruitful and illuminative ideas to Schelling, while the distinguished philologist who has done so much to revive in England an interest in the science of religion has repeatedly and emphatically protested that Schelling exerted a determinative influence on his mind and career. But what Schelling did he did not by his revived Gnosticism, but by virtue of his insight into the philosophy of religion in history, its force as the creator of society, that makes society possible, of civilization and all that makes civilisation true and beautiful and good.

But we touch Schelling only, as it were, by the way, and as a prelude to our main concern, which is Hegel, and his contribution to the philosophy of religion. Hegel stood in organic connection with the earlier philosophy of Schelling, and through him with his immediate predecessors, especially Kant and Fichte. Schelling had tried to pass from Kant's subjective to an objective idealism, from a philosophy of knowing to one of being, from mind to nature. The steps by which he made the attempt were two:—(1) his doctrine of intuition, and his doctrine of indifference or identity. By his doctrine of intuition he claimed immediate knowledge of the object or absolute; by his doctrine of indifference he abolished the distinction between subject and object, and made identity the supreme law of reason, and therefore of all philosophy. Hegel stood opposed to Schelling on both points; he said Schelling's doctrine of intuition made him begin with an absolute knowledge, which was shot, as it were, out of a pistol, while his doctrine of the absolute, with its abolition of difference, was only like the night in which all horses look black. In antithesis to the first, Hegel developed his scientific theory as to knowledge; in antithesis to the second, he reasoned or dialectic theory of being, or doctrine of the absolute. In dealing with the first, he strove to explain and exhibit the progress of the consciousness from sensuous perception to pure

ledge, and showed how the phenomena of consciousness formed a cycle governed in the successive phases or stages of its evolution by thought. In dealing with the second, he contended that the absolute should not be conceived as mere indifference or identity, but as spirit, an absolute in which all difference was immanent, that is, not as being simply necessarily permanent and identical, but as being necessarily developing, a process necessarily generative of the finite and creative of the individual. Hegel translated the absolute from substance into subject, not what existed unchanged amid changes, but what was ever changing, at once subject and cause of change. While Schelling lost the distinctions of the finite in the absolute, Hegel was ever labouring to develop them from it, to show that they at once expressed and resulted from a process grounded in its very nature, constituting, in a sense, its being. The work of thought was to explicate and exhibit this development of the absolute, to show how everything by inner and immanent necessity proceeded from it in a determinate or definite order. Science was the knowledge of the manifold of being in its relation to the absolute, or as at once the natural and dialectical result of the evolutionary process. Hence Hegel explained science as the exhibition and exposition of the absolute or idea under a threefold form:—(1) the science of the idea or absolute in and for itself, or logic; (2) the science of the absolute or idea in its objective being, or the philosophy of nature; and (3) the science of the absolute as returned from objective into subjective being, or the philosophy of spirit.

But it is not with the philosophy of Hegel as a whole that we are here concerned—only with his philosophy of religion. Yet it is necessary to note, alike for purposes of exposition and criticism, the place this philosophy occupies in his system. He meant his system to be essentially religious, to culminate in religion, to be so penetrated with its spirit and meaning as to be the most religious of all philosophies. The historical result may have been tragically unlike the intention—Feuerbach and Strauss form a strange answer to his hopes; but failure is no disproof of purpose, may be the fruit of mistake or confusion in the disciples rather than of error in the master. Philosophy and religion were to him one and the same; each had the same truth, the same aim, "God, and nothing but God and the explication of God." Seldom has a sublimer hymn in praise of religion been written than we may find in the opening paragraphs of his "*Religionsphilosophie*." It is said to be "the region of eternal truth, eternal peace, eternal rest." Man is man by virtue of thought; from him as spirit proceed the manifold forms of the sciences, the arts, the institutions of his political life, the relations which belong to him as a free and rational will. But all these, everything which has worth and excellence for man, in which he seeks happiness, fame, pride, finds its ultimate centre in religion, in the thought of God. God is thus the beginning of all and the end of all; as everything proceeds from Him everything returns to Him again. In

religion that places himself in relation to this living centre. This leads to the highest stage of consciousness, and into the region which lies from finite reasons, is absolutely suffering, the unconstrained, the free and rational end of his being. And so he says, "In this region of the spirit few the streams of existence flow where Perseus dwells, and in which she loses all her pains, finding the perpetuity of this life sublated into the likeness of a vision and transfigured into the grey dawn of the eternal day."

Now it is necessary that we see why Hegel's philosophy was so essentially and pre-eminently religious. His system was a unity, a dialectical exposition of the Idea, a reasoned expounding of the universe in its successive stages and phases as an evolution of the Absolute, as in all its forces and movements an unfolding or manifestation of the Infinite. The starting point was the system of pure reason, the kingdom of pure thought, or Logic. Logic was not in Hegel the science or doctrine of the laws and forms of thought, but the science of thought as thought, the constructive between matter and form being here essentially united. It is, as it were, the exhibition of God as He is in His eternal essence, as He existed before the creation of the world of nature and man. This does not mean that God had ever so been in fact, only that He is conceived in thought. Reason is here concerned with pure being, with essential existence, with the principles that underlie and move every thing, with the unity everywhere manifested in the manifold of being. But the idea cannot, in pure idea, be realized, to be so it must be externalized, appear in Nature. Nature is the idea in the form of another or external, or objective being, is quite externalized, externalized. It explains it is the process of the externalization of Nature, which presents mechanical, organic, and organic existence as moments or stages in the rational process, the evolution of the Absolute. But through Nature we reach Spirit, or conscious freedom and conscious reason, free in itself that it may be rational for itself, able to construct a reasoned and rational universe. Here now we have the philosophy of the Spirit, or the doctrine of the Absolute in its concrete being as the Logic was the doctrine and exposition of it in the abstract. Spirit is presented as subjective, objective, and absolute, or spirit achieving freedom from nature and realizing itself as intelligence and will, spirit creating legal rights, morality, ethical character and conduct, becoming up the state, articulating its reason in science and history, and spirit becoming conscious of its ideal existence of its essential nature, of its unity with the Absolute. This latter is in general the sphere of religion, or more strictly defined and divided of art, religion, and philosophy, which, while they differ in form, are, as to matter, essentially united, and which the spirit presents, respectively, and knows well. Art being the union of idea and reality, material symbol and spiritual existence, being the representation of the Absolute in a material picture or figure, and religion or image based from the senses, and Philosophy the absolute knowledge of

God, the knowledge of Him under forms that agree with His nature or essence.

Now, hurried as this glance has been, it will have made this much apparent—the Hegelian philosophy is, essentially, not only religious, but historical, is a dialectic in the form of history. It is, we may say, a theory of the becoming of the universe and of everything in it. The becoming is a rational process, necessary while rational, proceeds by immanent necessity, which is only another name for immanent and essential reason. From this point of view the evolutionary or creative process is an articulation of the immanent reason, a sort of dialectic in history, every event or fact in Nature, every product or movement of spirit being a term needed to complete a sentence in the divine speech which incarnates the divine spirit, a note needed to fill out the harmony made by the eternal Thought as it moves through time to its conscious and destined end. But now it is obvious that this conception involves a discussion and presentation of the various terms in the dialectical process—that is, the phenomena of the universe, on the one hand, and the events of history on the other—in their dialectical order, in their relation to the immanent reason, rather than in their actual and realized being. Thus in history, customs, law, ethics, the moral and political forces creative and destructive of states, cannot be adequately and organically presented in their concrete, complex, and interactive being, because they must be presented in their relation to the Idea, as moments or stages in its logical articulation. No man, indeed, had a clearer notion than Hegel of the essential affinities and relations of these facts and forces; but he was so absorbed in determining their place in the universal dialectic, that he did not sufficiently determine their connection with one another. No man ever saw more clearly the relation between religion and ethics, or between our political and our religious ideals, our civil institutions and our theoretic beliefs; but he was so concerned to show the successive religions as logical evolutions of the Idea that he failed to present them in their full significance for man, for history, and even for God. The failing leaned to virtue's side. It is better to find reason everywhere than to find it nowhere. The idea that the universe is an articulation, the speech or dialectic, of reason, is entirely true; but the notion that it is simply active force, permutating while conserved, is at once ridiculous and false. The universe, interpreted through the philosophy of the spirit, is the home and object of the sciences; but the universe, interpreted through the philosophy of nescience, is but an infinite blank wall confronted by an ignorance that never looks so foolish as when it pretends to be knowledge. Yet the universe is not to be explained by a speculative explanation of thought. We must know man that we may know God. The religions of the world are not to be explained by a transcendental dialectic, but must be studied, analyzed, known, that their own reason, and the reason of man and his universe, may be understood.

But this criticism concerns simply the Hegelian method; we must

now look at the Hegelian notion of religion and the Idea are essentially connected. Religion is, as it were, phantomed by the religions; in other words, history of the Idea. Hegel's Philosophy of Religion falls into it treats, first, of the notion or idea of religion; then of the positive religion—i.e., the great historical faiths; absolute religion or Christianity. Now these are so great historical faiths successively articulate and moments in the idea, while it is perfectly articulated the absolute religion alone. This is a noble conception, qualified, true as it is noble. Every religion is such truths it contains, the ideas and elements essential to these it could not live or fulfil its functions. The truths they are conceived and believed may be most untrue, false, but through the depraved and dusky form they come beams of eternal truth, broken and straggling still. Between the fetish of the negro and the God of the distance is almost infinite; but without the ideal, the divine, the fetish were impossible; and if the idea have even so depraved an expression than no being, at all. But it is one thing to find religion in every religion, and another to make the religion our idea, theses and antitheses that annul each other, harmonized in the synthesis of the perfect or absolute can make out this historical dialectic only by doing by seizing on aspects or phases of the historical, presenting them as a whole, with all their distinctive qualifying conditions. Every religion which he touches under new and vivid and most significant lights; always been forced to subordinate historical portraits to necessities. Much was due to the necessary imperfection, but still more to the peculiarities of his standpoint; it is, it is impossible to regard his descriptions of the East and Egypt, of Brahmanism and Buddhism, of Judaism as either complete or historically accurate, as a whole either as regards their absolute or their relative value.

But, now, what is Hegel's notion of religion? It is of a man, but essentially a determination of the Idea. It is, as it were—and here his thought was as truly posited in reason, and must be realized by it, being the idea of God and of man. It is essentially a thought, of reason. It is so, because in religion (truth, the truth of the universe; and religion alone true knowledge. On this point he is most emphatic knowledge, thought, a determination of the reason. It is "the relation of the subject, of the subject

God, who is Spirit." There are here three elements or ideas, God, man, and the relation between them; or, the Spirit which realizes itself in consciousness, or God; the subjective consciousness, which knows itself as distinct from God; and worship, or the means by which man overcomes this antithesis and raises himself to unity with God, feels God in himself, and knows that he is united to Him. These notions Hegel discusses in detail. God is to him the absolute substance, but also the absolute subject, and, as such, ideal, spiritual. He is not abstract universality, but "the absolute bosom, the infinite source whence all proceeds, and into which all returns, and wherein it eternally abides." Thus he will not allow to be confounded with Pantheism, which he seeks to escape by defining the subject as spirit. Now it is of the nature of spirit to manifest itself, to reveal itself as spirit and for spirit. Revelation is thus of the very essence of God, and Christianity, the revealed religion *par excellence*, has as its essential character to reveal God to men that they may know what He is. But how does man become conscious of the revelation which is thus grounded in the nature of God? Religion is essentially the relation of spirit to spirit, and it is by virtue of his quality as spirit that man knows God, that God becomes known to man. Spirit as finite stands at first in relation to Nature as something external, and feels in this relation dependent, necessitated; but as spirit is in its very nature free, this unfree relation contradicts its true and higher nature, and compels it, in order to escape from this contradiction, to free itself from what threatens it with destruction, to raise itself to its true and ideal being, and this elevation is the birth of religion. Religion is thus necessary to spirit, and is realized only as spirit realizes its freedom, its ideal and essential being. Religion, indeed, is reconciliation, the recovery of man from his fallen state, or state of subjection to Nature, and the reconciliation of his actual to his ideal being, of his personal to the universal will and end. Now the progress towards this point is marked by three stages, and occurs under three forms: feeling, representative or figurate conception, and thought (*Gefühl, Vorstellung, Gedanke*). It may be quite true to say, "God is given in feeling," but this means little, is the merest insignificant truism. Here Hegel indulges in a criticism of Schleiermacher that is not so much trenchant as truculent. Feeling is an arena on which the most varied and contradictory elements live and struggle. If God lives only in feeling, His being in man is marked by nothing pre-eminent: it is the congenial home of the worst as of the best, a soil on which the most regal flower may blossom beside the most thriftless weed. Feeling is no note of rationality, is not specifically human; the animal feels as well as man, ought therefore, if feeling be the source and seat of religion, to be as religious as he. Yet feeling has its place in the evolution of religion, is the first form in which it exists and under which it is conceived; but it is so, not by virtue of its quality as feeling, but by virtue of its spiritual content, its possessing the matter, though not in the form of

thought. It is, as initial, a transitional form, passes into representative or figurate conception, in which the consciousness has its contents objectively before it, conceived under sensuous or sensible forms. The *Vorstellung* is the truth in a picture, an image from the senses, as, for example, in sacred history, where the divine, but expressed in symbols or forms that succeed each other in time and stand beside one another in space. But this, too, is transitional; the perfect truth must find perfect form, and this is thought, *denken*; and here religion becomes in form what it has been in substance, identical with philosophy. Indeed the difference between these two is only the distinction between *Vorstellung* and *Begriff*—the difference is only apparent, one of form alone; a contradiction is impossible. The reconciliation thought worships in philosophy worship accomplishes in religion. First in words, *faith*, the living intercourse of the Ego with the absolute object, "the witness of the spirit by the spirit, testifying that in this thing has place, the spirit witnessing only of the spirit, for being made manifest or known by external reasons alone." The spiritual is, from its very nature, no matter of faith. If God, the act is spiritual; spirit reveals itself only to spirit." This worship which finds its inmost and essential element in faith, narrowly considered, an inner act which aims at securing the God in man, enabling "me to know myself in God as my God in me," and to enjoy in this conscious unity "the highest absolute happiness." This inner act is twofold—an act of God, bestowment of Himself, and an act of man, sacrifice, surrender. Yet these are so related that what appears as my act is, as it were, an act of God; and what appears as mine is, as it were, His. His divine and human so interpenetrate in worship, it is like a body by the truths and ideas that live in the religion; and so religion exercises a most potent influence on society and the state. And it is at this point where Hegel shows his wonderfully keen insight into the logical and indissoluble relations existing between all the elements of a people's life. His views may be summarized in the sentence: "The true religion is one conception of freedom in religion and the state. This conception is the highest man has, and it is realized by man. The religions which have a bad conception of God have also a bad state, bad government, and bad laws."

So much for Hegel's notion of religion. A word or two more on the discussion, classification, and characterization of religions. The difference between these parts has been already indicated. The positive standpoint to religion in general as expression to thought, as form for each historical faith as a given expression or form, having its own qualities and character, and being determinable as a religion in so far as it corresponds to or articulates the idea or notion. But this needs to be qualified and explained. The particular religions

and do not correspond to the notion of religion; do, in so far as they contain it more or less implicitly; do not, in so far as they are only separate moments of it. These imperfect expressions of the notion are necessary to its full development, are preparatory for the perfect expression in the absolute religion. The religions succeed each other in an order that at once explicates and evolves the notion. The order is a progress from nature to spirit, from the natural or sensuous to the rational or spiritual consciousness. The position each occupies in this progress determines its character, makes it a determinate religion. This yields the following classification: 1. Natural religion, which falls into three subdivisions; i. The immediate naturalisms, in which the natural and spiritual, nature and God, exist in unity. At this stage it may be named magic, which includes the savage religions, Fetishism, Shamanism, and similar; ii. The religion of the consciousness in disunion, out of harmony with itself and Nature—i.e., religion articulative of a consciousness which, while it does not conceive God as natural, has not yet reached the notion of spiritual, conceives Him as absolute might or substance, necessitated and necessitating. Here are distinguished the religions (1) of China; (2) Brahmanism; (3) Buddhism, which are respectively described as the religions of the mass, of the imagination, and of individual existence, or the being of the universal in a person; iii. The transitional naturalisms, or religion in the process of change from Nature to freedom,—from objective necessity to free subjectivity. This class has also three representatives—Zoroastrianism, the Syro-Phœnician, and the Egyptian worships. 2. The Natural is succeeded by the second order of determinate religions which may be termed collectively the religion of spiritual individuality, which again exists in three forms—Judaism, or the religion of Sublimity; Hellenism, or the religion of the Beautiful; and Romanism, or the religion of Expediency, of political purpose and idea. 3. These are but stadia on the path towards the absolute religion, which as revealed and positive is truth and freedom. It is presented under three aspects: God in His eternal idea, in and for Himself, or the Kingdom of the Father; the idea of God in consciousness, the mirror of the eternal in man, or the kingdom of the Son; and the idea in the element of the Church, or the kingdom of the Spirit.

We can only afford a few lines to show how these were woven into the network of the Hegelian dialectic, and made to play their respective parts in the evolution of the idea. There are two points of view from which Hegel's treatment of the religions he thus classified needs to be considered, the philosophical and the historical; and his work is of very different value as regarded from the one point or the other. His philosophical interpretation of the religions claims, indeed, our cordial admiration and gratitude; we have none that for sympathetic insight, comprehensive synthesis, and sense of organic relation and movement can compare with it. No man ever had a higher or truer notion of the unity of the religions, and the continuity of our common and collective

religious life. The history that articulated the idea of religion worked the evolution of the reason or spirit of man; the two moved together, phases of one process, ruled by one law. Man's endeavour to realize the idea was really the endeavour to realize his own nature or end, the struggle to attain unity of being, the state where the individual and universal were reconciled. And the religions were so classified and described as to exhibit the stages in this struggle, as to be momenta in the unifying or reconciliatory process, each necessary to its harmonious movement and rational completeness. The unity to be reached was most complex, and the process that realized it was the same. As religion was so distinctively thought, knowledge, it was necessary to conceive aright God, man, Nature, in themselves and in their mutual relations, before the conditions of complete unity could exist for consciousness; and the religions worked out in history, and for the consciousness of the race, those great ideas. Primitive man was a natural being, and primitive religion a naturalism which identified God and Nature; while it continued, man realized neither his own spirituality nor God's. He was spirit, yet not conscious spirit, living under the dominion of Nature, not freely, for the ends proper to a spiritual being. There is a point here where Hegel shows a formal resemblance to Hume's "Natural History of Religion," but the superficial likeness need not hide the radical difference. To Hume the birth and growth of religion is an accident; to Hegel a rational necessity, determined throughout by thought. Man under the dominion of Nature is man as he ought not to be, and as his nature will not allow him to continue to be. The more conscious that he is of himself, he becomes the more conscious that he is as he ought not to be, and to know that he is as he ought not to be is to be conscious of sin. But to be conscious of sin is to be driven to seek to escape from it, to find reconciliation or unity of Nature. By the consequent evolution of reason religion is developed, nature is transcended, and the object of worship becomes a unity. And so God is conceived as distinct from Nature, but the conception is most indistinct. He first appears as Might standing over against human weakness, represented in such successive forms as the Mass, the living aggregate or Material heaven, the Chinese Tien; the hidden life or concealed energy, or abstract unity of creative forces, the Indian Brahma; and the individual or personal concretion of the universal might, the Buddha, or Grand Llama. But these forms are most imperfect, supplied by the empirical self-consciousness, express the being and substantiality, but not the objectivity and freedom of the absolute. Towards a more adequate form for this its immensest idea the reason or religious consciousness must press on, and it does so through the religions classified as transitional. The order that succeeds them is of another and higher character, affirms the spirituality and freedom of God and man. These imply each other; to affirm, God is spirit and free, is to affirm the same of man. First, comes the religion of Sublimity, Judaism; it emphasizes

the idea of God as the free creative spirit, and of man as the free created. He is the God of free men, who are conscious and willing in their service of Him. God and man can say of each other—He is Spirit of my spirit; the infinite is seen related to the finite, reflected in him, loving and blessing him, loved and blessed by him; the finite related to the infinite, partaking of His nature, receptive of His quickening and reconciliatory energies. Here an idea of God was won which the race could never more lose, and which transformed its religion. Where God is made a free spirit, and man lifted into fellowship with Him, we can no more, like slaves, worship might, abstract or concrete, no more deify physical and fateful force. But the transcendentalism of this idea needs to be supplemented by the notion of the divine immanence. The divine freedom must be realized in and through the human; the divine excellence must stoop down and penetrate nature and man. The Creator cannot dwell in isolation; He must pervade and glorify the creation, pre-eminently man. And to do this was the function of Hellenism, the religion of the Beautiful. The Greek gods were anthropopathic; and their defect was not that they had too much, but too little of the human. There is humanity in God, there is deity in man; man can be truly apprehended only in God, God can be fully manifested only in man. Judaism said: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image," for to it God existed only for thought; but there is an element of the divine life which demands the human form for its manifestation. The perfected idea of man perfects the idea of God. The Greek sense of the beautiful was only the Greek consciousness of the divine, of the God who lived everywhere and was manifested most of all in man. But the evolution of the theistic idea was not yet complete. It was not enough to affirm the transcendence and immanence of God; it was necessary to add His sovereignty, His monarchy. And this is made manifest by Rome; the religion that achieved the apotheosis of the state emphasized the political ideal, and manifested, though in an outer way, the idea of the divine reign for divine ends. And so the cycle of the determinate religions was completed, and the day of the absolute religion had come.

Hegel's interpretation and construction of Christianity belongs to too specific a field to concern us here; it would raise, besides, an altogether fresh set of questions and discussions. Only this may be said—its significance is by no means exhausted. It contains elements that must be assimilated and reproduced by the Christian thought of to-day if that thought is to be really constructive. It was characteristic of Hegel that he laid the utmost stress on doctrine. A religion without dogma was a thing he could not understand. He could be scornful enough, but he was never so scornful as when dealing with men who despised doctrine and sacrificed thought to feeling. It was one of his weak points that his excessive regard to the intellectual matter of religion made him too indifferent to historical discussions and historical criticism, too ready to deal with the actual as the fugitive form of the idea, which was the true

eternal.* But with all his deficiencies, those who wish to master, under strictly modern forms, relevant to our latest speculations, the Christian doctrines of God and the Godhead, the person of Christ, the reconciliation based on it, the idea of the Church and the State, alike in their independence and mutual relations, must be prepared to study Hegel and make his fundamental and constructive principles their own.

If we look at his chapters on religion from the standpoint of history, they must be judged of very unequal worth. They are, for the most part, without critical value. The best is certainly his study of Hellenism. Here he was on a field he had made peculiarly his own; and the qualities that make his "*Ästhetik*" and "*Geschichte der Philosophie*" so rich and suggestive are here seen in fullest exercise. But as regards the other religions he was too dependent on secondary sources to speak with authority or to be qualified to handle them with critical appreciation. The Brahmanism he described was but Modern Hinduism on its speculative side, a system that had no right to the position and place he assigned it. His Buddhism was Lamaism with all the most characteristic features of Buddhism proper simply dropped out. But if we distinguish philosophic interpretation from critical treatment, historical and literary, then we may say that he has illumined every religion he has touched, has so reached its inmost spirit, read and rendered its essential meaning, so grasped and represented its intellectual characteristics, as to have made it, even to special scholars, a nobler and more intelligible thing. And higher praise than this no one who deals with the philosophy of religion can ever expect to receive from those who are concerned with the history of religions.

But enough has now been said to enable us to form a judgment as to the meaning and worth of Hegel's philosophy of religion. It is but the barest justice to say that it stands conspicuously above all its predecessors, and is, all things considered, the grandest contribution yet made to the solution of the problem with which it deals. There is an extraordinary advance as regards prior philosophies in the notion of religion. It has ceased to be a provisional and more or less clumsy expedient for teaching man morality, and it has become permanent, spiritual, eternal, the essential condition of rational progress, the goal and realization of the highest reason. It is no longer, as with Schleiermacher, defined as a thing so lawless and individual as to feeling, so arbitrary as to nature, so isolated and amorphous as to form, but it has become alike in man and history, in the unit and the race, a thing of law and order that must be realized if reason is to be rational. It is not represented as an object of suspicion, a fictitious authority whose claims must be denied, whose life abridged, whose sphere circumscribed, but it is made a most beneficent force, the

* Yet we must not forget that it was in the school of Hegel that modern scientific criticism, alike of the Old Testament and the New, was born. As regards the former, in particular, tardy justice is coming to be done to Vatke.

only rational legislator and ruler, creating in society the best morals, in the state the best ideals, in history the greatest and most resultful events. No one can doubt that we have here the worthiest conception of religion that has yet come from the side of philosophy. It is an honest, an heroic attempt to do it the most generous justice. Religion can receive honour from no system that leaves it a mere accident, that does not build it, as it were, into the constitution of the universe. And Hegel did this; he made it necessary to God, who as absolute spirit must reveal Himself, and can do so only as related to spirits and reasons akin to His own. Religion divorced from authority over the whole man is religion degraded, but Hegel made it an authority so universal and absolute that the highest in man could be reached only through it and in it. And this made him in an entirely new way able to appreciate its matter, its truth, and its conduct, its being and worth in history. The distance between his and Lessing's or Kant's presentation of the place and function of religion in history is immense, almost immeasurable. Herder was nearer Hegel, more like an anticipation of him on the historical side. But if the philosopher was without the sunny and genial spirit of the preacher, he had a glance that went nearer to the heart of things, and a hand that held and co-ordinated into system and significance a mightier mass of materials. Where so much was achieved, it could only be the falsest criticism that would deny him the praise that is his due.

But praise must not be unmingled with blame. We have seen some of the evils of the rigid and violent Hegelian method. We must now look at some of the other deficiencies in his philosophy. His notion of religion is defective, and in almost all its elements. There are features in his ideas of God, of man, and of worship that lie peculiarly open to criticism. But let us limit ourselves to his notion of religion in general. It is one-sided, exaggerated, emphasizes too exclusively knowledge, thought, finds no sufficient room for emotion and conduct. Hegel's polemic against Schleiermacher carried him too far, made him unjust to feeling, prevented him from seeing that it was as necessary to religion as thought, that there could be no conception of the good and loving without admiration and love. Then, the distinction between religion and philosophy, as one of form but not of essence, was less real than it seemed. Strauss soon discovered that the formal was an essential difference; the change of form involved a change of matter, the translation of religious into philosophical ideas was a translation of ideas, and not simply of the modes in which they were represented and conceived. But this meant that the Hegelian notion was too narrow, did not include all the elements necessary to its subject. Further, as the notion was inadequate, its explication in history was the same; the historical dialectic was neither explicative nor exhaustive of the ideas essential to religion. He failed to make history speak the language of his system, failed simply because it was impossible that it could be made to do so.

As it was, his classification was as hopelessly incorrect as it violated both historical and logical order. Historical, because it compelled him to put Buddhism and Brahmanism before the religions of Phœnicia and Egypt; logical, because it compelled him to put religions so ethically superior to those of Syria and Greece before Confucius and Buddha on a lower plane. Then, his omission of Islam is remarkable as his inconsistencies, as witness his failure to find a scientific place for Islam, which he ought to have done for his time; he could not do so for dialectical reasons. Then, his characterization of religions is most inaccurate; he has characterized hardly anyone of the great religions in a way that brings out its distinctive quality and its history, though he has so done it as to make each fit into the place it ought to occupy in the evolution of the notion. On the other hand, we may say that Hegel did not construct the philosophy of religion; he did splendid work at the foundations, drew lines and laid down principles that every after-builder must gratefully employ.

Since Hegel the philosophy of religion has made little progress on its speculative side, the generation that stands between us and him has been eclectic and critical rather than creative. Yet a critical generation is ever prophetic and preparatory of a constructive, and many think that to show that the creative period is coming. In Germany and in England thought on our subject has been strangely unlike, here more constructive while agnostic, there more critical while transcendent. With Hegel came Feuerbach. With him religion became illusion, the illusion of man to himself, of the heart to itself, through itself into another. If religion is confined to feeling, it must be a feeling, which man could not transcend—exhausted in the emotion, made permanent by the emotion being objectified. An illusion is not only worthless for a rational being, it is mischievous, especially when its illusive character is known. So to explain religion is to pass a terrible sentence on man. It is to deny him religion in the past, to deprive him of the ideals and hopes that cheer him in the present. It is only possible where man despairs of truth, has lost faith in an ordered and orderly and moral universe. If religion be illusion, there can be no philosophy of it, for philosophy is a search after truth, the true, and so a belief in wisdom and in truth. Feuerbach was the philosophical antecedent of Schopenhauer, though not the chronological antecedent of Schopenhauer. Where the highest ideals become illusions, his very good must turn into evil; his thoroughly earnest scepticism is sure to become a pessimism. Where we can find in our world no living righteousness, it must seem to us a scene of rampant wrong, a scene that had better never have been. The only now only possible best being the earliest and most utter best ever preached Schopenhauer, and, though long unheard, his voice is now a living voice in Germany. His disciple, Von Hartmann, is not a little philosophical, but he has great social and political insight. He speaks to an extensive and extending public. Strauss thought

him by saying, "If the world is so bad that it had better never have been, Hartmann's philosophy as part of the world is also bad and had better not have been; and now that it is, the best thing it can do is to cease to be." But this is poor refutation. To deal with pessimism we must get deeper into the conception of the world on which it rests; and nothing can help us to get there like the philosophy of religion. It is only when the beliefs, the truths, that live in the heart of the religious, are resolved into illusions, that the world becomes the home of victorious evil, the scene of vanquished and vanishing good. To find a true philosophy of religion is to vindicate the righteousness of the universe, to prove that the ideals which have helped man to live his best are the ultimate realities of the spirit.

The main significance of Hegel for English thought, especially as regards our present subject, lies in his unlikeness to it and immense elevation above it. What here passes for a philosophy of religion is a theory as to the origin and growth of savage superstitions, based apparently on the study of so-called primitive peoples, but really evolved from a would-be scientific consciousness, working in the most rigidly *a priori* method. The characteristic of Hegel, on the other hand, was to have his feet firmly planted on fact, studying minutely and comprehensively man in history, interpreting him, indeed, through his own philosophy, but not till he had done his best to know him as he had been and actually was. The popular English notion of Hegel is that he was a transcendental dreamer with the utmost scorn of hard realities; but, like most popular notions on such matters, it is ludicrous as well as false. The late George Henry Lewes, in his clever but shallow way, described the typical German thinker as evolving the description of a camel from his own consciousness, while the typical Englishman described it only after the minutest study of its natural history. But what he meant was almost the exact reverse of the truth. What characterizes the German is his patient, minute, exhaustive study of fact; he pursues it with a passion, an unwearied enthusiasm as rare as it is beautiful. And Hegel was no exception. He did not allow his philosophy to blind him to realities; he faced facts with the heroic patience and courage of a German scholar, and did not attempt to speculate about religion till he had mastered the history of the religions. But in the elevation of standpoint and idea, even more than in his zeal for knowledge, he stands on our question distinguished from the English philosophy of to-day. In Hegel we breathe another atmosphere, find a sublimer and brawnier school of thought. There is no more depressing or humiliating study than the study of a system that resolves man's highest beliefs, noblest ideals, and divinest hopes into the nightmare horrors or confused dreams of a gorged savage, but no study more inspiring and exalting than the study of a system which sees in these beliefs, ideals, and hopes, even in their grossest forms, the movements of an eternal reason, the logical and evolutionary action of thought. He who

reaches this standpoint will find the words of him we have been trying to interpret simple soberness and truth. "In the religion the spirit disburdens itself of all finitude and wins freedom and deliverance; for here it stands related no more to the finite, but to the unlimited and infinite, and this is an intuition, one of freedom and no more of dependence. This freedom, defined as feeling, is the enjoyment which we name pleasure, but, defined as activity, it only serves to manifest the power of God and reveal His glory. And so the man who stands in this relation is no more concerned about himself, his own interests and vanities, but simply about the absolute end or purpose of his existence. All peoples know that the religious consciousness is that wherein man apprehends the truth, and they have ever regarded religion as their treasure and the Sabbath of their lives. What awakens doubt and sorrow, care, all limited and fleeting interests, we leave behind us on the shores of time; and just as on the highest peak of a mountain above the narrow and circumscribed plain, we placidly survey the landscape and the distant world, so man, with open spiritual vision above the hard pressure of reality, contemplates it as but an appearance, which, reflected in this pure region only in the beams of the sun, has its shadows, distinctions, and lights softened and merged in an eternal calm."

A. M. FAIRBANKS

HENRI HEINE:

A FAMILY PORTRAIT.

THERE are some names in the world of literature and art which always, it would be difficult to say why, exercise a certain fascination over us. They do not invariably belong to the greatest men, or even to the greatest geniuses, but generally to those who have "*plus que personne l'esprit de tout le monde*;" those who will tell us of our every-day joys and sorrows in simple pathetic language, who will sing to us of "love and faith and truth" in words which we are not obliged to change our intellectual position to understand. We read one of Heine's songs, and feel that he echoes our lightest as well as our deepest thoughts in language so exquisite and melodious that we take the poet to our heart at once, and make a friend and companion of him. Gentz said the "*Buch der Lieder*" gave him an Indian summer of pleasure and passion, and how few of us can read unmoved the "*Sphinx*" poem or the "*Pilgrimage to Kevlaar*!" There is also a strong poetic interest shed around everything Heine wrote by the sad circumstances of the seven years of suffering which he passed on his "*mattress-grave*" in Paris, blind, his back bent and twisted, his body wasted away, his legs and arms paralysed,—he, who had so loved the "sunshine, the song of the birds, and the rustling of the trees." Often when we are tempted to judge him harshly, our resentment changes into tender pity, and, although we deprecate the humourist who lashes his enemies with the sharpest invectives, we cannot help smiling when he turns the same weapons against himself and makes his own sufferings a subject to exercise his wit upon.

Heine has left a blemished name: Carlyle, in his "*Reminiscences*," calls him "*that blackguard*" Heine, and many talk of him as an accursed creature; but perhaps those who judge him have a great deal of that bitterness shut up within their breasts which Heine, unfortunately for

himself, gave to the world. He was "prodigal of his mo health, and, above all, of his genius," and threw himself into quarrel with childish impetuosity, and into every enjoyment and rapture of living which caused him to make shipwreck of his happiness. The whole tragedy of life lies in the contrast between the young poet watching the "sunrise and the mists floating at the hillside" in the Harz mountains, and the poor poet dying in anguish, chained Prometheus-like to a rock, whilst despair gnaws his soul. "Silence! silence, all you prattlers, not one of you his wounds, or break his fetters."

Germany, France, England, and America have each in turn put their memorial wreath on the grave of the great poet, and now comes forward modestly with hers—Italy, which, more than any place, injured his health, but for which he always entertained a mystic tenderness. "During my sojourn there, intoxicated with and joy, I shouted aloud on the tops of the Apennines, and of great and wondrous actions." The tribute brought from Italy of Dante and Petrarch is a little volume which appeared at Rome in the June of last year, and is written by Heine's niece, Maria Heine, Principessa della Rocca. It is not compiled in the literary style; and we are afraid that, instead of rectifying big errors that have already been made, the authoress will add a few of her own. But it contains various reminiscences of the poet (were transmitted to her by her grandmother and her mother's sister); and there is a certain freshness and simplicity in her way of relating what she has heard which makes them interesting to those who admire the poet.

Heine had two brothers and only *one* sister, in spite of Mr. G.'s vague talk about Heine's *sisters*. She is the "Lotte" and "Lotte" to whom he addressed that exquisite "Idyll"—

"My child, we two were children, —
Two children bright and gay;
We crept into the hen house,
And hid beneath the lay."

This lady is now seventy-eight years of age, and has a great deal of her brother's brilliancy and cleverness, and was much beloved by him. The "New Spring" was dedicated to her, and he often submitted his compositions to her censorship before publication. The following are a few lines written by Heine, while still a boy, in an album which she possesses, and which she has shown her daughter:—

"We can divide people into two categories: first, those who love us, and those who frequently and loudly assert that they love us. I, my dear, can be placed in the first category. I love you very much, but I do not love you so.
"Your brother,

"Düsseldorf, June 20, 1827."

"H."

When she was engaged to be married to Embden, the only advice Heine gave her was to listen with respectful attention to her husband's poems, and to praise his bad verses if she wished to avoid matrimonial unhappiness and perhaps a separation:—

"Und lobst du meine Versen nicht,
Lass ich mich von dir scheiden."

Heine, the Princess tells us, was born on the 1st of January, 1800, a fact which always made him laughingly declare that he was the first man of the century. "My grandmother," she adds, "always stated that he was born on the 13th of December, 1799, but her reason for doing so was that he might obtain admission into the higher classes of the Gymnasium at Düsseldorf, where no boy was received under twelve years of age." Heine had far more than the necessary knowledge; it was therefore, perhaps, a pardonable inaccuracy. At the age of two his mother taught him his letters, by drawing them on the polished front of the stove with a piece of chalk, and, when he was four, she placed him in a girls' school, the directress of which was an old maid of about fifty. The boy learnt with the greatest facility, but his restlessness and sharp answers were continually getting him into disgrace. He took a hatred to the schoolmistress, and was delighted when he could find an opportunity of annoying her. He told his sister that one day the old woman left a tumbler of milk on the table, and he, seeing no one was looking, emptied into it all the ink out of an ink-bottle standing near, and then began to walk up and down the room as if nothing had happened. Another time he filled her snuff-box full of sand, and when she asked him why he had done it, he answered, "Because I hate you!"

Madame Embden has told her daughter many of her and Heinrich's escapades. When he was about eight years of age, and she six, they used to get up early in the morning, before any one else was about, and amuse themselves by *finding rhymes*. One day, in spite of all her efforts, the little girl could not succeed in thinking of a word, so she turned to her brother and said, "It seems to me this is much easier for you than for me. I have to consider for a long time before anything comes, whereas you find one at once. Let us play another game. I will pretend to be a fairy, and we will build a tower in which I can sit down, while you remain outside and invent verses and sing them to me."

The two children set about constructing the tower. In the stable stood many empty cases. They worked away, placing one on top of the other, until they had reached an altitude of about ten feet; the little girl then scrambled up to the top case, jumped in, and disappeared, the sides of the case being higher than her small person. Losing sight of her, Heinrich became frightened, and ran into the house calling for help; whilst the child, wishing to get out herself, felt the cases swaying beneath her, and became very frightened. To make matters worse, she had her new dress on, which was torn to pieces in the *mêlée*. There

she was found lying when the servants came, sobbing bitterly, trembling at the punishment she felt hanging over her. However, by the despairing cries and tears of her brother, she called out, "I am alive, but my dress is torn!" It was a considerable difficulty to extricate her from her fairy tower. A genuine delight softened the hearts of the irate servants, and the children escaped with a severe reprimand. "Only two months before my death," his niece adds, "he referred to this incident, and told me he had not forgotten, although forty-six years had passed, the incident experienced at that moment."

He does not seem to have ever been as much the companion of his brothers as of his sister: to *her* he was ever gentle and loving, but in course with *them* he could not resist indulging in those sarcasms which made him so feared and disliked. One day his brother, who was editor of the *Fremdenblatt*, came to call on Heine. The poet, already famous in the literary world, showed him some new poems, upon which Gustave offered to make them known through the medium of the *Fremdenblatt*. Heinrich, taken by surprise at his brother for an instant with half-shut eyes, a favourite trick when he meditated a malicious speech, and then said, with an air of greatest simplicity and humility, "Ah, yes! I did not think of that. That is an excellent idea. Through the medium of your *Fremdenblatt* I may yet become famous."

He and his brother Max, when boys, used to amuse themselves by writing rival hexameters and pentameters in German, and we all know Heine's dream of the unhappy hexameter limping to his bed with a lame foot, and appealing to him by its classic rights to give him a new foot. One day Max read aloud to Heine some verses of his own composition; the latter shook his head sadly and said, "You had better stick to prose, Max; it is quite misfortune enough for the world to have *one* poet." Another day when he was out walking with his brothers stopped to look at a spider's web, in which a large fly had caught his victim. "Observe," Heine said, pointing to the web, "the blood had just been sucked by the spider; that happens to all the world: the spider is a type of society, its web is the false path that lead us away; but the wise man does this;" and, raising his finger, he destroyed the web. The spider fell. Max wished to put his foot on it. "Leave it," said Heinrich; "it is enough to have destroyed the work of the enemy."

For his mother Heine always cherished the truest and warmest affection. From what previous biographers have told us, and what we now read in her granddaughter's pages, we see her—like all of the mothers of great men—to have been a most superior woman. Of his father we hear little; the mother seems to have had the entire charge of the education of her children, and, in spite of her small stature, she has been looked up to and respected by all of them. She has

deal of literary and artistic taste, and had, even as a girl, learned secretly to play the flute; it was this, indeed, that first attracted Samson Heine's attention, and induced him to fall in love with her. The writer of these Memoirs says that her mother remembered hearing the old lady frequently play duets with her youngest son, Gustave.

One of the most touching circumstances connected with the last illness of Heinrich Heine was his dread that his mother should hear of it. Meissner tells us how he entered Heine's room one day, and found him writing to the old lady, then bowed down and enfeebled with sorrow and care. "Do you write to her often?" asked Meissner. "Regularly every month." "How unhappy she must be at your condition!" "At my condition," answered Heine; "she knows nothing about it. My mother believes me to be as well and sound as I was when I last saw her. She is old, and reads no newspapers, and has no friends to tell her. I write to her as cheerfully as I can, about my wife and my happy life. If she remarks that the signature only is mine, I explain by telling her that I have pains in my eyes, which will soon pass off. And so she is happy. And, indeed, no mother would believe that a son could be as sick and wretched as I am." And so he closed his letter full of brightness and affected cheerfulness, and sent it to the post.

The mother survived her son, and lived to be eighty years of age. One of the simplest and most pathetic poems Heine ever wrote was addressed to her—

"In vain delusion from thy side I went,
To wander restlessly the whole world round,
And see if love could anywhere be found.
To conquer love by love was my intent—
I sought love everywhere; at every gate
I stretch'd my hands out with a growing sigh,
And begged a little love for charity.
But unkindly they only offer'd hate!
Yet ever, ever still for love I sought,
And found it nowhere! Then, with sorrow fraught
And weary bosom, homeward I return'd.
There at the threshold I encountered thee!
And shining in thy tearful eyes I see
That love for which my heart had always yearn'd."

At ten years of age, the Princess tells us, Heine showed the first spark of literary imagination. Her mother was attending a girls' school, directed by nuns, who employed professors to give lessons to their pupils. "One of them, Professor B——, related a story to them one day, which they were to write as a theme from memory. By the time she reached home, the little girl found she had forgotten the whole of the story, and confessed as much to her brother, with tears. 'Never mind,' he said; 'try to remember all you can—I'll patch it up for you.' An hour afterwards he returned with the composition completed, and my mother, delighted at having got off so easily, did not even take the trouble to read it. The following day she presented her copy-book along with that of her companions; they were generally returned immediately by the professor, with a mark of approbation or disapprobation, but this time he kept it, and, sending for her at the end of the lesson,

asked, 'Who wrote your story?' In her fright she answered, 'I did.' 'Tell me the truth,' was his reply; 'I will not punish you. Who wrote it?' My mother then felt obliged to confess the truth. 'It is a *chef-d'œuvre*,' replied the master; and he read aloud the story, which was of the most sensational description. The children laughed and cried with excitement as they heard it." There is something very comic in the Professor coming to his mother after this incident and recommending her, in consequence of the boy's great intelligence, to make him learn theology, and put him into the Church. "He will become a cardinal at least!" said the worthy man. His opinion would hardly have been endorsed by the French abbé, who was his tutor, and who, according to Heine's own account, wanted to get from him that *la religion* is French for *der Glaube*. "Six times did he ask the question, 'Henri, what is *der Glaube* in French?' and each time with a burst of tears did I answer, 'It is *le crédit*.' At the seventh time, the enraged questioner screamed out, 'It is *la religion*,' and a rain of blows descended upon me."

At twelve Heine began to write poetry, and his niece tells us that he got into the habit of sitting up at night working. Having no fire in his room, he made himself very ill once or twice, until he at last procured a woollen cap and fur coat to protect himself against the cold. The old family cook provided him with candles, and when she refused to give him any more, he first of all tried to coax them out of her, but finding these means ineffectual, he flew into a passion, and gave her a piece of his mind. She immediately went and complained to his father, informing him that his children were badly brought up, and had a painful facility in using bad expressions. She also relates another episode of Heine's youth, which, at the time, made quite a sensation at Düsseldorf. One day, when there was a fair going on in the town, all the servants received permission to go out, and the children remained at home in charge of their mother and an old deaf nurse. Madame Heine was relating fairy stories to the children, when suddenly a great light flashed out, and they saw flames issuing from the windows of a house close by, in which were large granaries. In a moment they were all in the street and gave the alarm; thanks to their promptitude the fire was soon extinguished, but when the mother and her children returned home they found the door shut, having forgotten, in their hurry, to fasten it back, and it was impossible to make the deaf nurse hear the bell. Heinrich pointed to the open door of the stable, and suggested their entrance that way. A large travelling carriage stood there, covered with holland; in passing close to it, Heinrich saw that a man was hidden underneath. He did not utter a word, or make a sound, but, turning carelessly, said to his mother, "I will return in a moment, I am only going close by to fetch the handkerchief that I left there." His mother, who suspected nothing, remonstrated with him, but he rushed off, and told the neighbours what he had seen. They all collected, entered the stable in a

body, and dragged the man, who was armed with a long knife, out of his hiding place. He turned out to be an escaped convict, and as he walked away in charge of the police, he turned to the child, and said, "Remember! wherever I meet you, little wretch, I will kill you." Many years passed, when one day Heine, who was studying at Bonn, made an expedition to Aquisgrana, in company with other students, to be present at the execution of a murderer. One of his friends, who dabbled in phrenology, obtained permission to see the prisoner and make scientific experiments on him. Urged by curiosity, Heinrich went with him, but directly he saw the man he could not refrain from an exclamation of surprise, for he recognized the culprit he had caused to be arrested years before. Next day he was present at the execution, and he often declared that, before he died, the wretched creature cast a terrible glance of rage and despair at him. We can imagine the impression this event would make on a sensitive nature like Heine's.

Our authoress throws some light on the love affair between Heine and his cousin Amelia, and deprives it of a great deal of its romance. She always heard her mother say that Amelia loved Heinrich, and he would have married her if his uncertain position and the unpropitious state of his finances had permitted of his doing so. There was, however, very little breaking of hearts.

"It is an old, old story,"

he sings—

"But still keeps over new,
And those to whom it happens,
Their heart it breaks in two."

But, instead of "breaking his heart in two," Heine was soon one of the gayest of the gay among the students at Bonn. It was only at a later period that he made her the central figure of the "Lyrical Intermezzo"—the songs of which have since become household words in Germany. The poet often said himself that the only unrequited love of his life was his love for his country.

His niece touches also on the origin of the exquisite lines, "Du bist wie eine Blume." They were written to a Polish Jewess—Miriam by name—whom he found one day "unter den Linden," sitting on a seat crying. Her father and she had come from Gnesen to Berlin, hoping to find employment, and had been robbed of everything; grief had killed her father, and she was left alone in the world. Heine immediately took her to his friend, Rahel von Ense, who received her into her house and got up a subscription for her. Later, however, Rahel's fears became aroused by Heine's pronounced attention to her beautiful *protégée*, and she made up her mind to send Miriam back to Gnesen, where she married a former lover. Heine paid the newly-married couple a visit in their new home some months later, and it was on his departure that he wrote his celebrated poem.

In 1819 Heine went to the University at Bonn, and here he exhibited

all the bad and all the good qualities usually possessed students. He was extravagant in his expenditure, but giving to any of his comrades who needed help. He was attending the lectures necessary to fit him for his intended but assiduous in his study of the languages and literature countries. Heine was extremely particular about his dress well known in Bonn as a dandy. His clothes were always in the last fashion, and his frills and laces folded with exceptional daintiness. He was of medium height, features were of a noble and, at the same time, gentle cast; his hair was brown, his eyes blue, with deeply marked eyebrows, which were full, and a sarcastic smile always hovered round the mouth. When he first went to the University he had a black velvet coat; when that was worn out, he ordered a blue one, and promised his butler to bring him the black one, which generally hung outside in the passage. The day appointed the tailor brought the new suit, and he gave the place of the old one. The barber came later, and as he was shaving Heine said to him, "You can take the coat I spoke to you about hanging up in the passage." The barber departed, with thanks, carrying away the unexpected gift with him. Heine then returned to dress, but what was his surprise when he came to put on his new blue coat to find it nowhere! When at last the truth dawned on him, he only said with his usual *nonchalance*, "The barber is to-day," and put on the old coat. From that time it remained in the family—"The barber is in luck to-day" indicating the barber who came in for an undeserved stroke of good luck.

We all of us remember Heine's amusing account of his meeting with Goethe at Weimar. "When I visited him at Weimar, I stood in front of him, I looked involuntarily to one side, expecting to see an eagle there with the thunderbolt in its beak. I was once speaking Greek to him, but I observed that he spoke German to me. He told him in German that the plums on the road between Weimar had a very fine taste. I had, during so many weeks, been vainly thinking and thinking of the magnificent and profound observation I made was that the Saxon plums had a very fine taste. Goethe smiled." His niece makes an addition to this account, that the two poets spoke about the weather, and of indifferent things, until Goethe suddenly interrupted his gossiping, "What work are you doing at this moment?" "Faust," answered the young poet, quickly. The second volume of Goethe's "Faust" had not yet been published. Struck by the answer, the Weimar poet put on his most god-like air, and replied haughtily, "Have you any business at Weimar, Herr Heine?" "Having passed the day at your house all my business in this city is finished," and then he took his leave.

Although fond of society and communion with superior people, Heine was tickle and changeable as a child in his intercourse with everyday acquaintances and friends, and it was this quality more than any other which caused such hard things to be said of him. His sister gave a party once while he was at Hamburg, for the purpose of introducing him to some of the principal citizens. "Before they arrived," the Princess tells us, "my mother begged him to make himself agreeable, as all eyes would be upon him. Heine, with the contrariety of his temper, got away into a corner with one of his little nieces, and told her stories and amused her, and then when no one was looking crept out of the room and went to bed. Next morning, when my mother remonstrated with him, he only answered, 'My dear little sister, you forgot one thing, to put a chain round my neck and lead me about calling out, "Gentlemen and ladies, look at the poet Heine, who steals his days from Almighty God, and only makes use of them to write bad verses."'"

Another time, when he was at Monaco, a certain Bavarian Princess, who loved to run after celebrated people, said to an aide-de-camp, "I should like to see this original poet." "Your Highness's wish can be easily satisfied," said the aide-de-camp; "I know where to find him." A messenger was immediately despatched to the poet's house, with an order to invite Herr Heine to come and take coffee with her Serene Highness. The only answer returned was, "Herr Heine's respectful thanks to her Serene Highness, but he is accustomed to take his coffee where he dines."

His niece refers to an "affair of honour" in which Heine was engaged in 1837, and informs us that it arose out of some insolent remarks made about German manners by a young French student. She cites the occurrence as a proof of Heine's patriotism. Dr. Massarellos, of Munich, writes, however, to the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung*, declaring that the origin of the quarrel was an insult offered to Matilde Mirat, who afterwards became his wife. Heine and she and a Dr. Detmold were dining at the "Bœuf à la mode," a well-known restaurant at that time. Six French students were dining at a table near, and they soon began to pay a great deal of attention to "the then charmingly beautiful Matilde." Heine, being furiously jealous, was intensely indignant, and at last, unable to restrain himself any longer, sprang up, and boxed the ears of the nearest of the young men. Upon which Dr. Detmold remarked that the bill of fare ought to include a *soufflet à la Heine* as well as an *omelette soufflée*, but the students did not feel inclined at all to look upon the affair as a joke. They rushed on Heine armed with knives, and he was with difficulty protected by the waiters. A challenge was sent to the poet. Massarellos agreed to act as his second. The duel never was fought, however, the student being satisfied by an "explanation" which he received from Heine.

All Heine's family were naturally averse to Matilde Mirat, and the writer of the *Memoirs* tall "She was a handsome woman, rather inclined to black hair, white teeth, a voluptuous full-lipped expressive eyes. She was a regular Parisian *girl* educated." "One of Matilde's best qualities," says to Sewald, "is that she does not know one atom of literature, and has not read a single word of my poetry, say that Heine is a very clever man," she knows nothing about it. I suppose I must trust her. Curiously enough, this simple unsophisticated was a great source of happiness in his life. "Only two of me, and sit caressingly by my pillow—my French nurse." He was always most indignant if people spoke of his cleverness.

In 1843 she went with him to Hamburg. On his arrival: "I will come with my family,—that is to say, Cocotte the parrot;" his wife not having wished to come home. "The first words she spoke to my mother were on the subject of her favourite. The bird, in its wooden case, its fine brass cage being packed away. My father came forward and offered to take it, but hardly had he touched it, however, ere the parrot bit its prison, and bit one of my father's fingers. He then opened the box. The cries of Madame Heine, the laughing shrieking of the parrot, and the surprise of my mother, made a comic scene. Heine afterwards wrote a poem on the subject, but unfortunately, was thrown into the fire by the household. He really could not see the value of such dirty old jokes. He did not stop long at Hamburg, her French nature was not suited to German fashions; and, under the influence of her mother, she returned home, leaving her relations, who were delighted to keep him without her."

On leaving Hamburg a friend of Heine's gave him a sausage, begging him to take it to Paris as an offering to a friend of his. In the railway carriage Heine liked it so much that, before he reached Paris, it was gone. This he enclosed in an envelope and despatched a letter:—"Dear Doctor,—According to the precept, a thousandth part is more efficacious than the whole. That portion of the enclosed sausage in the hope of deriving from it will be a thousand times greater benefit than if it were received at all."

In the year 1846 Heine writes to Varnhagen that his body, but the soul has not suffered much; and that he is a little, but by no means withered; and it is not

love." Twelve months had then elapsed since his terrible malady had first declared itself, "and already," he adds, "my lips are so deadened that even kissing has no effect upon them. I sit whole nights long silent by the side of the fire with my wife. 'Quelle conversation allemande!' she says sometimes, with a sigh. The palate, too, and a part of the tongue are affected, and all that I eat tastes like earth; Once the sweetest life, and now nothing but gloom and desire for death; had I not wife and parrot, I would, God forgive me! put an end to my misery." One of his favourite ways of expressing intense happiness in days gone by had been, "The nightingales sing in my heart:" now the song of birds was torture to him; even the sunshine he had loved so well had to be veiled and darkened ere it entered his room. "My body," he moaned, "is so shrunk, that there is hardly anything of me left but my voice, and my bed makes me think of the melodious grave of the enchanted Merlin, which is in the forest of Broceliand in Brittany, under high oaks whose tops shine like green flowers to heaven. Ah, I envy thee those trees, brother Merlin, and their fresh waving! for over my mattress-grave here, in Paris, no green leaves rustle; and early and late I hear nothing but the rattle of carriages, hammering, scolding, and the jingle of the piano. A grave without rest, death without the privileges of the departed, who have no longer any need to spend money, or to write letters, or to compose books. What a melancholy situation!"

His niece thus describes a visit she paid him in 1854:—"He received me with the greatest delight. 'Come close to me, my child,' he said, 'that I may see you better,' and he raised his eyelids with his beautiful white hand to observe more plainly if I were like my mother. I was made to sit down by his pillow, and the first thing he asked me about was his sister. 'Lottchen! my Lottchen!' he exclaimed, 'when shall I see her again?' He incessantly recurred to the same subject during our conversation. I found him very much changed, almost unrecognizable; the tears rushed to my eyes with sorrow. Fortunately his blindness prevented his seeing my agitation, but, hearing the trembling of my voice, he said, 'Why do you grieve? Have I not had as much happiness as a man can expect? I live on the memory of my youth, and I can assure you I did not waste my time.' The evening before my departure I was sitting beside his bed, and he was going back over his past life, his joys and his sorrows. Wearied out at last, he lay perfectly silent and motionless; the room was half lit by the shaded light of *one* lamp, and the only sound audible was the monotonous ticking of the clock. I did not dare move for fear of disturbing him; suddenly he endeavoured to change his position, but being incapable of voluntary movement could not do so, and was seized with violent spasms, and moaned and shrieked in the most piteous way. I thought his last hour was come, and, weeping bitterly, implored God to put an end to his torment. Paulina, his faithful nurse, endeavoured to calm me, telling

me she had often seen him thus before; but had to leave the room. I only saw him once farewell for ever."

To the last his keen wit remained ready and you calm my miserable sciatic nerve," he said: others begin a torment of hell. I am sure a gold medal at the Great Exhibition for over-sous siffler" asked his doctor. "Non; pas mêm" "Is there anything you would particularly favour attendants. "No, I am like Scribe, I have. He thus delighted to take some butt, and ridicule at him. "A few months before his d" "there occurred one of the strangest and most his life. To the solitude of his bedside there spirited young lady, who from earliest youth had Heine's songs. What her name was," the bio "we know not. A mystery enshrouded her: himself was unable to dissipate." His niece, her name, tells us a few more details of her h been able to discover. "Margot," or "Mouche" call her, was a beautiful creature, twenty-two; highly educated, writing French, German, at facility. Heine had advertised in the papers f sented herself, offering her services in that cap and she entered on the duties of reader and am the poet's last songs; and she still keeps many begging her to come, or sending some little pre Princess della Rocca tells us that her history one. She was German by birth, but had married man. After a few years of matrimony, her h his freedom, and pretending to have business; wife to accompany him thither. As soon as t she was mad, and he had her shut up in a madh did terror and mental suffering act on the nerv delicate creature, that she became seriously ill, ere she could either think or speak coherently, she was able to prove the falseness of her hus was removed to a hospital, where, under the doctor, she became convalescent. Shortly afterwa she sued for and obtained a divorce; only retur nurse her mother in her last moments. The Pr Beranger, wanting to see this "Mouche" of u much, coming to call on Heine, and, in the half mistaking her mother, who was then a lady adva lovely "lotus flower." He discovered his error whole affair delighted Heine, who lay listening speeches with the utmost amusement.

One of the poet's friends, anxious for his conversion, asked him shortly before his death if he were at peace with God. "Set your mind at rest," answered Heine, "*le bon Dieu me pardonnera, c'est son métier.*" "Do you believe in the existence of a Supreme Being?" the same person asked on another occasion. "If a Supreme Being, perfectly omnipotent and all-seeing, exists, do you think he will care whether a wretched little mouse, living in the Rue d'Amsterdam, believes in Him or not?" "What good does it do me," he laments, "that at banquets my health is drunk out of golden goblets, and in the best of wine, if I myself, separated from all the joys of the world, can only wet my lips with an insipid tisane? What good does it do me that enthusiastic youths and damsels crown my marble bust with laurels, when on my real head a blister is being clapped behind my ears by an old sick-nurse? What lists it to me if all the roses of Shiraz glow and smell for me so sweetly? Alas! Shiraz is two thousand miles from the Rue d'Amsterdam, where I get nothing to smell, in the melancholy solitude of my sick room, but the perfume of warm napkins." "It is time," he sings, "to bury the old, unhappy ditties, and all the sad dreams, so fetch me a coffin vast. It must be vaster than Heidelberg's vat, and longer than the bridge over the Main. And then fetch a dozen giants—they must be stronger than St. Christopher, in the Cathedral of Cologne, on the Rhine. They must take up that coffin and sink it deep in the ocean wave, for such a mighty coffin must be laid in a mighty grave. Would you know why my coffin must be so vast and stout and wide? I shall lay all my sorrows and love and anguish there, side by side."

Heine was buried in the cemetery at Montmartre, and his niece tells us that his widow would not allow the family to put up a suitable monument over the remains of the poet. Nothing, therefore, marks his resting place but a marble slab, on which is inscribed his name, "Heinrich Heine," without even the words, "Rest in peace." We saw the other day, in the columns of a newspaper, that a Swiss admirer of Heine took a pilgrimage to his grave on the late anniversary of his death. He found it in the most forlorn and neglected state; he was curious to learn if any of the French visitors to the cemetery knew anything of the world-renowned German. "Henri Eine," said one, looking at the stone; "no, I do not know who he was." With the exception of the weather-worn and leafless remains of the laurel crown which the German venerated of Heine placed upon the tomb on All Souls' Day, 1879, no symbol of respect or love now marks the grave of this brilliant though erratic genius. We are astounded, considering the enthusiastic love of Germans for their Heine, to find his grave thus neglected.

"The tears which will flow for us will not be so warm as those we shed for our loved ones. The new generation know neither what we wanted nor what we have suffered, and how could they know us? The deepest secrets of our hearts we have never spoken out; we descend into the grave with closed lips."

NINA H. KENNARD.

NEWTON AND DARWIN.

[T is singular that the theory which—of all those advanced since Newton established the law of gravitation—has given to thoughtful minds the grandest conceptions of Nature and the laws of Nature, should have been—of all theories perhaps ever suggested by man—the most thoroughly misunderstood. There can be no doubt that many who recognize the real significance of the theory of natural development, who know that its influence is by no means limited to biological evolution, but has been felt in the far wider—the infinitely wide—field of cosmical evolution, have been pained by the thought that with the widening of the domain of development, the belief in a power working in and through all things seems to be set on one side in the name of universal evolution. It is this thought—this fear it may be called perhaps—which I propose to consider here. I shall endeavour to show that those who are perplexed by such doubts overlook the parallelism which exists between three lines along which men's thoughts have been carried an ever-increasing distance, until it has become obvious that two of them at least must be infinite,—that the fear expressed by those who see with anxiety the progress of evolutionary doctrine implies a hope that one of these lines may be finite while the others are essentially infinite and are accepted as such without fear or trouble.

It was a new thought in the time of Copernicus, that men hitherto underrated the extent of the universe, and had overrated the importance of our earth. The globe which had seemed the one fixed orb for whose benefit the heavenly bodies had all been made, was found to be but one member of a family of orbs circling round a globe much larger than any of them. Thus the earth lost at once her central position, her quality as *the* world (the sole abode of life), her fixity, her importance in respect of the sup-

posed superiority of her dimensions. When Newton had finally established the Copernican theory* the relative insignificance of the earth was demonstrated. The teachings of the telescope showed in turn the insignificance of the solar system. With every increase of light-gathering power the universe of stars grew larger and larger, even when as yet no scale had been obtained whereby to determine the distance separating star from star. With every improvement in the defining qualities and the measuring power of telescopes, the universe of stars grew larger and larger, independently of mere increase in number of stars; for though for a long time no measurement of star distances could be effected, each failure with improved means to measure the distances of even the nearest stars showed that the scale of the stellar universe was larger than had before been imagined.

Larger and larger grew the universe, then, as men turned more and more powerful, more and more exact instruments to the survey of the heavens. When at length the distance of the nearest star was measured, and found to be more than twenty millions of millions of miles (more than three years' light-journey, though in each second light travels a distance exceeding nearly eight times the entire circuit of the earth), the number of stars was already known to exceed twenty millions. But more powerful telescopes have been made since. With every increase of telescopic power more stars come into view. With such a telescope as the great reflector of Parsonstown, at least a hundred millions of stars could be seen if every part of the stellar sphere could be scrutinized with that mighty telescopic eye.

But what, after all, is this? Now that we know how minute a creature man is, how insignificant his largest works compared with the globe on which he lives, how this globe is but a point in the solar system, the solar system lost among countless millions of other suns with their attendant planets, how preposterous appears the thought that any instrument man can fashion can penetrate the real profundities of the universe! Seeing, as we do now, how utterly men's ideas of what the stars are fell short of the truth, and how more inadequate still were their conceptions of the real number of the stars when they trusted only to the natural eye, we should very ill have learned the lesson their errors teach us, if we in turn fell into the mistake of supposing that the telescopic eye can reveal more to us than the merest corner of the universe. Even of the universe of stars—that is of the system of suns whereof our sun is a member—this may be said. But how unlikely, how incredible, indeed, is it, that there is but one system of suns, but one galaxy? The star clouds may not be outlying galaxies, as the Herschels supposed. It seems clear that they are but parts of our own

* It is worthy of notice that that theory could not be regarded as demonstrated until the law of attraction had been established. This law carries with it the disproof of the cycles and epicycles of the Ptolemaic system, because under the law of gravity bodies cannot move in such curves. Before the law was established, it was more probable that the planets all moved in simple curves, but not certain.

galaxy, whose grandeur and complexity are far greater than had been supposed. But who can doubt that beyond the limits of our own galaxy, beyond spaces bearing probably something like the same proportion to the size of the galaxy that the interplanetary spaces bear to the size of our earth, come other galaxies, some like, some unlike, our own, some as large, some smaller, but many doubtless far larger than the glorious system of suns which appears infinite to our conceptions? "As thus we tilt"—in imagination—"over an abysmal world, a mighty cry arises that systems more mysterious, worlds more billowy—other heights, other depths are coming, are nearing, are at hand." Who can wonder if from these awful depths men have turned in weariness of soul, nay almost in affright, as when the Alpine traveller, peering over some fog-enshrouded precipice, sees down, as the mist rolls past, to deeper and deeper abysses, until he is compelled to turn from the contemplation of the ever-growing depth! It is not simply the vast in which men have learned to believe, not mere immensity, but the mystery of absolute infinity. On all sides our island home is surrounded by a shoreless sea of space. So great has been the oppression of this mystery of infinity that men like Helmholtz, Clifford, and others, have attempted, by rejecting the elementary conceptions of space, to show that there may be limits to space,—not merely limits to occupied space, but limits to space itself,—as though by closing his eyes the traveller, oppressed by the vastness of the plain surface over which he voyaged, should endeavour to convince his mind that the end of his journey was close by him.

"Practically infinite," as Huxley has expressed it, or absolutely infinite, space is (to all intents and purposes) infinite for us. But space and time are too intimately associated for us to imagine that space can be infinite and time finite; or that if occupied space grows even under our survey until we recognize that it is as infinite as space itself, time occupied by the occurrence of events (of whatever sort) can be otherwise than infinite too.

If we could reasonably doubt this we should yet find evidence as clear in this direction as with reference to space itself, though not so obvious to the senses. Every one can understand the evidence of vastness presented by the universe as science is able to survey it; and every one can see how the constant growth of the known universe points to the real universe as to all intents and purposes infinite. But not every one can understand the evidence of the antiquity of the universe, or the certain promise which its features afford, of a duration in the future which must be—like the duration of the universe in the past—practically infinite. But even to those who cannot see the force of the evidence on these points, it is obvious so soon as the idea has once been presented—just as obvious as is the idea of infinite absolute space—that time itself, occupied by events or not so (if this could be imagined) must be absolutely infinite. The occurrence of events

might perhaps be spoken of (not conceived very readily) as having an absolute beginning and proceeding onwards to an absolute end, this island of occupied time being lost in a shoreless ocean of void time; but none can reasonably *speak* even of a beginning or an ending of absolute time, far less conceive either thought.

Space then and time present themselves to our conceptions, and with the progress of research may be said to present themselves to our observation, as practically infinite. The earth which has been displaced from her imagined central position in space has been displaced equally from her imagined central position in time. The ocean of time which had been supposed bounded on one side by the beginning of this earth's history and on the other by the close of the earth's career, is seen to bear somewhat the same relation to the earth's duration that the Pacific Ocean bears to the tiniest islet of the least important Polynesian group.

Now in the days when the earth was thought to be central and all-important in space, central also and all-important in regard to time, a little knowledge—as limited and as imperfect—was possessed by men respecting the action of natural laws. They knew for example that animals, including man, pass through certain stages of development. They saw that the trees of the forest spring from seeds. They could trace further the growth and development of families of animals, the spread of vegetation over countries and continents; the formation, on the one hand, of tribes, nations, races, and species; on the other, of the various forms of vegetable development. But such knowledge, and all the ideas associated with such knowledge, were limited within the range of space and time over which alone in those days men were able to extend their survey. In fine, men recognized processes of development taking place upon the earth, and during her continuance as an inhabited world; they did not look outside either the region of space or the period of time which they had learned to regard as if they were in reality all space and all time.

In passing I may note that hitherto I have not heard that in the good old days—when the earth was the world and her life (very much under-estimated) all time—men who studied processes of development or evolution such as are plain and obvious to all were regarded as necessarily rejecting the belief in some power at the back of observed phenomena. On the contrary, so far as we can judge of the ideas of those days by what men said, it would seem to have been regarded as a wholesome thought, that under the operation of natural laws trees and animals, races and forests, grow from feeble beginnings till they fulfil all the functions of their several kinds. The more carefully such processes of development were considered, the more perfectly the laws of Nature seemed fitted to work out their seeming purpose, so much the more confidently did men regard those processes and laws as implying some plan or purpose; though also, it must be admitted, the nature of such plan or purpose seemed to the wiser sort the more inscrutable the more

closely its workings were studied. "Canst thou by searching find God?" said one, who so far spoke truth, though he drew the wrong lesson from it; "canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection? It is as high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know?" Another, who took a wiser view of Nature, in this spoke the same doctrine: "Touching the Almighty, we cannot find Him out."

In our day, with the extension of men's recognition of the vastness of space and time, there has come a widening also of their conceptions respecting the extent of the domain of natural law as well in time as in space.

And in the first place I would ask whether it is not naturally to be expected that this growth in our ideas respecting evolution should be followed (if it did not accompany) the growth of our conceptions of the extent and duration of the domain of evolution? If it had so chanced that neither research nor observation had availed to extend our recognition of the operation of natural laws—after Copernicus, Kepler, and Newton had established the true theory of the solar system—might not analogy alone have sufficed to convince men of the larger and longer-lasting universe shown them by science to be governed by wider and more permanent laws than they had hitherto recognized?

But the Copernican theory had not been established without the demonstration of a law so general and far-reaching that when it had once been established no new recognition of law could be reasonably regarded as startling or unexpected. Newton had proved that the quality of gravity pertains to every particle of matter in all places and in every condition, and that it extends according to definite laws to an infinite distance. At least, he had proved these properties as far as they *can* be proved. Every possible test had shown that all particles of solid, liquid, and vaporous matter equally possess (according to their mass) the quality of gravity. Every possible test had shown that not the external particles of suns and planets, or these in great degree, but every particle, to the very centre of the largest and most massive globe, possesses in the same degree (according to its mass) this mysterious, all-pervading power. And lastly, every possible test applied to the movements of the heavenly bodies had shown that the force of gravity exerted thus by each particle diminishes as the square of the distance increases, but suffers no further diminution: so that the tiniest particle in the sun exerts, at least throughout the domain of the solar system, even to the orbit of Neptune, the force due to its mass and to the distance of any other particle on which its influence is exerted. In this inquiry the vast mass of the sun stands us in good stead. Were we only able to consider the attraction exerted by a single particle, or by a small mass at great distances, the smallness of the resulting attraction would foil any attempt to measure

amount with precision. But we can consider the total energy of the solar mass, exceeding 350,000 times the mass of the sun, at the distance of Neptune; in other words, we can examine the combined attractive force of a gathering of many millions of millions of particles, and having measured that, we can divide it in accordance with the known relative mass of the sun, and so ascertain whether each particle of the sun does its due work at the distance of Neptune. When we thus learn that there is not the slightest trace, even over that enormous range, of any diminution of energy beyond that belonging to the law of gravity as determined for a small distance (such as the moon's), we are justified in assuming that at a distance twice, thrice, many times as great as Neptune's the law of gravity holds unchanged. We have then a law whose action is to all intents and purposes universal; it operates in every particle of the universe, and it extends from particle to particle throughout the whole extent of the universe. Of a law such as this, if of any law at all, it might have been said that it seems to negative the action of a special Ruler. It was said of late respecting the general doctrine of development, that it sets the Almighty on one side in the name of universal evolution, with at least as much force it might have been said of the doctrine of attraction, that it sets the Almighty on one side in the name of universal gravitation.

We know indeed that such an objection was urged against Newton's doctrines in Newton's day and for many years after. Very probably if the theory of gravitation had not been established to demonstration by Newton and such followers as Laplace, Lagrange, and others, we might hear the objection even now (we hear it still among the ignorant, but of course it has entirely died out save with them). When the theory of universal gravitation became thoroughly established, it was found to be in perfect accordance with the idea of a universal lawgiver. Men presently began to wonder, indeed, how it could ever have been supposed that the laws of the universe must of necessity be limited in their range of action whether in space or in time.

Yet when the Newton of our own time advanced a theory which bears to biology (so far as is possible in matters so unlike) the same relation that the law of gravity bears to astronomy, a theory bringing animal and vegetable life under the domain of laws practically universal, an unreasoning fear possessed many lest this natural sequel of our growing knowledge of the universe should alter men's conceptions of the government of the universe. In space the universe was seen to be infinite, and in duration infinite; a law infinitely wide in its operation had been found to govern all movements within the universe, yet the recognition of a new law, also indefinitely wide in its operation, instead of being regarded as natural and appropriate, was looked upon with disfavour and disapproval.

Note that we use the word indefinite, not infinite, in speaking of the

operation of the law of biological evolution. The biologist can see the operation of this law so widely as the astronomer can see the operation of the law of gravity, for the simple reason that the law relates chiefly to time, while the astronomical law relates chiefly to space, and we can look with ever increasing range of vision into space which are practically infinite, while we cannot look with confidence into remote depths of past or future time. For this reason that men even to this day accept more confidently the ideas of science with regard to space than the extended ideas with regard to time, which logically should be accepted with equal confidence, the theory of evolution must ever remain incomplete as compared with the theory of universal attraction. No one could urge with effect, in these days, that perhaps beyond the range of the telescope the law of gravity which within that range (and far beyond the limits of the solar system*) we see in operation, may be replaced by some law entirely different in its mode of action. But the opponent of the doctrine of biological evolution may, without much fear of effect, express the belief that before some definite epoch in the past, evolution began, but some other law or process, was at work in the past, which produced the various forms of animal and vegetable life. In dealing with this objection one can reasonably say, that in whatever direction one may suppose evolution to have extended, a limit must at length be reached beyond which we cannot even in imagination, extend our survey. But in dealing with this objection is not considered unreasonable, but, on the contrary, eminently reasonable, to say that far back as we may please to carry the history of evolution we must at length come to a beginning, before which there was not only no evolution of life but no life to pass through the process of evolution.

Here, indeed, science assents in some degree to the objection, but may not be said to have given birth to the objection. It has been shown that with suitable care to remove or destroy all germs from a given space, no life will appear within that space—in other words, that, so far as scientific observation extends, the generation of life is never spontaneous. Equally science might assert that, so far as scientific observation extends, the generation of a system of orbs like our solar system does not occur spontaneously under any suitable test. If a smile be excited by the thought of the vast difference between any test conditions for the formation of a solar system and the conditions under which our own solar system may have come into existence, let it be noted that there must be a kindred difference between the conditions of experiments as to the possibility of spontaneous generation and the conditions under which we can imagine spontaneous generation to have occurred. There is some difference, we submit, between a test of the possibility of spontaneous generation with a few ounces of hay infusion, to which no air has been

* Binary, triple, and multiple star systems tell us of the operation of gravity in great depths, and so do the movements of stars in space, though not so obviously.

which has not been submitted to a number of life-destroying processes, and a young planet teeming with material vitality, still hot with its primeval fires, still palpitating from the throes which (during countless ages) had preceded and accompanied its birth. No experiment or observation man has ever made or can ever make, can suffice to show that the spontaneous generation of living forms *then* was either possible or impossible. But men may continue, if it gives the many comfort, to believe that just then the uniform action of law was interrupted, that just at that stage the mechanism of the universe was found to be imperfect.

But while in this sense and to this degree the law of biological evolution differs from the law of universal attraction, the work of Darwin must yet be regarded as akin to that of Newton, in that it extends indefinitely our conceptions of the range of natural laws. As Newton showed men all the millions of families of worlds throughout the universe moving in accordance with the law of attraction, so Darwin has shown us all the myriads of races which have inhabited the earth brought into due relation to their surroundings by the operation of the law of evolution. And as the law of gravity was but a wider law, including such laws as Copernicus and Kepler had recognized, which in turn severally included many minor laws, so it should be noticed that the law of biological evolution includes all those minor laws of development which men had recognized for ages without entertaining the unreasonable thought that such laws necessarily implied the non-existence of a lawgiver.

To those alike who are pained and to those who rejoice at what they regard as the irreligious tendency of the doctrine of biological evolution, the same answer may be made: it is only when we try to create arbitrary limits of space or of time, and to set these as bounds to the operation of the laws of Nature, that any such tendency can be imagined. Those who have admitted the growth of a tree, a forest, or a flora, of an animal, a race, or a fauna, according to natural laws, have to acknowledge nothing new in kind, however different it may be in degree, in admitting that there is development on the larger scale as well as on the smaller, not even though they should have to admit that such development takes place throughout all space and all time. The difficulty in dealing with one thought is not greater than that which oppresses us in considering the other; both difficulties are overwhelming, both infinite. If we could evade the conception of the infinite in space or in time, we might be content to imagine limits to the operation of law. But we can neither evade the conception nor grasp it. As Pasteur has well said, quite recently—"When the question is asked, 'What is there beyond the starry vault?' it is useless to answer, 'Beyond lies unlimited space.' When we ask what lies beyond the far-off time when what we see around us began to be, and what lies beyond the remote future when it will cease to exist, of what use the answer, 'Beyond lie eternities of past and coming time'? Nobody understands these words. He who proclaims

the existence of an infinite—and nobody can evade it—asserts in the supernatural in that affirmation than exists in all the miracles the religions; for the notion of the Infinite has the twofold character being irresistible and incomprehensible. When this notion seizes the mind, there is nothing left but to bend the knee. In that moment all the springs of intellectual life threaten to snap, and feels near being seized by the sublime madness of Pascal. Every I see the inevitable expression of the Infinite in the world. By supernatural is seen in the depths of every heart."

It is as thus viewed that the laws of development brought before during the last quarter of a century—not as novelties, for in concept they are of vast antiquity, but new in the sense that now for the time they are presented as proven—are so solemn and impressive rightly understood. As the discoveries of astronomy were first towards infinite space, steps carrying us far enough upon the road show that of necessity it *must* be infinite, as the study of the motions of the heavenly bodies tells us unmistakably of infinite time, a recognition of development tells us that, as we might have anticipated the domain of law is limitless alike in space and in time. With angel in Richter's Dream, Science, in the doctrine of Everlasting Eternity, proclaims the solemn truth,—“End is there none to the universe of God; lo, also, there is no Beginning.”

R. A. PROCTOR

THE REVIVAL OF ITALIAN INDUSTRY.

IF Italy has risen in the scale of nations, if she has ceased to be the butt of every State, and the war-field of contending parties, it is because her people, quick and intelligent in themselves, the inheritors of great and noble deeds, in science and art, in language and song, in valour and virtue, have never ceased, notwithstanding the most depressing influences, to strive for a higher position in intelligence, industry, and wealth. Her enemies in vain sought to arrest the growth, to abate the vigour, to curb the will of her people. Her champions of freedom, whether at the scaffold, in the prison, or in exile, ever strove to arouse the nation to a sense of its rights, and by word and work kept the flickering light of freedom and nationality from being utterly quenched. Yes, it is not by the hand, but by the pen, that Italy has been united and freed. It is not the sword, but the golden letters, that defended Italy. It was not General Pepe, nor General Garibaldi, no, nor Napoleon's armies, however much they may have accelerated the consummation, but Ugo Foscolo and Vittorio Alfieri, Manzoni and Silvio Pellico, Mazzini and Cavour, that won the laurels of Italian freedom. And it is because the unity and freedom of Italy are the ripe fruit of the instincts of a common nationality, and of the inspiration and labours of the learned and the good, throughout the length and breadth of the Peninsula, that they are likely to be wholesome and enduring.

So long as the Italian States were divided among themselves, under the thralldom of despotic sovereigns, suffering from an actual state of warfare, or in the observance of an armed neutrality, the exigencies of political safety were necessarily paramount over every other consideration. At such times, and under such circumstances, the State has neither leisure nor mind to think on economic reforms. Political economy must ever be subordinate to politics. Political necessities often

those institutions, which now form the very life-springs of commerce, came in reality from the Italian shores of the Mediterranean or the lagoons of the Adriatic? In immediate connection with the East, the Italians were the first to draw westward those articles which Egypt and Syria, India and China, have always contributed to European taste and luxury. Those articles, by the most indirect and circuitous routes, from the interior of India to Goa, from Goa to Aden, by caravans and river navigation, were introduced into Italy, and thence by the Italians spread throughout Europe. Their ships brought them as far as the Hanse Towns, and their mercantile houses traded with them in the chief marts of merchandise, whence again they drew wool, flax, and other raw materials, which they manufactured and sent to India and the East.

But what difficulties had the Italians to meet in the prosecution of such a trade! Look at the anarchy which prevailed throughout Europe. Think of the absence of roads, insecurity of inland communication, dangers of maritime commerce, want of credit, and want of capital. Commerce was, indeed, adventurous in those days. There was no marine insurance to provide against risks. The merchants were not backed by a formidable power, ready to defend them against any exaction. Every inch of ground they gained, every adventure they realized, was of itself a triumph. One great evil, however, marred the glory of their exploits. The Italian Republics were not, unhappily, wont to recognize among themselves any of those bonds of amity and common interest which should bind together trading communities. We have heard in recent times of keen commercial competition and wars of tariffs, but what are these as compared with the chronic open hostilities which prevailed amongst the Italian traders on the Mediterranean Sea? Alas, that in their frantic eagerness for gain, and in their thirst for aggrandisement, they forgot the ties of a common nationality! Venice had once in her hand the trade of the East. The Genoese were bold sailors. Why were they beaten by the Spaniards and Portuguese, the British and the Dutch, through not coming forward themselves and pushing their adventures round the Cape, as soon as that new route was shown to be possible? Why? Simply because internal squabbles, old prejudices, and slavish adherence to custom blinded their eyes. The idea that the opening of a maritime route would take away from their hands their old cherished Levant trade never entered the mind of the Venetians. What all the world saw they could never believe. Their eyes were not opened till all was lost.

But all this is gone long, long ago, and any reference to it would have no practical value whatever, except that, as if in illustration of the adage that "History repeats itself," the Suez Canal has practically restored, though in an altered form, the inland route of olden days, and the way is again open to Italy, as to any other country, to use that canal to the utmost of her power. The Mediterranean is to Italy what the ocean is to England. Would that Italy could regain her ascen-

quarters of Indian corn, about 1,000,000 tons of rice, 123,000,000 gallons of olive oil, and 600,000,000 gallons of wine, may be considered splendid; yet acre per acre, as compared with England, for instance, the land of Italy produces considerably less. And why? From want of education, want of capital, want of roads, heavy mortgages, and many other causes. An "Inchiesta Agraria" has just been instituted by a Royal Commission, under the presidency of Count Jacini, and they have undertaken to inquire on a vast variety of questions concerning soil and climate, description of culture, diseases of plants, systems of cultivation and rotation, irrigation, manures, relation between the owners of land and the cultivators of the soil, &c. But how long will they take to complete their task, and bring about some desirable results?

Immediately connected with agriculture are the many industries in animal and vegetable products. The rearing of the silk-worm is of special importance. Italy is one of the first countries of the world for silk, and the peasantry understand it well. In 1880, as much as 41,000,000 kilos was the yield of cocoons in Italy, the largest part in North Italy and East Tuscany. If some remedy could be found against the disease which from time to time works such destruction among these useful insects, what a benefit! A large number of Japanese cards is now annually imported into Italy, to make up for any deficiency, and the yield of Japanese green cocoons has become considerable. Next to the production of silk is that of wine. Why is it that in England we see comparatively so little Italian wine? Large quantities of wine are sent from Italy to France, there to be mixed with her thin or light wines, and to pass afterwards as the veritable product of French vineyards. How is it that the Italians do not export their wines direct to England, instead of making them pay tribute to the French growers? One reason is that the existing system of wine duties in England operates as a prohibition to the shipment of Italian wines to this country. The wine of Naples is a wholesome, natural wine, of good body, strength, and richness of colour. If it could come within the standard of one shilling per gallon, it might be sold in England for much less than the price now charged for the wines of Bordeaux, or the pernicious stuff manufactured in Hamburg and sold as French claret. But a better reason is that the Italian growers are less expert than the French in the preparation of their wines for export. In truth, they have not had the experience required for the purpose. They have not yet sufficiently sounded British taste and the exigencies of the foreign market. Already, however, a considerable advance has been made. In 1870, Italy exported 5,000,000 galls.; in 1880 she exported 48,000,000 galls.; but there is a great future in store yet for this trade. Cheese and butter are valuable Italian industries. We see now in our markets Milan butter, which is very pure, and certainly well preserved; and Italian cheese, the hard or Grana of Parma, and the soft Strachino of Gorgonzola, both of which

have acquired a world-wide reputation. The culture of bees has risen to a novel and interesting industry—the supply of queen swarms to various countries in Europe, and even to America. Queen bees travel in wooden boxes, accompanied by 2,000 bees. The boxes have four slits for air; inside are two small frames, one for a full, the other an empty honeycomb. The Italian bee, *lingustica*, has the reputation of being more docile and productive than any other kind. The prices for *mères pures et fécondées* are from one lire in April to four lire in September. Amongst the vegetables which Italy can export in tolerably large quantities is cotton. When cotton cultivation was introduced in America, Italy supplied cotton to the European nations; and during the Continental wars of the first half of the nineteenth century Italian cotton was the only kind which could be procured in the European markets. All the provinces of Italy that lie south of 43° N. are included in the zone of cotton cultivation, and the only question is whether it pay to produce cotton for the foreign market when it has to face the competition of America and India? That Italy is able to export cotton is proved by the fact that the exportation, which in 1862 amounted to only 3,700,000 kilos, in 1880 reached 18,000,000 kilos. Italy is more an importer than an exporter of cotton, for she is unable to manufacture it for herself.

If Italy is rich in agricultural resources, she can scarcely be so in minerals. True, in the geological formations there are contained, in sufficient abundance, many of those substances which feed the mineral industries; but the quantities are comparatively small, and in many cases they are inconveniently situated. For building purposes, there are in Italy granite, marble, pozzolana, and chalk. In the tertiary formation sulphur and mineral salts are met with, and in different localities, especially in Tuscany, banks of coal are met with, which well repay the cost of extraction. Coal is found in several parts of the Alps and in Sardinia, but it is of a low quality, broken banks, and transformed into anthracite, not well adapted for metallurgic purposes. The ownership of mines in some parts, as in Tuscany and Sicily, goes with that of the soil above it, but in other parts it is considered as *res nullius*, and subject to the control of the State. In Sicily, the sulphur mines belong to the proprietors of the land in which they are situated. In Sardinia, the working of the mines is let out by contract. The average produce is about 125,000 tons of which are sold to the Italian Government for public consumption, at eighteen lire per ton, and sold by the agents to the public at 550 lire per ton. Salt and tobacco are two State monopolies. A heavy duty on tobacco—an article of pure luxury—is quite legitimate, but such an exorbitant tax upon salt, one of the necessities of life, cannot well be defended. Considerable stimulus has been given in recent years to the development of several mineral and chemical industries, such as tartaric and stearic acids, quinine salts, &c. As a

total value of mineral products, which in 1860 amounted to £1,000,000, in 1880 amounted to £2,500,000; the number of persons employed in mines having also increased from 26,000 in 1860 to 44,000 in 1879.

Hitherto we have spoken of resources inherent in the soil, or embedded in the mines of Italy. Does the development of these resources, so far as it has gone, bear testimony to the revival of industry in Italy? Yes, because agriculture and mines are both important national industries. What is the essence of an industry or a manufacture but the utilization, application, or admixture of primary substances towards the production of articles adapted to the manifold requirements of society? An industrial nation is one which can utilize every resource, which has the heart, the mind, the will to work and make the very best of every advantage within her reach. Centuries passed away ere the splendid mineral resources of Britain were rendered available; and they would have remained idle in all probability for ages to come, had not the genius and industry of Watt supplied a new motive power in steam, and the inventive mind of Stephenson provided the railway as a new and easy means of transport, to make coal and iron useful to manufacturing industry. If in Italy we see agriculture flourish to any extent, and the mines made more productive, it is because the people have at last become awake to their advantages, and because they have laboured, and are labouring, for the appropriation of the same.

As I walked over the great Milan Exhibition of Italian National Industry, last year, the impression was irresistible in my mind that Italy can and does really produce almost everything, and that in not a few industries, as for example, the silk manufacture, the production of paper, and many others, the Italians have made considerable advance. Yet, how is it that, when we turn to the tables of exports, we find that she stands so low in the scale? In 1880, Holland exported at the rate of £13 per head of her population; Belgium at the rate of £8 10s. per head; the United Kingdom at the rate of £6 13s. per head; France at the rate of £3 17s. per head; the United States at the rate of £3 8s. per head; Germany at the rate of £3 7s. per head; and Italy exported at the rate of only £1 10s. per head. True, there is some satisfaction in the fact that in 1862 she was much worse off, the exports then amounting to only 14s. per head. But surely there is immense room for progress, and if Italy has not advanced faster than she has done, it must be because there are causes at work which operate most injuriously against Italian industry—especially when brought into competition with that of more advanced countries, as, for instance, Great Britain,—and which Italy must, as quickly as possible, and as far as she can, effectively remove.

Take, first, the point of experience and prestige. Britain has about a hundred years' work behind her, through which she has enjoyed an almost absolute supremacy in manufacturing industry. The British manufacturer of the present day enters on the rich inheritance of long established

business, and though he needs to be on the alert to adapt, improve, and reform the method of working as times require, he has a comparatively easy task as compared with the Italian manufacturer, who, in a manner, must start afresh, and gain new experience from day to day. How much is there also in the prestige which British manufactures have everywhere acquired! How many British houses are employed in the distribution of British produce and manufactures throughout the world! Italy is a long, long way behind in all these advantages. And the effect of this is seen especially when a new business is to be started, or a new invention put to the test. Here in England, the moment a new industry is introduced, hundreds run into it, workmen are always found ready for it, capital is never wanting, and factories start up like mushrooms. In Italy it is quite a different thing. Before manufacturers make up their mind to start some new works, before suitable labourers are found, and capital is got for them, a long time is wasted. Altogether, the enterprise looks much more difficult, and there is not the same amount of pluck and daring as in England.

Then, again, there is the question of the costliness of capital. There is, in a sense, plenty of capital in Italy, if it were more available for business; but the banking system is insufficient, and there is a great want of confidence and courage, the result, no doubt, of years of bad government and political uncertainty, and perhaps, also, of imperfect laws and delays of justice. In any case, the value of money has always been greater in Italy than in England. Taking the average of the last twenty years, while the rate charged by the Bank of England averaged 3.72 per cent., the rate charged by the Italian National Bank averaged 5.26 per cent., showing a difference of 29 per cent. against Italy—a very heavy and extra charge on Italian industry. Capital is of slow growth everywhere, and it will be a long time, I fear, before Italy can be as well supplied with it as England. But capital may be imported in the same manner as other commodities. Let Italy only afford ample security, and she may depend upon having any amount of capital she may require. It must be remembered, too, that for years past the monetary institutions of the country have been much disorganized, and that so long as a practically inconvertible and depreciated currency is allowed to exist, public confidence can never be complete. The restoration of a metallic currency, recently decided upon, came not a moment too soon for that purpose. Nor should the Italian Government forget that the finances of any country must be solid and economically administered before she can expect to have capital abounding in her markets.

Of still greater importance is the question of the efficiency of labour. As in the United Kingdom there is a great difference between English, Scotch, and Irish labourers, so in Italy the Sardinian or Lombard labourer differs materially from the Emilian and Neapolitan. Taking them as a whole, the Italian labourers are not so strong in physique

as the British, and though their receptive powers are much more enlarged, and in facility of resources they are more fertile, the Italians are, I imagine, inferior to the British in some of those moral qualities which stamp themselves the most readily and the most firmly on human labour. The British labourer is certainly an example to the Italian in the thoroughness of his work. We may complain, and with reason, that this invaluable quality is greatly neglected nowadays; that British workmen do not take the same pride now as they formerly did in well-finished work; but even as it is, the British labourer is in this respect much in advance of the Italian. The greater efficiency of labour in England allows of a greater economy in the number of labourers. The cotton manufacture in England is a perfect marvel of such economy. Whilst in Manchester four artisans are sufficient to work 1000 spindles, in Italy not fewer than twenty-five persons are employed for the same quantity. What a waste of power does this represent! Though the rates of wages may be lower in Italy than in England, the real cost of labour becomes actually greater. Climate and temperature may be an excuse for inferior physique, but they do not account for these deficiencies—the result of want of education and training.

In the question of labour we must include that of motive power. Sig. Elleua estimated the steam power in use in Italy at about 18,000 horse-power, and the hydraulic at 39,000 horse-power—a very small amount indeed as compared with that in use in Britain. With the increase of manufacture there has been a large increase in the importation of coal. In 1862, Italy imported 446,000 tons of coal, and in 1879, 1,523,000 tons. But coal costs more in Italy than in England. Many writers urge a greater use of water power, which abounds in Italy in many localities; but the evil of water power is that it is only available in certain given spots, and that it is not capable of transport into places where there is a concentration of all the agencies necessary for industrial progress. If electricity came to their aid, and the Italian manufacturers were able to utilize the water power from the Alps and the Apennines, an enormous advantage would certainly result to Italian industry.

What has Italy done, moreover, for a long time past, in the way of mechanical inventions? A few specimens of really useful engines and machines at the Milan Exhibition were very creditable, and made a great impression on visitors, but practically Italy is nowhere in this department, the palm for mechanical inventions resting largely with England and the United States of America. The American "labour-saving machines" have quite revolutionized many branches of labour. Birmingham and Sheffield bring out mechanical works of stupendous power. Even France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland, are far in advance. In these days of great mental activity and competition, unless a nation possesses the power of inventiveness and originality, to bring out something of its own, it has no chance whatever. It is by higher mastery

over matter, by more resolute inquisitiveness into the mysteries of Nature and Nature's laws, that real progress must be achieved, and it does become Italy, which has given to the world so many bright philosophes and thinkers, to remain for ever tributary to the inventive genius of other countries.

There are other causes which prove most unfavourable to Italian industry and manufactures, such as heavy taxes, imperfect means of internal communication, notwithstanding the increase of railways, too much officialism and bureaucracy, and the like. The only manufacture which has thriven in Italy is that of silk, of which she exports about 6,000,000 lbs. per annum, of the value of £10,000,000. The Milan market for Italian silk, especially Organzine and other descriptions of silk yarn, is one of the first in Europe. But when we come to silk-weaving and cloth, fashion has given to France the supremacy, and she will keep it so long as Italy is not able with greater command of material to contest the prize. There is no reason, indeed, why Milan should not become a serious competitor with Lyons and Paris, and the recent Exhibition has strongly marked her power to achieve for herself a high place, both for fineness of texture and elegance of design.

I hope the Italian manufacturers have more sense than to trust to protection as a lever for sustaining them in their inferiority, or as a bulwark to repel foreign competition. England can give them a lesson on that subject. British manufacturers have tried protection, and have tried free trade. With protection they never succeeded, with free trade they have carried all before them. No protective duty of ten, or twenty per cent., will ever make up for the causes which now operate against Italian industry; whilst such duties act as a premium of indolence and backwardness, and impose a burden on the people which they can ill afford to bear. Whatever be the cry for protection which interested parties may raise, surely an enlightened Government, acting for the nation at large, and not for a class, will not be slow in resisting it. Before Adam Smith wrote "The Wealth of Nations," and long long before Cobden, Bright, and Wilson unfurled in England the banner of the Anti-Corn Law League, the Italian economists proclaimed and nobly defended the principles of free trade; and it is upon these lines, I trust, that a new Treaty of Commerce, if one is to be concluded, will be negotiated between Italy and the United Kingdom.

If it be asked, wherein is the revival of Italian industry? the answer must be primarily in the awakened consciousness among the Italians themselves of their real place in the industrial world, in the earnest already given of some substantial achievements, and in the efforts steadily put forth to remedy for the future what has been sadly neglected in the past. First and foremost in these efforts is the advance of education—elementary, secondary, superior, and technical. The Italian Government is determined to stem the flood of ignorance that has hitherto borne so heavily on the advancement of the nation. Schools

have been opened all over the kingdom, and attendance, as far as is practicable, has been made compulsory. Training schools for teachers have been established. Inspectors have been appointed. The entire framework of elementary education has been immensely extended, and the result is, that year by year the proportion able to read and write, which used to be exceedingly small, is increasing rapidly. More than this, classical instruction has been quite reformed in the *Ginnasi* and *Licei*. The superior schools have acquired a new life, and the universities have been modernized. There are twenty-one universities in Italy; those of Pisa, Padova, Bologna, and others, old and renowned in the world of letters, still figuring among them. But the new feature of modern education is the industrial and professional instruction given in the technical schools and institutes. Ever since 1860, great efforts have been made to place these on a solid basis, for the purpose of raising quite a new class of instructed and efficient managers and superintendents of works, engineers, manufacturers, merchants, captains, mates, farmers—workers, in short, in every branch of industry. The general feature of such technical schools and institutes is, that whilst a section applicable to all students alike embraces such general subjects as Italian and French, geography, history, mathematics, design, chemistry, natural history, and political economy, special sections are formed, entitled respectively the physico-mathematical, the civil engineering, the surveying, the commercial and industrial, which impart instruction suited for the different professions, and with special adaptation to the industries of the localities.

Italy has made noble contributions to science and art in times past. Very early her southern coast, called *Magna Græcia*, was the abode of philosophers such as Pythagoras and Plato, *Æschylus* and *Archimedes*. During the Roman era she gave to the world philosophers, historians, and poets, such as *Catullus* and *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Ovid*, *Cæsar*, *Pliny*, and *Tacitus*. In the Middle Ages the arts were triumphant, and Italy possessed artists such as *Giotto* and *Cimabue*, *Raphael* and *Michael Angelo*, *Cellini* and *Titian*; whilst letters were represented by *Dante*, *Petrarch*, *Ariosto*, and *Boccaccio*. A little later science found her expositors in *Galileo*, *Volta*, and *Galvani*. And since then, labourers not a few have appeared who pursued the path of science in the midst of great discouragements and difficulties. It must be confessed that Italy has greatly fallen from her glorious past, and that it is not to that country that we now look for the highest manifestations of human genius. The prodigies of chemistry and mechanics, the wonders of the steam-engine, and many of those inventions which reflect the greatest lustre on the present century, and which have rendered it so conspicuous for progress and civilization, received but little assistance from Italy.

But never mind; the days are happily gone by when the arms of the Church and the State were alike directed against all manner of progress, when the highest minds were either driven from the country or immured

in State prisons. True, indeed, genius and talent are intuitive ~~w~~ us, and are often developed under most adverse influences. Yet, rule, roses do not thrive in a soil rugged and wild. Prepare the ground for science and art a safe asylum and a kindly hospitality. Let peace have her victories, and war cease her desolations, and art and science will more show their wonders in the far-famed soil of Italy.

After a long winter, so long that we began to ask—

"Will spring return
And birds and lambs again be gay,
And blossoms clothe the hawthorn spray?"

and, receiving no answer, again and again invoked—

"Come, gentle spring, ethereal anliness come,
And from the bosom of yon dropping cloud,
While minnows wake around, veiled in a shower
Of shadowing roses on our plains descend:—

at last spring came. And if you go over Italy now, you see a gentle inspiring influence in every branch of science and art, commerce and industry—

"A bursting into greenness,
A waking as from sleep,
A twitter and a warble,
That makes the pulses leap."

May it last! May this, the sowing time of Italy's future greatness, be followed by a glorious sunshine of happy influences from within and from without, and in due time may an abounding harvest be gathered of real and solid progress! Yes, shake thyself from thy slumber, O Italy, and, as a giant refreshed, aid thyself and the world in the great work of human advancement.

LEONE LEE

JUDICIAL RENTS

WHEN new tribunals were established to settle authoritatively questions hitherto left to the law of demand and supply, and to substitute judicial decisions for bargains made by landlord and tenant, it did not apparently occur to either the Ministry or the Legislature to search for precedents in colonies or dependencies acknowledging the authority of the Crown. Yet there is not the least doubt that valuable information can be acquired, and much light be thrown on these irritating and perplexing Irish disputes, by a simple reference to the records of the India Office, and to the experience acquired by scores of Anglo-Indians in charge of districts under the Government of Bengal. We select this portion of our Indian Empire because it has been for more than a century under British rule, because the relation of landlord and tenant—or, to speak technically, of Zemindar and Ryot—bears a fair analogy to that which is attempted to be set up in Ireland, and because the practice of invoking the assistance of the established tribunals to decide on the status and the rent of a tenant has been recognized by the Government, by the law courts, and by the agricultural community, Hindu and Mohammedan, ever since the great settlement of Lord Cornwallis in 1793.

It is wholly unnecessary, for the purposes of this paper, to thread the labyrinth of Indian sub-infeudations; to attempt to find misleading English equivalents for the peculiar phraseology of a code of rent and revenue derived in a great measure from the Persian language; or to discuss at length the various theories which have been propounded by able writers regarding the ownership of the soil in the East. The main facts on which we now rely are incontrovertible, and they have very recently been condensed and classified by a Commission which has sat to revise and amend the whole law of landlord and tenant in the

Provinces of Bengal and Behar. But, in order to understand that rents have for nearly a century been settled judicially without either running the Zemindar or tempting the Ryot to spoliation, a slight sketch of the main features of landed property which existed about 1790 is absolutely indispensable.

When Lord Cornwallis, following Warren Hastings and all the consummate skill and experience of Sir John Shore, took up the question of land revenue in earnest, he found that the land tax or revenue, by whichever title it may be called, was paid into the treasury by a set of men whose rights and position it is useless to attempt to define by analogies taken from other countries. Originally they have been mere farmers of the public dues, removable after the expiration of a time, and possibly without any distinct connection with the soil. In the later days of the Moghul Empire, however, in the last century, the Zemindar could transfer his land by sale or mortgage, exempt certain portions thereof from payment in favour of shrines, or dependants; could grant leases, or, more properly, could let tenants on their several holdings by written documents; enjoyed certain privileges in regard to fisheries, forests, waste lands, and minerals, though liable to pay fines on investiture and succession, either to the Emperor of Delhi or to his provincial delegate, and occasionally set aside whenever the Government of the day thought fit to alter the dues by separate agency, had always a claim for maintenance in such circumstances, and might come in again at any future emergency as a superior holder and contractor for the public revenue. It was not until that, in the middle of the last century, the greater portion of the revenue of Lower Bengal was collected and paid in by only a few of these Zemindars. Huge Zemindaries, however, very soon arose, and after an experience of settlements, first for five and then for ten years, the Government of Lord Cornwallis decided on allowing the Talookdars, and other proprietors to hold their lands *for ever* on a fixed and unalterable assessment. Lord Cornwallis, in making this decision, was no doubt actuated by a variety of political and economic motives; but the opinion of most authorities at the present day is that he committed a grave error, and that his objects might have been attained by concluding a settlement, as was afterwards done in the North-Western Provinces of India, for a period of some years. However, the thing was done. The Zemindar acquired a new position by statute; and though the code of Lord Cornwallis contained a special proviso for the enactment of regulations necessary for the welfare and protection of the Ryots and cultivators, this proviso was fully redeemed before the administration of Lord Canning, in the year of nearly seventy years. The Zemindar in 1793 became a powerful person in the State. He could advance no claims for a reduction of revenue on account of drought, inundation, or other calamities; then he might reap the entire benefit of the spread of culti-

of higher returns. He could sell, transfer, and mortgage his lands, although in default of punctual payment of the Government revenue, his estate was liable, not to confiscation, but to public sale and purchase by the highest bidder and a more solvent man.

This was consequently a great change in the status of individuals formerly exposed to removal by the capricious and arbitrary despotism of Delhi, or to an increased quinquennial assessment by the early collectors of the East India Company. And the inappropriateness or looseness of certain terms employed in the Cornwallis code led at divers times to extravagant claims, on the part of the Zemindars and their supporters, to that absolute, unqualified ownership such as we understand it in England. A good deal of mischief was thus wrought occasionally; and in the inevitable struggle between high privilege and humble status, between property and poverty, several of the tenant-proprietors succumbed or were swept away. But still the language of the earliest regulations or statutes was clear and explicit; and the common law and custom of the country was on the whole stronger than the inertness of the Government, the encroachments of the Zemindar, or the high-handed oppression of his agents. His rents were payable by custom, and not by contract. The status of the Ryot or tenant-proprietor was defined not by lease, bargain, or agreement, but by the common law of the country, derivable from early Hindu times, and proof against the neglect or the exactions of Mohammedan successors. The principle of competition was utterly unknown, or, if it existed in any shape whatever, it was that of competition by Zemindars for cultivators, and not by cultivators bidding against each other for lands. And if there is one thing clearer than another in the maze of repealed statutes, crude or hasty decisions of weak tribunals, and multiplicity of hazy and ill-considered theories as to the right owner of the soil, it is that no Zemindar, though he owned half the districts lying between the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, could vary or assess the rents of his Ryots at pleasure, or could enhance them without taking the tenant formally into the Civil Court. A great deal of misapprehension has been occasioned by a vain search for absolute ownership, which in the East resides in nobody, except in rare instances. The real explanation of apparent mystery and confusion, as pointed out long ago by Sir George Campbell, is that separate rights of more than one party co-exist in the same thing. The Government, the Zemindar, and the Ryot, have each and all their interests; and no one can treat the soil exactly as he likes without regard to the claims and vested interests of others.

The following may be further relied on as an accurate general sketch of the present position, privileges, and liabilities of the Bengal Zemindar. In the first place, ordinary repairs and improvements on estates were never the work of any Zemindar. It is quite true that besides an inherent and indefeasible right to receive rent from every acre of land cultivated by any Ryot within his Zemindary, he enjoyed certain other privileges and

dues. The jungle was in one sense his, for it could not be cleared, cut, or cultivated without his permission. He could call on tribes of fishermen to attorn to him for the right to catch fish by nets, cruives, and weirs, as well as on the cultivator who shouldered the spade or followed the plough. Small grants of rent-free land, if held on invalid false titles, were liable to cancelment. If a Ryot with his family died off by an epidemic or a famine, or if he abandoned his homestead from oppression or anxiety, the holding at once reverted to the Zemindar, who could settle another man on the deserted tenure. The Zemindar set up *Hauts*, i.e., weekly or bi-weekly markets, and levied an octroi on all the produce sold. He also made roads occasionally, and now and then drained a swamp. When a marsh, owing to the vagaries of some river, or the silt left by some extraordinary inundation, was converted into dry and arable land, the Zemindar at once proceeded to found a village and to establish cultivators on the reclaimed tract. He could come down on squatters, and had an inherent right to measure the lands of any one who, he thought, had got possession of more than his title-deeds covered. He could create Ryotty tenures to be held at a quit or a nominal rent if he were foolish enough to do so, and large sub-inefendations embracing whole villages, for a bonus, to his own advantage and to the impoverishment of his successors. If he were a man of capacity who looked after his own business, no one could cut a tree, or shoot a peacock, or spread a net for feathered or ground game without his permission. In short, to certain rights well defined, and to other manorial privileges more or less elastic according to the greater or less vigour of his management, he joined that indefinable prestige so well understood and everywhere inseparable from certain tangible and visible interests in large tracts of land.

But, powerful and unscrupulous as the Bengali Zemindar was in the selection of his agents and in the treatment of his tenant-proprietors, there were some things which he could not do, and some which he never even attempted to do. In the first place, as we have already intimated, it was no part of his duty to build houses or cottages. Every Ryot in Bengal is the architect of his own cottage, and constructs it out of materials bought or provided by himself. In the millions of huts made of bamboo posts, with wattles for their sides and reeds and grass for their thatch; in the thousands of houses of brick and mortar to be found in the Lower Provinces, there is not one single tenement ever built by the Zemindar for his Ryot. The Ryot can sell his own house when he leaves one village for another, or take it to pieces and carry it off to his new residence. The Zemindar never exercises the slightest interference with the rotation of crops, with the introduction of manure, or with the consumption of produce. It is for the Ryot to content himself with the early or late crop of rice, the former to be succeeded by pulse, or barley, or oats, or to spend time and money on the introduction of the higher cereals, or on such remunerative productions as sugar-cane and tobacco, hemp and oil-seeds, the date, the cocoa-nut, and

the areca palms. The Zemindar can, it is true, claim a higher rate of assessment on the more valuable kinds of cultivation, according to the custom of the neighbourhood or the Pergunnah standard, and he can prevent waste by insisting on the preservation of mango, jack, and other fruit trees. But he makes no repairs, he erects no fences, he prescribes no conditions; he rarely fixes even a term to the tenancy; and if there be one thing indisputable in dealings between landlord and tenant, it is that the documents exchanged between the two, wrongly termed leases and counterparts, contemplate simply that the tenant shall never be evicted as long as he pays the proper or customary rent. We have perused at various times some hundreds of these documents, and by far the greater number contain no one single provision at all resembling those of an English lease. It is true that leases of another kind are common in the Lower Provinces. But they almost always cover large areas of populous and cultivated land, and are practically mere delegations of the rights of the Zemindar, or superior holder, for a specified term of years. They are created by needy or incapable owners, on payment of a round sum down by the lessee, and often pass into the hands of Englishmen, who pay highly for the influence ensured by the power to collect rents, in order to persuade the rent-payers to contract for the growth of indigo. Then, English leases, with their stipulations, being unknown, as we have shown, it will naturally be asked, how did the Zemindar deal with delinquent and defaulting tenants? The answer to this is very simple. The Zemindar could attach the crop of the defaulter and sell it; but as he was liable to a suit for illegal distraint in such a case, and as it was no more possible in Bengal than in Ireland to sell a crop where intending purchasers made common cause with the defaulter, or were intimidated to join a mild Land League, he generally preferred bringing what was called a summary suit for arrears of rent. This could be lodged in the Revenue Courts; was of a simple character; and when followed up by two or three more of the same kind, it ordinarily enabled an owner with a long purse and a knowledge of law and procedure to triumph over any combination of the tenantry, who, to do them justice, were oftener apprehensive of enhanced rents and illegal cesses than unwilling to pay the usual rates leviable from their predecessors. But these proceedings, of course, left any increase of rents alone. Occasionally, a strong and vigorous Zemindar, thoroughly versed in the management of large properties, might induce the tenantry all round to pay a higher percentage, or to make contributions towards a law-suit, a marriage, the majority of an eldest son, a sacrificial supper, a road, or a temple. But for a sturdy tenant-proprietor standing out against a permanent rise in his rent, there was no remedy except a law-suit in the Civil Courts. And this brings us to the judicial rent. We have said that every Zemindar was supposed to have the right to measure the lands of any Ryot, merely to see that the latter enjoyed no more than his title-deeds covered. But this inherent right, so equitable and

easy in theory, proved in practice extremely equivocal, and violent disputes. The agent or factor with his measuring rod beaten, and driven off. If he happened to be backed by retainers and clubmen, a regular affray took place between him and the villagers, with the unpleasant results of wounds, and perhaps death, a police investigation, and a regular criminal Sessions. We shall therefore take the common case where it proceeded by a regular lawsuit; and this could assume one of the following shapes. He brought a suit to measure and to establish his right to rent from a Ryot who duly attorned. Or, admitting that the area in acreage was tendered for by the Ryot, the Zemindar desired to bring it to those generally assessed in the neighbourhood; or else to collect the customary rates leviable on the more produce of cultivation; or, in fact, with any modification of the above, he sued to compel the tenant to come to terms, and to get him fix the judicial rent. We should also note that, though the Ryot always had the protection of the Court and could in his turn bring the landlord into it after 1793, his interests were further consolidated by a celebrated statute known as Act X. of 1859, whereby it was provided that no one having a right of occupancy should be liable to enhancement except on one or other of the following grounds:—(1) That the value was below that payable by men of the same class for lands of similar description and with similar advantages in the neighbourhood; (2) that the value of the produce, or the productive powers of the soil, had increased otherwise than by the Ryot himself; (3) that the value proved by measurement to be greater than what he paid for. The ground of enhancement for practical purposes only arose on the introduction of railways, which increased the selling price of opium, hemp, and so forth. English theories, at that period, of the Mutiny, were uppermost in the minds of our legislators, and officers familiar with the native processes of agriculture knew well that cases in which any one but the Ryot himself could increase the productive powers of the soil would be uncommonly rare. But the English community, after the reaction from the events of 1857 in favour of large proprietors and agricultural communities, had visions of beneficent landlords draining and introducing steam ploughs, making roads and canals, improving cattle, and possibly writing instructive pamphlets on good husbandry and grain. It is unnecessary to review the causes of the various legislative changes by which the history of the various legislative changes by which the litigants were referred for enhancement from the Civil to the Courts, and then again to the civil tribunals. Whatever the result, a suit for enhancement was no light matter. No doubt, in the quarter of a century, Indian pleadings have been much simplified. Rejoinders and replications have been abolished; simple

facts, not by way of plaint and answer, are put in by the litigants, who show merely on what the claim or the defence depend. Decisions are written in the English language instead of in Persian or in the vernacular of the province, and many of the native judges, well-educated and highly trained, prefer to record their opinions in the language of the ruling race. The delay in getting appeals decided has been obviated. Some valuable decisions have been given by the High Courts in test suits, and have served as "light and leading" to the subordinate judges. But still, owing to aggression on one hand and resistance on the other, to conflicting evidence, to heat and inflammation provoked by the fatal consequences of defeat to either party, and to the proverbial pertinacity of Hindu and Mohammedan litigants, a suit for enhancement brings out a deal of exasperation, often leaves traces of acerbity, and serves as a good test of the skill and capacity of the judge. We may now presume the issue between two parties to be whether the rent is secured by deed or by custom; whether, in default of any provision barring enhancement, the rents are or are not below those payable in the same or the neighbouring villages. And here, in most instances, the judge finds it necessary to depute what in India is termed an *amin*, and in Ireland a "valuator," to hold a local investigation. The practice of deputing officials of a certain rank or status is one very frequent, and indeed of daily occurrence, in Indian litigation. It arises out of a natural distrust of every witness who is put up in Court by anybody to prove anything, as well as from a belief that better or more trustworthy evidence is purposely withheld, and that it can be dragged to light by a competent and trustworthy person holding a summary inquiry under the shade of the village trees. In divers other proceedings, criminal and magisterial, or in actions of ejectment or possession tried by the Civil Court, some very curious revelations have resulted from a local reference. A magistrate or his subordinate is informed that a certain respectable individual has been kidnapped, robbed, and probably murdered. The story is told with every variety of circumstance; the person missing is provided with a trade or profession, a large cousinhood, and a regular biography; and nothing is wanting, on paper, to connect him with residence and rights in a certain defined hamlet. A shrewd superintendent of police goes to the spot and shows conclusively that this kidnapped individual has no existence *in rerum natura*, and that the whole thing is a pure myth. Again, it happens that in a village fight one of the combatants is killed, transfixed with a spear, or bruined by a bamboo. The unlucky individual is summarily decapitated by the aggressive party, and dozens of witnesses come forward to swear that he is not Sukh Dass of the village of Gharibpur, the inhabitants of which were unjustly attacked and worsted in the conflict, but Ram Dhan of the bazaar of Sultangunge, an inoffensive shopkeeper, and that he was savagely attacked and murdered from motives of sheer spite. In civil suits for the possession of alluvial lands, a local investigation often proves that both parties are

agriculture and the market rates of his district or province. In the end, then, a very fair decision is given, of which the main features are somewhat as follows, and it can be relied on as a type of any number of rent cases. We adhere to the Anglo-Indian practice of giving *beegahs* instead of acres, and rupees and annas instead of shillings and pence. The cause of action is first stated, and then the defence. Then come the pleas and arguments of the native counsel, and next a very detailed enumeration of the evidence, oral and documentary, much stress in all probability being laid on the fact that a trustworthy *amin*, skilled in all sorts of measurement and appraisement, has seen the lands, examined scores of witnesses, made a clear report, and given the dissatisfied person every opportunity of objecting or commenting on it, as well as of producing more counter-evidence in the Court-house. And the real point of the decision is contained in a few sentences, in which the judge lays it down that Shadu Biswas or Mathurnanath Mandal really holds 19 beegahs and 10 cottahs, *i.e.*, 19½ beegahs, instead of 18½; that his rates are leviable according to those in force in the Pergunnah (the hundred) of Imadpur; that there has been no loss of land by inundation and diluvion: and that the holding is subdivided into the following plots, on each of which rent is due according to the crops therein cultivated, in the following proportion:—

Homestead	½ beegah at Rs.4	0 annas per beegah.
Infield and tank	1½ beegahs „	8 0 „
Mango, jack fruit, and garden		
land	2 „ „	2 8 „
Sugar-cane	½ beegah „	3 0 „
Late rice	8 beegahs „	1 4 „
Early rice	7 „ „	1 0 „

Total 19½ beegahs In money, Rs.39 a year.

The dissatisfied tenant naturally appeals, and it is not improbable that the Zemindar files a cross-appeal alleging that the measurement may be correct, but that the rates, especially those for rice lands, are decidedly below the average. There is always an appeal as a matter of right, as there is in our own Equity Courts. Sometimes it lies from one native subordinate judge to another, and sometimes to the Civil Judge who is a member of the covenanted service. In cases where the amount is beyond a certain value, or where a legal point is raised, or some novel practice or unusual custom is pleaded, there is a second appeal to the High Court. And the ablest advocates of the English and the native bar have consumed hours and days in arguing out these questions before a full bench of judges of this latter tribunal guided by the highest equity and a consummate knowledge of the intricacies of landed tenures, their growth, devolution, liabilities, and mode of taxation. There are here no hazardous dicta about the amount on which a Bengal Ryot could pay and thrive. No one was ever sent to estimate rents by riding over the

SCIENCE AND REVELATION.

THESE two words summarize man's higher history, but it appears to be often taken for granted that the records of revelation as accepted by Christians have been proved to be incompatible with the truths made known to us by science. The subject is of such importance that it demands the most careful examination from those who are not prepared to give up their faith and hope, and who are equally unwilling to surrender the right use of reason. The first step in such an examination is to obtain exact definitions of the meaning of the two words "science" and "revelation," and this is the more necessary because they may be regarded from a certain central point of view as different expressions of one idea—the revealing of hidden truths.

"Science" is a word which may be employed to describe the gradual unfolding of the mysteries of creation by means of the patient and laborious investigations of gifted men, who have been inspired with the desire and upon whom have been bestowed those mental faculties necessary for the attainment of such knowledge. "Revelation" in the same way is the unfolding of spiritual facts by those specially gifted men who have been inspired with the power to comprehend and reveal truths connected with the immaterial, unseen, but not less really existing, universe.

Interpreting the two words thus, it may seem strange that there arises from time to time such bitter antagonism between some of the devotees of science, or, as they prefer to call themselves, "men of culture," and those who in contradistinction may be termed "men of faith." But, when looked into more closely, this antagonism is not surprising; for while it is true that both the material and the spiritual universe are the work of the same great Spirit and that revelations regarding them can contain no contradiction, yet they are altogether distinct, and appeal to different senses. The one is material, and can

be examined only by material senses—that is, through the eye, the hand, or other bodily organs. The other is refusing to be tried or tested by any material means, can be investigated through those faculties centring in, and hardly to be distinguished from, that great spiritual sense which we call conscience, the link between man and his Maker, by which sense alone for him to see the invisible, to test the spiritual, or to grasp things. But, though in themselves the worlds are so different, the conditions of the successful pursuit of truth in both the material and spiritual regions are the same; for as it is essential in the investigation that the eye of the investigator shall be single, and that no bias of self-will shall interfere with the reception of whatever he may discover, no matter how contrary to his preconceived notions, in like manner the searcher after spiritual truths must possess a single eye, and the same freedom from prejudice, or other influences, which truths will ever elude his grasp.

It is much to be regretted that many believers in revelation have placed themselves in antagonism to scientific investigation, and that the foundation on which they had built their faith is now destroyed. Even now the same weakness is displayed in a candid endeavour to explain away scientific facts which are in conflict with what are held to be orthodox views of revelation. Such a course every religious man who conceals to reason its true principles must declare to be not only unwise but dishonouring to the God of truth, who could never have declared by inspired revelation anything contradictory to the facts of His material universe. It is not only justifiable but right to pause before accepting a claim of men of science to have discovered truth till its truth has been demonstrated; but, when this has been done, then, if so be that the new discovery clashes with the old received ideas concerning revelation, it is necessary to examine whether those ideas are not themselves erroneous.

Many people, however, not only believe in an infallible revelation made known through the medium of an infallible book, but they also hold that their own views concerning both these are likewise infallible. This is a foolish placing of man's views of divine revelation against God's material creation, as made known by science, which is a fruitful source of scepticism. But, on the other hand, many men quite as foolishly demand material tests for spiritual revelation, and presume to deny the existence of all which cannot be made known to their material senses or proved by material means, although the secret of life itself baffles all such investigation, and even the most powerful microscope would not avail to reveal to an unassisted eye the thoughts contained in the pages of these authors' books. No, any chemical tests enable an unenlightened intellect to

spiritual truths contained in the writings of many a master mind, which are clearly enough perceived by those who possess the necessary susceptibility. Some, indeed, presume to deny that there can be any proofs except those which are material, thus ignoring that omnipresent voice which speaks to man of the infinite and unseen: a voice which, though not heard outwardly, is most clearly perceived by each man's conscience, urging to righteousness, causing even the heathen to accuse or else excuse both their own and each other's conduct; a voice as real as the intellectual consciousness of self, and one which speaks as clearly of right and wrong, of duty and subjection, as man's intellectual intuition speaks of individuality or of the truth of those axioms which are necessary to all logical reasoning. It is strange that scientific men, who would look upon any one as entirely unreasonable who disputed the axioms upon which all scientific reasoning depends, reject the idea that there are spiritual axioms resting upon exactly the same foundation—that is to say, that there are propositions concerning the unseen life which the general understanding of mankind recognizes as truth as soon as the meaning of the words used is understood.* Scientific reasoning rests on no stronger basis than this, for the axioms without which no single truth in science can be proved depend upon unprovable intuitions which are neither weaker nor stronger than the unprovable intuitions upon which man accepts spiritual revelations; and to disbelieve everything that cannot be proved without the intervention of intuitions is to submit to hopeless unbelief, not less in science than in revelation.

Having thus briefly considered the terms, it will be well, before proceeding to the question whether science and revelation are reconcilable, to compare the various accounts as to the existence of the universe; first, as received through revelation, and then as set forth by sceptics who deny its truth. One of the strongest arguments urged by the opponents of the Christian faith is the presumed difficulty in reconciling the received account of the origin of the world as given in the Bible with the acknowledged facts which science has made known. But it will probably be found as we proceed that this in great part arises from meanings having been attributed to the words of revelation which are now held only by the thoughtless or the very ignorant. The remaining difficulties are for the most part founded on what may be called the inability of sceptics to accept, or else on their wilful determination to reject, the belief in a personal God, though as a result they are driven to theories compared with which the very crudest belief of the Christians of past years appears reasonable.

In studying with any closeness the account of the origin of the universe as it is given in what believers accept as a revelation from God,

* "God veritably exists, and stands in a most important relation to us as the Author of the moral law—a postulate which the practical reason is compelled to make from the absolutely imperative and unconditional character of the notion of duty—a notion which we find in ourselves, which admits of no human origin or explanation but which constantly refers us back to a Divine Author and an abiding Will, at once intelligent and virtuous, as its only conceivable source"—*Creed of Science*, p. 359.

we are at once conscious that, besides being to a large extent narrative, poetry, parable, and metaphor, it is confessedly imperfect from a scientific point of view. This is, in fact, only what might have been expected since the revelation had for its object not the revealing of the secret Nature or the teaching of those scientific truths which were destined to be the fruit of diligent study, but the making known to man his relation to and to the universe around him. Therefore the first great truth known is one which he could never have discovered unaided by revelation—the moral character of the eternal, the incomprehensible, the almighty Spirit, who describes Himself as the great "I am;" a Being whom man hath seen or can see, of whose essential character we know nothing save His eternal power and Godhead as witnessed in creation and His moral character, first dimly reflected in man's conscience, described by inspiration, and at last clearly revealed, as far as man can comprehend it, in the incarnate Son. He, Jehovah, is declared in the beginning of the history of this universe to have created the heaven and the earth, not, as objectors urge, from nothing, but, to use the inspired Apostle's words, "things which are seen were made by things which do not now appear." Some scientific men conjecture that the world was the product of nebulous vapour. It may be so, but the phenomena of eternity are as entirely unthinkable as eternity itself.

But, to return to the inspired record, opening the book of Genesis we find it there stated that "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth." We now know by means of scientific investigation that this statement has to be read as referring to the original creation, which took place many, probably millions of years before man became a living soul, for geology has revealed a wonderful world that existed long before the earth assumed its present condition. This is proved by the fossil ruins which compose the coal of the subterranean mines and the strata of the lofty cliffs. The vast space of time that elapsed from the beginning is often urged as refuting revelation, but it is entirely consistent with it. "In the beginning," it is said, "God created the heaven and the earth." Here the first revelation closes, and a pause ensues while the course of the earlier creation runs through appointed ages and comes to an end, after which, as the narrative proceeds, we learn that at the time the second statement commences "the earth was without form, and void, and darkness was upon the face of it." The account given by scientific men of the state of the globe during what is termed the glacial period presents a striking confirmation of this further statement. At that time, they tell us, deep down below lay the ruins of an earlier creation, the heat absorbed from the sun through many ages remained latent in the long since extinct vegetation, and our globe, which was a formless mass covered in an icy shroud, lay void in the blackness of darkness. The investigations give us no clue to the cause of the change which then took place.

but from revelation we learn that at that time of desolation the Spirit of God was brooding over the formless void, and that "God said, Let there be light; and there was light," with its accompanying heat, by which the world which we now see was evolved. Science, still in perfect accord with revelation, tells us that at that particular period from some unknown cause the ruined world began to be re-formed, the vast masses of ice with which it was covered gradually melted, and in melting glided down from higher to lower levels, grinding into powder in their impetuous course the hard rocks on which they had rested, and, carrying the crushed material into the valleys and plains, enriched them with the fertile débris. Science, as has been said, entirely fails even to suggest an admissible cause for this change, but from revelation we learn that the change was caused by the word of God, though the means by which it was effected are not revealed. It may be that then an alteration took place in the position of the earth as regards the sun, or otherwise; but, whatever the secondary cause, both science and revelation concur in testifying that, in the beginning of the re-creation, light and heat made their influence felt upon the earth, the darkness ceased, the icy covering yielded beneath the sunny influence, and the soil became gradually fitted by the operation of glacial action for the vegetation with which it was by-and-by to be clothed. Then revelation makes known how, by the continued exercise of God's power, this earth was made to bring forth grass and herbs and trees and fruit; then came the lower animal creation; and, finally, man was formed and fitted to occupy his prepared habitation.

It is urged by some that the account given of the separate creations on what are termed in Genesis the seven days is refuted by Darwin's theory of the evolution of species, the famous hypothesis which has taken so great a hold upon the minds of men of science. But, kept within reasonable limits, there is nothing in this theory contrary to revelation, for that which is evolved from a created germ is not less the work of the creator than the original production; and if it should come to be absolutely demonstrated that the first created species were limited in number but possessed within themselves the power of developing kindred kinds fitted for the various conditions of existence, such a fact is quite consistent with a reasonable acceptance of the teaching of revelation.

No more than just this degree of modification of view on each side is needed to enable us to say that, thus far, at least, science and revelation are in harmony. From both we learn that at some point in the vast eternity the heavens and the earth came into being, and the things which we now see were formed of "things which do not now appear." Men of faith believe that this occurred through the operation of a first great Cause; sceptical men of culture that it occurred by the hap of chance; and the question at issue is, Which of these views is the more reasonable? As regards the earlier creation neither revelation nor science tells us anything, but we find wonderful testimony to its

grandeur in the fossil remains of a majestic vegetation which is beneath our feet, bearing witness to the existence of a beautiful world which, from some unknown cause, passed away. For there is evidence of a terrible catastrophe. The glorious primitive wheat became a weed, and this globe remained through long ages wild, while "darkness was upon the face of the deep." Then while science is still faintly conscious takes up the story and sings to us in its beautiful Psalm of "recreation the genesis of man's abode."

This history of the origin of the world, as gathered from the earliest professed revelations of God to man which has, indeed, been more or less accepted by the highest intellects, including many of the most celebrated scientific men both of past and present times, is rejected by sceptics chiefly, if not entirely, because it is founded on the idea of a Creator, which idea is denounced by them—without, however, any attempt at proof—as contrary to the highest philosophic thought and especially as involving the notion of miracles, which notion they urge puts reason to confusion. Therefore to dispel this prevalent superstition, as they deem it, some of the most eminent among them such as Laplace, Kant, Sir W. Thomson, Straus, and Professor Haeckel, have endeavoured to supply a more reasonable hypothesis for as the world undeniably exists, some scientific explanation must, they acknowledge, be given of the fact, or otherwise men will still be driven to accept the absurd supposition that it was the creation of a potent Creator, involving the inadmissible idea of miracles. This being so, there is only one alternative on which they could fall back—namely, that the origin of the universe was the work of Nature itself.* Not a vapour, floating in space, must, they urge, have existed from eternity, containing within itself a stock of potential energy and always influenced by the laws of gravitation. For evidence in favour of this necessary postulate, they simply argue that otherwise the universe could not have been developed without a Creator. The atoms of this nebulous vapour, thus easily proved to have existed from eternity, with their potential energy, remained quiescent until, once in eternity,† from some inexplicable cause they betthought themselves of their long quiescence and suddenly gravitated into groups, so that the original diffused matter became resolved into a number of rotating masses of spherical form, which, gradually cooling by radiation, were contracted, and in contraction naturally acquired a more rapid motion, during which they flung off from themselves rings of nebulous atoms, which by some happy chance divided so as to escape from the larger masses, then re-united and became planets. These, rushing away, notwithstanding the heretofore exactly balanced attraction of gravity, to a certain distance from their suns, then stayed their course and thenceforth rotated around the larger masses which

* Nature, it must be observed, assumes in all their descriptions a strange likeness to a superintending Providence.

† They speak of "millions of years ago," but as all this is supposed to have happened before time existed, it would be more correct to say, "once, at some point in eternity."

they had left, restrained by that force of gravity which had previously been impotent to hold them.*

Such is the sceptical scientists' account of the origin of the suns, of the planets rotating round their suns, and of the moons rotating round their planets; and this theory they hold to be confirmed by the fact that the planet Saturn forms an exception to the rule, since the rings of nebulous atoms which surround it apparently failed to complete the process, and are visible in their original state. Many scientific difficulties exist in the way of the acceptance of this theory, sufficient probably to make it unacceptable to any except those who feel bound to supply a theory which will get rid of the need of a Creator. For instance, there is the improbability that the masses, even if it be supposed that they were once thrown off by rotation, would not have returned again to the larger masses by compulsion of the force of gravitation. Or, presuming that there were some unknown forces acting to prevent this, another difficulty arises—that these atoms, once thrown off, should have congregated into permanent smaller masses instead of dispersing. Moreover, in one case at least, it would seem that the moon of a planet moves in a contrary direction, as regards the planet itself, to that which is required by this hypothesis. But, even granting this explanation, it helps us very little towards understanding the origin of the universe as we know it now existing, even if we allow the eternity of matter and the chance that its whole conditions should somehow have become changed without a cause.

There is another hypothesis which suggests that the sun was produced by the falling together of its materials, hitherto existing in a state of wide diffusion as a cloud of stones, dust, and gaseous matter;† but this theory likewise offers no reason why at any given time these minute portions should so rush together instead of remaining in the condition in which they had existed through the past ages of eternity, or why the atoms that rushed into the sun maintained a state of combustion, while those which rushed together to form the earth gradually cooled. Mere chance could hardly have so cleverly arranged things that one mass should form a centre of heat to make the other a fertile source of vegetation and life. The teaching of revelation that the existence of the sun and the earth is part of a scheme designed by an intelligent Creator is surely less unthinkable than such imperfect theories.

But even were these hypotheses accepted in regard to the origin of the material universe, this question of the physical arrangement of the universe is only one of the problems which those who reject God must solve. Let it be granted that the origin of the world was the rushing together of nebulous atoms, the mass contracting by radiation and rotating by contraction, still the question presses, Whence came the beautiful verdure with which it is now covered, the animal life which subsists upon it, and especially how arose humanity, which rules over

* *Vide* "Creed of Science," pp. 5-7.

† *Ibid.* p. 11

all? As regards life, Professor Haeckel maintains that it originated millions of centuries ago by spontaneous generation at the bottom of the sea, where, deep down, living organisms were formed like sea crystals.* But an explanation is still needed of the existence of the water itself, and by what means the water was produced, not to speak of those combinations of gases mixed in the exact proportions needed to form the air to sustain later types of life in the atmosphere surrounding the earth, and how these were evolved from the dry, molten rocks; again, whence came the first germ of the grasses, herbs, and trees; these, even if the product of evolution, must have had conditions capable of evolving them, even supposing this process of spontaneous generation proved, which has not yet been done. Christians will hardly be convinced of the reasonableness of these sceptical theories, the strong evidence for which in the eyes of scientific men is the fact that otherwise the idea of a Creator cannot be got rid of, for "if," says Professor Haeckel, the foremost apostle of this school, "Nature did not originate spontaneously the primordial forms the Darwinian theory postulates, then they *must* have been supernaturally created."† In face of insuperable difficulties of these hypotheses, reasonable men may hesitate to accept the scientists' postulate that life was spontaneously generated in the primordial forms. If, however, their postulate is admitted, their claim that all is then explained by the principle of evolution and the law of the survival of the fittest‡ is yet far from established. Let it be granted that the monera, the first class of albuminous matter, the earliest organisms possessing life, were developed by chance at the bottom of the sea; can it be accepted as reasonable that all is then clear? On the contrary, do not the scientists go on to make larger and larger demands on our belief, requiring us to imagine that elementary organisms lived on through ages till chance after chance gave some specimens an advantage over the others, which, in accordance with the law of evolution, developed in them eyes, mouth, scales, and that was necessary to compose an orthodox fish; that again the fish lived on till, by chance, some distinguished members of the community gradually developed wings and feathers instead of scales, and that happy offspring became birds; that these lived on till some of their successors, discarding fins or feathers, evolved fur and hair, legs to walk upon the earth, and teeth to feed upon its products; and so on and so on till at last man's nearest progenitor, the ape, made its appearance, and by a still more happy chance, some specimens, losing their tails and fur, developed into men and women, the first of the human race, the parents of Cicero, Plato, Newton, Stephenson, and Mendelssohn, and we speak of those great scientists who thus write the history of our ancestors?|| Such a marvellous series of successful chances renders the idea of miracles comparatively easy of acceptance.

* Address of Professor Haeckel see *Times*, Aug. 30, 1878, also "History of Creation."
 † *Ibid.* "Creed of Science," p. 20. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 321. § *Ibid.* pp. 22-24.

Yet this is put forward as the history of creation which must be accepted as true by the illuminati and their disciples lest they should be compelled to fall back upon the unscientific idea of God, and acknowledge themselves forced to admit that the wondrous phenomena of apparent design were indeed the work of a Designer, or, as revelation declares, the production of a personal Creator; and these crude hypotheses are thought by their propounders to be more reasonable than the simple statement of revelation that the complicated universe is the expression of a mind of infinite wisdom and power!

But there remains a further stage of this inquiry. Beyond the wondrous phenomena of the animate and inanimate universe, the human mind requires to be accounted for, and also the conscience, that part of man's nature which believers in revelation accept as the voice of God within him. These, in some respects, are even more wonderful than the physical phenomena of the universe. Light is marvellous, so exactly fitted as it is for the use of the eye; the eye is marvellous, with its complex machinery, so arranged as to receive the impression of objects by means of light; yet both these were useless but for the existence in man of that by which he becomes conscious of and is influenced by the impressions which are conveyed—that which we call mind, a portion of man's being which science has never yet attempted seriously to account for, which makes each individual conscious of what is going on around him, and by means of which joy or sorrow, hope or fear, are produced within him. The adaptability of the whole human frame to the exterior circumstances among which it is placed, its nerves, muscles, and bones, and its organs of speech, hearing, &c., so exactly fitted for the manifold uses required of them: all this is marvellous, and it is hard to believe that the various parts of the human organism were adjusted to each other, not by infinite wisdom, but by blind chance, as the scientists suggest. But it is, if that were possible, still more difficult to believe that conscience, which regulates the actions of this wondrous frame, which tells of right and wrong, which condemns or excuses our actions, ever pointing us to the better, while the animal nature is constraining us to the worse, has no divine origin. What account have sceptical scientific men to give of this portion of man's nature? Conscience is, they say, the effect of circumstances. Men invented morality, and it made the conscience. That unselfish virtue which has led so many to give up their lives for the good of their fellows is but the development of mere selfishness, the instinct of self-preservation. The germs of morality, they tell us, are contained in two primitive instincts—those of self-preservation and of reproduction. Morality is but the necessary corollary of the instinct to live. For example, three ants could not live and labour together without manifesting the essential elements of morality; they could not have the advantage of mutual union without exercising mutual trust. Thus the essential germs of truth and justice

would be developed, and all else would follow in the natural evolution. Such is their strange weird theory of the origin of, and morality.*

Mr. Herbert Spencer, of whom it is necessary to speak with personal respect, if only on account of the high ethical and really principles he upholds in matters of public policy, and who is called Darwin "the prince of philosophers," describes the highest instance of conduct as being witnessed in a mother suckling her child, because the act is exhibited at the same time the gratification of the mother, the satisfaction of the appetite of the child, a satisfaction which is a furtherance of growth and increasing enjoyment. As Mr. Spencer simply is the last of the evolutionary series of animals, his right and wrong is the same in regard to the most evolved animal, or to the least, and this test is pleasure or pain. Professor Goldwin Smith, referring to this illustration, justly says: "Inasmuch as Mr. Spencer cuts off from any appeal to human morality essentially distinct from that of all other animals, this highest instance of right conduct may well be exemplified in the relation of a cow suckling her calf." Neither of these illustrations appears to be the *highest* example of such right conduct, which is witnessed most perfectly in a mother suckling her numerous progeny, since there we see exhibited the combination of the elements of morality as defined by Mr. Spencer—

* "Creed of Science," pp. 324-6.

† Mr. Spencer repudiates Professor Goldwin Smith's conclusion, and in the same book as that from which these statements are quoted are to be found modifying them, such as the following: "Moral ideas and sentiments, are naturally caused." If so, their authority is peremptory. Are they modes of feeling naturally caused in men by experience of these conditions? If so, they are no less peremptory. "The moral sentiments are indispensable as incentive to action, and the intuitions corresponding to these sentiments have a general and reverently recognized authority; hence conduct in its highest form will take as guides the intuitions of right." If for the Divine will, supposed to be supernaturally revealed, substitute the naturally revealed end towards which the power manifested through evolution works, then, since evolution has been and still is working towards the highest end, follow us that conforming to those principles by which the highest life is achieved, that end."

But, notwithstanding the above repudiation, Professor Goldwin Smith's conclusion is unanswerable, and these quotations cited by Mr. Spencer are only inconsistent. How far better Mr. Spencer's self is than his theories. For instance, how can we talk of a power working through evolution in a universe which is the effect of chance, and speak of authority if there be no author of this authority. As Mr. Spencer and his followers maintain that man is an animal, and no more, and as the only guide to right conduct is animal sensation, then the animal sensations, which in men are called conscience, must necessarily be man's only guide. Again if man's individuality ceases at death, how can he come to-morrow to gratify to the utmost the cravings of animal desire must be his course. Altruism, it is true, suggests that by enduring the pain of self-sacrifice and living virtuously we may produce more happiness in a future generation of this world, but this is dependent upon mere chance, and therefore it would be the greatest folly to rely on the certainty of such pain for the uncertainty of such a chance. The utmost pleasure to be enjoyed and realized when pleasure palls and pain predominates is the only deduction according to Mr. Spencer's premises. For if chance made man, why a time to live when life involves pain? He owes no duty to chance. He must take notice of his actions, or care whether he does right or wrong, lives or dies, thus be so, the only wisdom must be to enjoy the present to the utmost, and to be pain, cut it short by the easiest method, or, to use inspired words, "Let us drink, for to-morrow we die."

gratification of the mother sow, the satisfaction, not of one, as in the case of the woman or the cow, but of many young animals, with the accompanying furtherance in them of life and growth, and also increasing enjoyment. Thus, according to the principles of the new philosophy of Mr. Spencer, which appears to have been sanctioned by Mr. Darwin, the most perfect instance of morality is evidenced by a swine and to be witnessed in a sty!

The proof of the actual tendency of this philosophy may be gathered from the works of one of Mr. Spencer's most devoted disciples, Dr. Van Denslow, the author of "Modern Thinkers," a book introduced by a preface written by Mr. Robert Ingersoll, instanced by Professor Goldwin Smith as being one of the leading agnostics of America. Dr. Van Denslow writes thus:—

"According to common opinion it is believed to be moral to tell the truth and immoral to lie. Yet it would be difficult to prove that Nature prefers the true to the false, since Nature endows every animal with the faculty of deception. Why then should not men be endowed with the faculty of lying? It is the strong who require the weak to tell the truth, and always to promote some interest of the strong. Again, 'Thou shalt not steal' is a moral precept invented by the strong, and by them imposed upon the weak. 'Thou shalt not steal' is, in a philosophic sense, not a universal, but a class law. Again, the laws prohibiting unchastity were framed by those who, in the earlier periods of civilization, could afford to own women, against the poor who could not."

Such is the outcome of the morality deduced by modern philosophers from Nature, which is Mr. Spencer and his disciples' only guide. That the reasoning is logically correct can hardly be disputed. Nature being the only teacher, it is impossible to controvert the conclusions of Dr. Van Denslow, for if pleasure and pain are the sole tests of morality, then there is undoubtedly no want of virtue in lying when pleasure will be the result; it cannot be immoral to steal when pain can be avoided, nor is chastity to be commended when it deprives of enjoyment. These are the strictly logical conclusions of this philosophy, for inasmuch as it counts man as entirely and only a highly developed animal, morality must of necessity depend solely upon the promotion of pleasurable animal sensations. From this point of view man's pleasures, despite any refinements sought to be thrown around them, must be purely animal, any other property of his nature being denied. Happily these philosophers are for the most part as illogical in their lives as they are in many of their arguments, and, while denying its existence, live according to that conscience within which makes for righteousness, being unable to resist the surrounding influence of the pure morality of the Christ they reject. But, if the principles enunciated by them spread, a total destruction of morality must ensue; and it will become impossible to accept the word or to believe in the truth or the virtue of any man or woman who accepts so degrading a standard of conduct. Monteil, the chosen friend of Gambetta, the late favourite of France, practically

accepts this position in his declaration that "the passions of man are his surest and most faithful guide." From the Christian point of view such philosophy is but the worship of the beast in human nature.

May we not then fairly ask whether the case of the illuminati of the present day is so clear that we are justified in giving up the idea of a Creator, of a Providence watching over the universe, of that high principle in man which separates him from the beasts, the hope of immortality, that sense of right and wrong which Christians hold to be the basis upon man's conscience of his Maker's will, the belief in a future life where the imperfections of this life will be corrected, and where those separated by death here shall be reunited? Have the philosophers given anything approaching even to reasonable proof that this world and universe, from its first beginning, when, after an eternity of imbecility, the atoms composing it rushed together, to its present state of complex existence, is but the product of accident, and that morality is no more nor less than the outcome of the animal nature in its instinctive life? Finally, is it a reasonably sufficient motive to charity and good that in some distant age, when the individuality of each man now living shall have been completely extinguished, his virtuous conduct to-day may help to produce, if chance so fall (which is, of course, uncertain), some beings more perfect in length and fulness of life? Is this incentive to be compared with the Christian motive, that in practising virtue man is rendering grateful service to his Creator and helping together with Him, in promoting the virtue, and therefore the happiness, of His other creatures?

One more point only remains to be examined to complete this inquiry. Many in England, and a still larger number, it is said, in America, had their faith shaken by the attacks made upon the Christian religion through criticism of some of the contents of the Old Testament. Is it possible, urge the sceptics, to explain in accordance with scientific truth many of the statements found in the Bible, which is held to be the Word of God; for instance, the statement that the sun once stood still at the bidding of a man, in order that the day might be prolonged to give the Israelites time to destroy their enemies, it is now known that if the sun were to stand still for ever, lengthening of the day would follow, since for that purpose it is the earth which would need to cease its motion? Or again, the declaration that the hare was forbidden as food and counted unclean to the Israelites because it chewed the cud but divided not the hoof, whereas the pig is not one of the ruminant animals, and could under no circumstances chew its cud? Or further, how can many of the laws of the Old Testament regarding war, captives, slaves, and women, which are such as to be now, without question, be counted immoral, be explained? As to the effect upon the Christian faith in respect of such passages as these have undoubtedly had a great effect, but it has been owing chiefly to the want of clear views of what the old Scriptures really are, and

nervous hesitancy of many, or indeed we may say of most, Christian teachers to face these questions fairly.

But the answer to such criticism is not very difficult, even for those who hold that the inspiration of the Old Testament is plenary, since no thoughtful man could for a moment maintain that the inspiration of prophet or psalmist went beyond the object for which he was inspired. Moreover, a large portion of the Old Testament is a history, preserved it is true by the providence of God, but still a history in which are recorded not only the Divine teachings, but the doubts, the errors, and even the sins of inspired men; as, for instance, the erroneous statements of Job's friends, the falsehood by which Elisha led the Syrians into Samaria, and the bloody sacrifice by Jephthah of his only child, as a thank-offering to God for the victory He had inspired him to win—all which are recorded simply as facts, without a word of blame. That the Bible as a revelation of spiritual things is the very word of God is perfectly true, but it is also as truly the record of various historical events relating to these revelations, a chronicle of how God, step by step, made known His mind to men of old from the earliest infancy of the race till the fulness of time arrived when He was able to declare a perfect morality and make a perfect revelation by means of the teaching and life of Christ. In these earlier times holy men spoke as they were moved by the Spirit; but they spoke not only in the style of language then used, but according to the general intellectual attainments of the people they addressed, and also, it should be especially noted, according to their then moral condition. For example, Moses, when speaking to his generation, decreed it to be lawful for a man to divorce his wife for any cause if she became distasteful to him,—a command which Christ Himself declares to have been given by Moses on account of the hardness of heart of the generation to which he spoke, and to be entirely contrary to the mind of God in regard to marriage; since He, in His creation at the beginning, designed male and female for a perfect and full union which death only should destroy. And so all the messages of God belonging to earlier dispensations, while He was gradually training the chosen race for their high predestined end, were necessarily given through men of the age in which they were delivered, who, while being made channels of Divine grace and inspired for the deliverance of the Divine messages, were by no means inspired with any unnatural insight into the mysteries of Nature, which God ordained should be gradually revealed through the long study and research of scientific men. And so, also, with regard to the morality of the laws and ordinances: it was such as the recipients were able to endure. Thus the law of divorce given by Moses, while it was good morality for the hard-hearted nation of newly-freed slaves, and the utmost they were able to bear, was seen to be sadly defective in the light of the morality which was by-and-by revealed; so too the laws of the Hebrews regarding slavery, though they were an immense advance on those of contemporary nations, could

not endure the light of Christ's teaching; and many of the fierce songs of the patriot Psalmist become acutely discordant to our ears placed by the side of the dying prayer of the Saviour on the cross. a word, these men of old were not inspired to teach science, but each his measure was supernaturally enabled to make known the mind of God gradually, here a little and there a little, as the various generations were able to receive it. The language and learning in which they clothed their messages are the language and learning of their contemporaries. Step by step the learning and morality of the chosen race advanced under the progressive revelations until at last, the way being prepared, Christ Himself, the very Word of God, made known to man a perfect morality in declaring the perfect mind of God; and though it is true He made no scientific revelation, yet it is also a truth, which may confirm our faith in Him, that no word which He spoke, even concerning Nature, has been discredited by the fiercest light of modern scientific investigation.

FRANCIS PEE

THREE SONNETS:

WRITTEN IN MID-CHANNEL.

I.

NOW upon English soil I soon shall stand,
Homeward from climes that fancy deems more fair;
And well I know that there will greet me there
No soft foam fawning upon smiling strand,
No scent of orange-groves, no zephyrs bland,
But Amazonian March, with breast half bare
And sleety arrows whistling through the air,
Will be my welcome from that burly land.
Yet he who boasts his birthplace yonder lies,
Owns in his heart a mood akin to scorn
For sensuous slopes that bask 'neath Southern skies,
Teeming with wine and prodigal of corn,
And, gazing through the mist with misty eyes,
Blesses the brave bleak land where he was born.

II.

And wherefore feels he thus? Because its shore
Nor conqueror's foot nor despot's may defile,
But Freedom walks unarmed about the isle,
And Peace sits cooing beside each man's door.
Beyond these straits, the wild-beast mob may roar,
Elsewhere the veering demagogue beguile:
We, hand in hand with the Past, look on and smile,
And tread the ways our fathers trod before.



III.

And can it be, when Heaven this deep moat made,
And filled it with the ungovernable seas,
Gave us the winds for rampart, waves for frise,
Behind which Freedom, elsewhere if betrayed,
Might shelter find, and flourish unafraid,
That men who learned to lisp at English knees
Of English fame, to pamper womanish ease
And swell the surfeits of voracious trade,
Shall the impregnable breakers undermine,
Take ocean in reverse, and, basely bold,
Burrow beneath the bastions of the brine?—
Nay, England, if the citadel be sold
For lucre thus, Tarpeia's doom be thine,
And perish smothered in a grave of gold!

ALFRED .

March, 1882.

ALTER ORBIS.

I AM not going to discuss the question of the Channel Tunnel. On the military aspect of the matter I could say nothing beyond a single hint. I would ask, with the lowliness of an ignorant civilian, whether, if there be any military danger, it is not a danger that cuts both ways. It is assumed that the tunnel will be threatening to England; if it be threatening at all, why should it not be just as threatening to France? It is certain that, from the earliest times onwards, English troops have been much oftener seen in France than French troops have been seen in England. Or rather, we should not speak of France and England. The question is one of lands and not of nations; it is one that existed before England and France, as such, had come into being, and it would still exist if Englishmen and Frenchmen should cease to be, and if some other nations should hold the northern and southern sides of the "streak of silver sea." The question is purely geographical, and the invasions of Cæsar and William have as much to do with the matter as the invasions the other way of Edward III. and Henry V. Indeed our own presence in our own island is one part of the case. There is no fact in history more important than the very obvious fact that those from whom part of Britain took the name of England came into Britain by sea, while those from whom part of Gaul took the name of France came into Gaul by land. If it be said that we came in by the German Ocean and not by the Channel, it is easy to answer that the only real question is that of the insular position of Britain on all sides. And it is no less easy to answer that two of the Teutonic settlements in Britain, one of them that which in the end grew into England, were actually made by the Channel. The plain facts are that not a few invaders have in various ages crossed both from the continent to Britain and from Britain to the continent, and that, since the nations of Europe made any approach to their

present position, the number of invaders who have *crossed* to the continent is far greater than the number of *its* crossed from the continent to Britain. The general *danger* on both sides; whether the tunnel, as a tunnel, *is* danger to one side which it does not imply to the *other* on which I have no right to say a word. Buonaparte from Boulogne to England; it may be that, if there *had* at that point, he would have come across. Henry VII. England to Boulogne, but he got there only by going *to* Edward III.'s conquest of Calais. Had there been a point, he might perhaps have been able to go straight *and* decide such questions.

I must confess that I do not love the notion of the *tunnel* share the sentiment which the Pythian priestess put *in* of Knidos in the opposite case:—

*ισθμὸς δὲ μὴ πρυγέει μὴ ἀπέσσει.
Ζεὺς γὰρ εἴ θέλει σῆμα, εἰ εἴ βούληται.*

I do not mean to take up a line which might condemn great enterprise, any cutting through of necks of land, through the depths of mountains. But it does seem *as if* do ought that may even seem to wipe out the distinctive and historical character of a land—to do ought that *may* away from it that which has made it and its people to have ever been. I am certainly set against the tunnel—grounds, of which I am no judge—but from a fear that it *will* thing to lessen the insular character of Britain; *some* from us, either in our own eyes or in the eyes of other position as *alter orbis*, as a separate world—a world lying would have put it, outside the world of Rome. We dwell *in* enough to have always had instincts of its own, thoughts great enough to impress upon its people a distinct *character* as islanders, irrespective of any other features of character to them through other causes, either of original descent history. It is the insular character of Britain which anything else, made the inhabitants of Britain what the history of Britain what it has been. We are islanders: do not wish that we should become continentals. My *own* being set against the tunnel is a fear—perhaps not *altogether* rather a mere vague kind of feeling—that it may do sentiment at least, towards making us cease to be islanders continentals. Up to this moment every man who has *passed* mainland into Britain, or from Britain into the mainland by one process, that of crossing the sea. Nothing has kept up the feeling of our island being; nothing has so *done* it on our own minds, and on the minds of others, as the

that Britain can be reached only by sea. We might even go a step further: we might say that this insular character is not merely a characteristic of Britain and of its inhabitants of all its three races, but that it is a characteristic of the English folk wherever they dwell. The great mass of the dependent colonists of Great Britain are geographically islanders: and even those who are geographically continentals are practically islanders. They cannot go to and fro, either towards the mother country or towards any other civilized nation, except by sea. And even our mightier independent colonies, the newer and vaster England beyond the Ocean, is, in a certain sense, insular also. The people of the United States, even in their vast continent, with a greater stretch of continuous habitable mainland than any other people, are, for many purposes, practically islanders, and that even in a more emphatic sense than ourselves. They cannot match themselves with their fellows, they cannot visit either their mother land or the land of any other nation of their own rank, without crossing, not a narrow strait, but the Ocean itself. And much of the distinctive character of the English folk in America, as well as of the distinctive character of the English folk in Britain, undoubtedly comes from this practically insular position of both. Some may perhaps wish the character of the English folk in either hemisphere to be other than it is, and doubtless we are not so perfect in either hemisphere but that we could stand some improvement. But any improvement which would make us cease to be islanders would be, if not improving us off the face of the earth, at least improving us out of ourselves, and making us into some other people. The American and the Australian aspects of the question we may pass by: no one, just yet at least, is likely to tunnel under the Ocean; the present question is simply one of tunnelling under the Strait of Dover. To my mind the question comes simply to this: Will the proposed tunnel do anything to lessen our insular character, or will it not? If it is likely so to do, let it be hindered for the sake of our present welfare and our future prospects. If there is no such danger, the tunnel has no more to be said against it than any other projected improvement in the way of travelling. Whether it is likely to bring about a change which I should so greatly dislike, I do not undertake to judge: it is enough that the least suspicion of such a change is alarming. But I will not enter further into the question than to make one more remark, to expose a single fallacy. It is sometimes said that the tunnel is of itself simply of a piece with any other improved means of communication, with railways, steamers, tunnels and bridges in other places. But there is a wide difference between the two cases. Railways and steamers, just like printing, simply enable us to do better what we have always done somehow. The Channel tunnel is a proposal to make us do something which we have never done before. It has always been possible to cross the Channel by water. Successive ages have improved the means of crossing: a swift steamer is a better way of accomplishing the object than a coracle; but the difference

between the two is a mere difference of detail. So it has a possibility to go by land from Spain to Russia. An express is a better way of accomplishing that object than walking or riding. This difference again is a mere difference of detail. But to go from the continent of Europe—one hardly knows whether to call it that—but at any rate in some other way than crossing by water is something altogether new. It is something altogether different, a mere improvement in the way of going by land, or in the way of going by water. It is a change of a far more striking and emphatic kind, and must be argued for or against on quite other grounds.

I will go no further into the argument whether the Channel is or is not likely practically to affect our insular character. The fact that such a point can be raised may make it no bad thing to give some little thought to that insular character of ourselves and our country, and to the way in which it has from the earliest recorded times affected both our own history and the history of our land before it became ours. The greatest fact in the history of British history is the geographical fact that Britain is an island. This is the fact which has determined the nature of all other facts in British history. It is a greater fact than the Norman Conquest, than the Conquest of Athelberht, than the settlement of the Angles and Saxons. No earlier fact which gave all these events their special character. If any of those leading facts in our history could ever have had the same position which it actually had, none of them could have had the same position, the same relation to other facts, if it had happened on any other soil but that of an island. Britain has been from the very beginning another world—*alter orbis*—a world which has been felt from the beginning to lie outside the general world of Europe, the world of the world. This position is only the highest case of a position common to all islands which are large enough to have a really separate being. Britain is the only island in Europe large enough to become strictly a world; but there are other islands whose insular position has given their history a special character, differing from that of Britain in a greater or less degree. A great island, one great enough to have its own foreign interests, great enough, so to speak, to think and act for itself, can never be really made one with the neighbouring mainland. The mainland and that mainland take the shape of a continent or of a still greater world. Even very small islands have often maintained a degree of independence, and have reached to an importance in the world, which could never have been reached by any other part of the world, or by any part of the mainland of no greater extent. The case of Venice is something so exceptional that it is hardly possible to refer to it as an instance of anything; but it hardly needs to be said that a Venice on the mainland of Venetia could never have followed the same course as the real Venice on the bosom of her lagoon.

islands of far less fame have often won for themselves, for a while at least, a position altogether disproportionate to their extent and their lasting resources. Take some of the Greek islands at different periods of their history, Samos, Aigina, and in later days, Hydra, Spetza, and Psara. In none of these cases was the greatness lasting; but it was wonderful while it did last, and it certainly could not have fallen to the lot of any continental district of no greater territorial measure. But it is in the great islands, islands which themselves sometimes form a mainland with lesser islands around them, that the effects of the insular position come out most strongly. Look at Sicily, look at Britain with regard to Europe, look at Ireland with regard to Britain itself. I have often had to bear testimony against that utter confusion of the history of all ages which looks on Sicily simply as part of Italy. The strangest result of the establishment of Italian freedom has been that the name of Sicily has been, for the first time in its long history, wiped out of the map of Europe. And I venture to think that this somewhat hasty dealing with an ancient and illustrious kingdom, as it was a historic wrong, was also a political mistake. The name of Ireland at once provokes controversies on which I will not enter; I will say only that it is arguing from an utterly false analogy to expect that the kind of dealings, the kind of union, which have proved successful in the case of Scotland and Wales, will therefore prove successful in the case of Ireland also. England, Wales, and Scotland are bound together by the hand of Nature; Britain and Ireland are parted asunder by the hand of Nature. I have noticed even in Corfu, an island not indeed on the scale of Britain or even of Sicily, but great among the other islands of the Greek kingdom, that there was a certain feeling of insular jealousy, a feeling that so renowned and valuable an island had hardly been made enough of since its union with the mainland and the lesser islands of the kingdom. Still Corfu, Sicily, Ireland, however much their insular position has affected their character and history, could none of them aspire to the wholly separate rank of *alter orbis*. They must be content to hold in some sort the position of satellites; or, if they are not satellites of a greater neighbour, they must at least be content to become in some sort members of a greater whole, parts of some greater system. Whatever be the hopes or the destinies of Ireland, it must stand towards Britain in some relation—be that relation of whatever kind—in which neither Ireland nor Britain stands to any other land. Iceland again can hardly fail to stand in some special relation to some one or other of the Scandinavian lands of the continent; size and distance are here outweighed by lack of population and productiveness. Yet even in the case of Iceland it was found not long ago to be an act of justice and expediency to raise her from the state of a mere dependency to the rank of a distinct member of the dominions of her sovereign, enjoying a constitution of her own. But one island holds a higher place in history than any of these. It is

Britain alone that has been truly deemed another world from the very beginning of her known being. When the first blow was struck which gave Britain a place in the history of the nations, the exploit of Cæsar in crossing to the great island was looked on as the discovery and contemplated conquest of another world. The world of Rome was not enough for him: he set forth to seek another, to add a fresh world to the rule of Rome and his own.* "Our world," "the Roman world," is no unusual phrase among writers of the Roman Empire; and to this Roman world the other world of Britain is not uncommonly opposed. In later days, when Rome was represented in the eyes of men by her Pontiff rather than by her Emperor, that Pontiff, "Pope of the world," could receive the Primate of all England as the "Pope of another world," nearer in rank, it would seem, to himself than the prelate of any See within the world of Rome.† And if Britain seemed as another world to those who dwelled in the world of Rome, her rulers were no less ready to set forth her rank as *alter orbis* to swell the pomp of their Imperial titles. In the days of West Saxon glory our princes were kings, emperors, caretakers, of the world of Britain.‡ We may be sure that it was the insular position of Britain, its isolation from the affairs of the continent, the multiplicity of nations and interests within it, the analogy between the position of its chief ruler among its lesser princes and the position of the imperial lords of the Old and the New Rome, which, more than anything else, suggested that claim to an imperial character which Eadgar thought it needful to assert in the days of Saxon Otto, and which Henry VIII. thought it needful to assert in the days of Austrian Charles. There was one world, a Roman world, whose sovereign was confessedly *mundi dominus*, lord of the world, but only of his own Roman world. There was another world, an island world, which formed no part of his rule, whose princes owed him no homage, whose chief prince, lord of his own world, was deemed, in far later days, to be not only king, but emperor within it.§ In those days the Imperial title still had a meaning. The lord of the Roman world still held a place in men's thoughts which made it needful to assert that the other world and its sovereign owed him no allegiance. As the idea of a Roman world and a Roman Emperor died out, as the head of the isle of Britain changed from the imperial chief of princes and under-kings into the immediate king of the whole land, there was no longer any reason either to deny dependence on Rome or

* "Alterum pene imperio nostro ac suo quærens orbem," says Velleius, ii. 46. So Florus, iii. 10, "Quas, hic Romanus orbis non sufficeret alterum contavit." I have collected these and a good many other passages of the same kind in the notes to *Comparative Politics*, p. 351, and *Norman Conquest*, i. 561.

† "Orbis papa," "apostolicus orbis," "alterius orbis apostolicus," "alterius orbis papa." See the references given above.

‡ Florence of Worcester, A.D. 975, calls Eadgar "Anglici orbis basileus," and Æthelstan, in a charter, Cod. Dipl. v. 231, calls himself "Rex Anglorum et æque totius Britannicæ orbis cunctivus."

§ See the instances of the use of the title under Edward the First, Richard the Second, and Henry the Fifth. See *Norman Conquest*, i. 502.

to assert superiority over Wales and Scotland. One form, one specially controversial form, of opposition between the island world and the continental world thus passed away. But the island world in no way ceased to be an island world. If, through the union of its once contending elements, it came to bear less of likeness to the world of the mainland, its union did, on the other hand, weld it more thoroughly than ever into a separate world, having thoughts, ways, feelings, and manners which are in many things special to itself, and unlike those which are usual in the continental world, the world that once had been the world of Rome.

I hope it may not be thought unbecoming egotism if I here make a quotation from myself. Nine years ago, speaking of that imperial style of the English kings to which I have just referred, I wrote these words, and I am not sure that I could put the same thoughts into better words now:—*

"All this is much more than rhetoric; it is more even than national or territorial feeling. Our insular position has been one of the greatest facts of our history; it has caused a distinction between us islanders and our neighbours on the continent which is independent of all distinctions of race, language, or religion, and which is often found at cross purposes with all of them. We feel at once that there are some points, great and small, in which we stand by ourselves in opposition to continentals, simply as continentals. This is a fact which should carefully be borne in mind, because some points of difference between ourselves and our kinsfolk on the mainland, which are really owing simply to our geographical isolation, have been set down as proofs of imaginary Roman or British influences in England."

Here, I still think, is the root of the matter. The inhabitant of Britain, Celtic, Teutonic, or any other—and late researches must make us at least weigh the possibility of the existence of others—is Celtic, Teutonic, or whatever he is, with a difference. He is the Celt or the Teuton inhabiting a great island, and marked off thereby from the Celt or the Teuton of the mainland. He differs from his kinsfolk of the mainland so far as his insular position makes him to differ; he agrees with men of other races in his own island so far as their common insular position makes him to agree. There is a superficial likeness in many ways among all continentals; there are a crowd of points in which Germans, Frenchmen, Italians, widely as they differ among themselves, seem at first sight to agree with one another and to differ from Englishmen. And, as regards many of the small matters which lie on the surface of speech and manners, this is undoubtedly true. The essential unity of the insular and the continental Teuton has commonly to be looked for below the surface. Hence it is, as I said nine years ago, that the points of likeness which cannot fail to arise between men of different races dwelling in the same world, the points of unlikeness which cannot fail to arise between men of the same race dwelling in different worlds, have been often attributed to wrong causes, to the

* *Comparative Politics*, p. 352.

frequent misunderstanding of the whole course of our history. The man of Nether-Dutch stock will differ a good deal according as he is settled in the Teutonic lands of the elder continent, in the elder England in Britain, or in the newer England beyond the Ocean. In his two earlier seats at least he cannot fail to put on some points of likeness to his neighbours of other races. The point is that these likenesses and unlikelinesses, the result of comparatively modern historical causes, should not be confounded with those more ancient likenesses and unlikelinesses, the result of far earlier historic causes, which we call likenesses and unlikelinesses of race.

One thing at least is not too much to say. Whatever may be the likenesses or unlikelinesses among the Celtic and Teutonic inhabitants of Britain, and to whatever causes we may attribute those likenesses and unlikelinesses, it is wholly owing to the insular position of Britain that it contains any inhabitants whom we can call Celtic or Teutonic in any reasonable sense. The peculiar position of Britain under Roman rule, so different from that of the other Western provinces—the peculiar circumstances and results of the Teutonic conquest of Britain, so different from those of the Teutonic conquests of the other Western provinces—all in short that distinguishes the history of Britain from the history of Gaul—all come of the fact that Britain is an island, such an island as could challenge the name of another world. In the days of the elder Empire, the conquest and occupation of the British province was clearly as thorough as the conquest and occupation of any other province. But the province beyond the sea—the other world which one Cæsar sought to add, and which another Cæsar did add, to the elder world of Rome—though it might be conquered and occupied, could not be assimilated like the provinces which formed part of that elder world. The plainest facts of all are the surest proofs. In Gaul and Spain the tongues which were spoken by the men of the land before the Roman came, the tongues of the conquerors who came when the power of Rome was giving way, alike yielded to the charmed influence of the Imperial speech. The tongue of the Gaul, the tongue of the Frank and the Goth, have both vanished before the tongue of Rome. The speech of the old Iberian indeed abides as a survival in a corner, and a speech at least akin to that of the Gaul abides as a survival in a larger corner. But the tongue of the lesser Britain is in truth a survival, not of the Celt of Gaul on his own soil, but of the Celt of the greater Britain flying from his own soil to the land to which he gave a new name. The still abiding life of the Celtic speech of Brittany is in truth part of the British, not of the Gaulish, argument; it is no small part of the evidence which shows how unlike the state of Britain was to the state of Gaul. In Britain the tongues of the Celt and of his Teutonic conqueror still abide; the tongue of Rome has no place in the land; as far as we can see, it has for fourteen hundred years had no place in the land as the living tongue of a people. The simple facts

that Britain is inhabited by men speaking a Celtic and a Teutonic tongue, but that no part of the land is inhabited by men speaking a Romance tongue—that is, the facts that English, Welsh, and Gaelic, are abiding tongues, and the only abiding tongues, in Britain—the fact that the Celtic speech of Britain is no mere survival in a corner, no speech brought in from another land, but the abiding speech of an appreciable part of the island, of so much of the island as the Teutonic conquerors failed to occupy and to assimilate—these simple facts, open to every eye, teach us better than anything else the mighty results of dwelling in an island world. They show that, when the Teutonic conquerors of Britain first landed in that world, the men whom they found in it were not Roman provincials, knowing no speech and nationality but that of Rome, provincials who looked to Caesar's legions to fight for them, but who, when Caesar's legions failed to help them, had no thought of fighting for themselves. What they found was a British people, divided indeed, incapable of national union, but not more divided, not more incapable of union, than the Teutonic invaders themselves. They found a people which Rome had never assimilated, which Rome had now left to fight its own battles, a people too that did fight its own battles and fought them well and bravely, disputing in arms every step of the invader's progress. The stout resistance of Britain, compared with the tame submission of the other provinces, came of the fact that in the one case there was a British people ready to fight for its own, while in the other there were mere provincials who had lost all national feeling and national strength. And for this difference between the two cases no reason can be given except that the continental provinces, parts of the world of Rome, could be assimilated as well as conquered and occupied, while, when Caesar stepped out of his own world into the other world of the great island, he could conquer and occupy, but could not assimilate. When therefore his arm was withdrawn, a nation sprang to life again, a nation which still abides. That Britain still contains a British people, speaking a British tongue, is one of the results of the ruling fact that Britain is an island. ✓ But if the Briton still remains a Briton because the land in which he has dwelled for so many ages is an island, it is that same great fact in our geography which has also ruled that the Englishman who came so many ages after him still remains an Englishman. The island world presented no attractions to those among the Teutonic settlers whose habits and whose geographical position caused their settlements to be made by land. There was no temptation to the Goth, the Frank, or the Burgundian, to cross the streak of silver sea which parted the two worlds. It suited him far better to press on step by step into the more inviting lands of Italy, Gaul, and Spain, lands at once easier to reach and easier to win. The conquest of Britain therefore did not fall to the lot of any of those among the Teutonic nations who had already learned to respect, in some measure to copy, Roman culture, and who, in becoming the conquerors of Rome, were ready also to become her

disciples. It did not fall to the lot of those who brought the new faith of Rome before they crossed her borders; the very act of settling in the conquered land. A lot of other and more distant tribes for whom the Roman had no attractions. These were the seafaring people of the Saxon lands, who dwelled apart from the Roman lands, untouched by Roman culture, and to whom the new faith was utterly unknown. Coming by sea, leaving the land behind them in a more thorough way than they could do by step by land, feeling none of the reverence for the land which was felt by those who came by land, meeting with a kind of resistance which those who came by land met with, our forefathers were, by the nature of the case, brought to the insular character of the land in which they came, as destroyers. Hence the special character of the British, as distinguished from the Teutonic conquerors of the lands on the continent. Hence the sweeping away of the old institutions, their speech, their creed, their part of the land, and the establishment in their place of new inhabitants, with their own institutions, their own speech, their own creed. But hence, too, as we have already seen, the elder inhabitants and all that belonged to them were swept away from their part of the land. All this stands in utter contrast to what happened in Gaul.* There, instead of the old Celtic inhabitants, the Teutonic conquerors living on in different parts of the land, each keeping its own speech, and neither of them a Roman people formed by the union of the old inhabitants and the conquerors, a people which cannot, without limitation, be called Celtic, Roman, or Teutonic, a people which may be called by those names from different points of view, a people which is mainly Celtic, whose speech is Roman, whose institutions are Teutonic. In a word, because Britain is an island we have a Celtic and a Teutonic people, but no people that can be looked on as Roman. Because Gaul is a mainland we have in Gaul a people which we may at pleasure call Celtic, Roman, or Teutonic, or deny to be any one of the three. Because Britain is an island we have in Britain the Celtic and the Teutonic people, each with its characteristic tongue and its institutions. Because Gaul is part of the mainland we have in Gaul a people, with their tongue and history, equally Celtic and Roman, Welsh and English, but utterly different from either. The position of our land led directly to the special character of our people.

* I take Gaul as the typical land, because there the natural development of a Roman land were left to develop themselves with least interruption. In Italy the process was checked by the recovery of the land after it was disturbed—in some things hastened, in others retarded—by conquest.

under the Roman rule and after its withdrawal. It led directly to the peculiar nature of the English conquest, unique among the Teutonic conquests. That is, it led directly to the distinctive historical life alike of the British and of the English people.

If the Roman occupation had in some measure weakened the claim of Britain to be looked on as another world, that claim was brought to life again in all its fulness by the English conquest. The "making of England," to adopt the happy phrase of a recent writer, was done in an island, and the "making of England" was the growth of the national life of Englishmen. When we came to Britain, our national life was not yet fully formed; we brought with us its germ and its germs only; we became a nation on the soil of the conquered island. Thus we grew up an insular people, necessarily differing in some things from our kinsfolk in the continental world, necessarily approaching in some things to our neighbours and enemies in our own world. We grew up as a Teutonic people, in some things more purely Teutonic than our kinsfolk of the mainland. For we never accepted the law of Rome, we never saw a Roman Empire of the English Nation. But we grew up as an insular Teutonic people, a people of a thoroughly insular mould, whose insular characteristics parted us in many things from every continental Teutonic people. We are at least as strictly Teutonic as the High Germans—for the Slavonic infusion in Germany must be at least as great as the Celtic infusion in England; but while we show the common Teutonic character modified in one way, they show it modified in another way. In them it was modified by their so strangely drawing to themselves the elder Empire, and making the crown of Caesar a German possession. In us it was modified by our settlement in a great isle, by our there setting up an empire of our own, the empire of another world.

The insular position of Britain has thus always been the leading fact of British history, but it would seem to have affected British history in opposite ways at different times. For some ages it would seem to have laid the island world specially open to invasion from all quarters: for some ages again it would seem to have specially preserved it against important or successful invasion. We may perhaps draw the line between the two periods at the eleventh century. Within that century come the last cases of great and successful invasion of Britain, whether by way of the Channel or by way of the Northern Ocean. Putting aside smaller expeditions, successful or unsuccessful, putting aside the coming of Harold Hardrada and several less famous Scandinavian voyagers later in the century, the eleventh century, unlike any century before or after, twice saw the crown of England, for the only times since there was an united England, pass, as the prize of successful invasion, to conquerors from beyond the sea. No earlier invader had done this: for when earlier invaders came,

either England was not yet even in the making, or was not yet so fully "made" as to have a single crown to hand over to any man. No later invader has done this; for though several men have in later days come by sea to win or to claim the crown of England, not even those who won it could be fairly set down as conquerors. Robert of Normandy, Matilda the Empress, Lewis of France, Isabel and her son Edward, Henry of Bolingbroke, Margaret and her son Edward, Edward of York, Henry of Richmond and the pretenders who disturbed his reign, Charles II., James Duke of Monmouth, William of Orange, the two Stewart Pretenders, all came on errands of this kind; but not one of them can be set down as a mere foreign invader. Many of them were actually of English birth, and those who were not had or claimed some hereditary connexion with the English kingly house. All of them were invited and supported by at least a party in the country; several of them were distinctly accepted by the national will as deliverers of the nation. The foreign conquerors of the eleventh century stood in no such position. Swegen and Canut might have the support of the Danes of Northumberland, earlier invaders of their own stock; still they were strangers to England in a sense in which none of the men on our later list could be so called; William of Normandy had indeed his claim by legal right; but then no man in England hearkened to his claim. The Dane and the Norman alike were foreign conquerors in a sense in which the name could hardly have been given even to Lewis of France, had his fate made him a conqueror at all. We may safely say that the time of important and successful foreign invasions of Britain, both before the "making of England" and after it, lasts down to the eleventh century, and then ends. After that time the invasions are many, but they are often not strictly foreign invasions on behalf of any foreign power, but enterprises undertaken with the good will of England herself or at least of some English party. The strictly foreign invasions of England since the eleventh century have been either utterly insignificant or utterly unsuccessful. Since the day of Senlac, Englishmen have never been called on to fight a great battle on their own soil against a foreign invader from beyond sea.* Scotsmen have had to fight one, on the day of Largs, the day of the Scottish Brannaburk. Up to the eleventh century Britain underwent a series of invasions, each of which changed the whole condition of the land, each of which brought in some new element into its population and its history. Since the eleventh century no invasion of this kind has even been attempted; the one which came nearest to it, the voyage of Philip's armada, was, among all invasions or attempted invasions—for the designs of Buonaparte hardly reach the rank of attempted invasion—the most pre-eminently unsuccessful.

* This definition of course shuts out the Battle of the Standard and any other battles in Scottish warfare. From our present geographical point of view, they are as purely internal quarrels as the fights of Harlaw and Naseby. And at the battle of the Standard, David at least professed to be fighting in an English party-quarrel, the cause of one niece, one Matilda, against the other.

In the days then before the eleventh century the history of Britain is largely made up of invasions which amounted to national revolutions. As a series of such invasions led to the making of England, we may believe that an earlier series of the same kind must have led, in unrecorded days, to the making of Britain. Whether we hold that survivals of earlier races still exist among us or not, the Celts were assuredly not *autochthones* in Britain, neither did they come by land in the gloomy time pictured in Mr. Dawkins' map,* when neither Greek nor Northman could have had any room for his energies, when there was no *Ægean*, no *Adriatic*, no *Baltic*, no *North Sea*, no *Channel*, no *Irish Sea*, when a man might have walked from the site of Jerusalem, over the site of Constantinople and the site of Venice, to the spot where the Rhine ran into the Ocean somewhat west of the present mouth of the Shannon. The Celts, like those who came after them, must have come as invaders by sea, and if they found in the island anything so respectable as Iberians or Ligurians, we must infer that those Iberians or Ligurians must at some earlier time have come as invaders by sea also. Britain, in any case, must have become Britain by a process especially the same as that by which in after days so great a part of Britain became England. But these invasions of unrecorded days are mere matters of inference, though of fairly certain inference; we can say nothing as to their date, order, and circumstance. When we first get a glimpse of the island world, it is already the isle of Britain, and its first recorded invader is the great Roman. Caesar, conqueror of the Gauls, was the first man of the Roman world who dreamed of conquest or of discovery beyond its bounds. His British campaigns, like the far Indian campaigns of Alexander, hardly came to more than the marches of an armed explorer. But where the first Caesar had explored, some later Caesar was sure to conquer, and, in process of time the greater part of Britain became a province of Rome, the last province of the West to be won, the first to fall away or to be forsaken. But we have seen that, even as a Roman province, Britain kept on its national life in a way that no other province of the West ever did. And the island kept on its island character in another way also. The island world was not always ready to accept rulers from the continental world; it sometimes aspired to impose rulers of its own choosing on the continental world. The "laud fruitful in tyrants" formed the centre of the power of Caracacius and Allectus, of Maximus and the later Constantine. Invasion was familiar on either side; sometimes the legions passed from Gaul to overthrow the lord of Britain; sometimes the lord of Britain made his way at the head of his legions to rule on the mainland as well as in the island. And foremost among those whom Britain sent forth on that work was the first and greatest Constantine, he who first received by the Ouse the diadem which he bore by the Mosel and the Bosphoros. And the long succession of revolutions which thus began

* Cave Hunting, p. 381.

in has Britain this specially remarkable feature, any national striving on the part of the Brit yoke of Rome, and to exchange the rule of Cæsar prince. Later British vanity has changed some "tyrants" into native British heroes; but in the in no such character. A province of Rome whose stances gave it more of separate being than most consciously perhaps, certainly without any formal kind of instinct to assert oftener than any other choose a ruler for its own world. But the rule all the titles and asserted all the claims of a Roman island legions were ready to bring under his power of the mainland as his arms and theirs could reach

Now, even in this period, we see that if either threatens the other, the other side equally threatens. Invasions happened both ways, but there were certainly of Henry of Monmouth than there were for the Norman. And the next and greatest of all invasions, settlement of our own forefathers, was accompanied by an invasion, at any rate by a settlement the other side. It fled from the face of the invading Angles and Armorice into a lesser Britain, and kept on the British tongue in a corner of Gaul as well as in a corner of Britain. Otherwise the conquest was to make Britain more than ever in the way of invading or dictating to the mainland in the way of standing aloof from it. The thing that made Teutonic Britain in its days of heathendom, the wild legends, which were all that reached the ears of the Romans and historians of the mainland, are the best proof of isolation from the world of Rome for the space of many years. Of the three Saxon settlements in Britain already hinted, were made by way of the Channel. The Angles and Cerdic did not start from the Roman world, but from the keels of Hengest. Invasion from the Roman world was a peaceful mission of Augustine. Peaceful it was; but the less; it helped to make the other world something more than it was before. There is no greater isolation of Britain from the mainland than the nature of the English. Other Teutonic conquerors embraced the mainland, or in the act of conquest, or at most learned it peacefully among whom they were gradually mingled; while the island of Britain abode in their ancient heathendom till it was begun by a special mission from Rome itself, and thus on one side brought within the Roman fold.

Roman Pontiff, though not within the fold of the Roman Caesar. The English folk—we may not yet speak of *England* as a land—were brought within the Christian and Roman fellowship, and so far the isolation of the other world was broken down. Yet that isolation still continued to show itself in a thousand ways; the new elements which the conversion brought with it were assimilated in a wonderful way with the old Teutonic substance. The creed, the discipline, the nomenclature, of the new religion, were all necessarily new, necessarily strange, to heathen Angles and Saxons. But they were soon taught to put on a native garb in which they seemed strange no longer. Nowhere did Christianity become so thoroughly a national, almost a local faith, as it became in England. Nowhere was the Church so truly the nation in one of its aspects; nowhere was the order and discipline of the Church so easily wrought into the old framework of the national institutions. And though the native tongue was unhappily not adopted as the actual tongue of divine worship—one might almost dream that, if the wiser Gregory had come himself instead of the less wise Augustine, it would have been adopted—yet it became a devotional tongue, the tongue of a native devotional literature, a tongue whose makers did not scruple to translate the most sacred phrases of the Church into their native speech. There was a strong measure of the isolation of the other world left in the men who ventured to change the Resurrection of the Saviour into the Agairising of the Healer. And in not a few points the conscious and designed isolation of Christian England was as marked as the unwitting and instinctive isolation of heathen England. The island world, shrouded in darkness, must have had dim and vague ideas either of the Pontiff or the Caesar of the Eternal City. The island world, brought within their range by Christian and Latin teaching, had a clear knowledge of both. But that knowledge sometimes took the form of a protest. When Charles the Great dealt with both Scots and Northumbrians in a way hardly consistent with insular independence, Cenwulf of Mercia found it needful to assert that he at least had no regard for the bidding of either Pope or Emperor.* The older isolation was the isolation of ignorance. The later isolation of knowledge showed it in the bold and systematic assertion of the rights of the island world to equality with the world of Rome, of the rights of the lord of the island world to equality with Rome's own *mundi dominus*.

Little in the way of invasion was wrought during these ages from the side of Britain, unless we apply the name invasion to the journeyings of English pilgrims to Rome, or, as we more rightly may, to the journeys of English missionaries to the elder Teutonic lands. In the person of Winfrith or Boniface England repaid the debt which she had contracted towards the continental world in the person of Augustine. Once indeed an English invasion of the mainland, of the Latin main-

* See Cod. Dipl., i. 281, and Norman Conquest, i. 569, 570.

land, of the Norman mainland, is said to have tal
red sent to ravage the Constantine peninsula
obscure and doubtful; it is mainly its strang
think that it must have some truth in it; but
must be truth strangely distorted and exaggerated
least like the story happened, if any Englishman
mandy with a hostile purpose in days before
England, the fact is one which well deserves to
which stands out alone in the history of many ag
a strange and solitary forerunner of events which

The chief feature which concerns us in the a
century and the eleventh is not invasion from
of England, invasion not by way of the Chi
the Northern Ocean. In the long tale of I
settlement, Danish conquest, the Channel plays
The vikings haunted the Channel as well as othe
wintered in the havens of Normandy; they often
shores of England; but their settlements were ma
was begun, in quite other parts of the island.
of England the tale of the Danish wars, that
romance, that tale of shame and of heroism, mu
foremost places. But in a view like this, we mi
Danish conquest as the English conquest over ag
look on the two as different stages of one lon
conquest. The Danish settlers might pass for the
army, a rearguard who came so late that they o
expense of those detachments which had formed
the fearful warfare of the fifth and sixth centuri
again. A Christian land again felt the horror
What the heathen Angles and Saxons had been to
the heathen Danes and Northmen seemed to be
and Saxons. But it was soon found that they
younger branch of the same household as the A
selves. The Danish conquest of England was
from the English conquest of Britain. The En
lated the kindred Dane; the invader embraced th
the Teutonic settlers of the ninth, tenth, and ele
only another English tribe alongside of the se
sixth centuries. Their Scandinavian speech bec
local dialects of English; their Scandinavian law
the many forms of English local custom.

For by that time the English nation was for
in its island home, in all the strength of its i
people, and its king, stood forth in all the marke

² See Norman Conquest, i. 302.

the people, and the king beyond the sea.* That land, that people, might still be conquered; but they could now assimilate their conquerors; first the Dane, then the Norman, could conquer England; but first the Dane, then the Norman, felt the spell of the island world; they became as good islanders, as good Englishmen, as the men whose forefathers had come in the first three Jutish keels. The Norman Conquest was the last conquest of England, the last invasion of England that was at once important and successful. Since that day, from Tinchebrai to Waterloo, not only the balance of conquest, but the balance of mere invasion, has turned decidedly the other way.

Two main causes joined to bring about this change. One was the general change which about this time came over the condition of Europe. The great European nations were gradually forming and settling themselves. The last sign of the stir of the great Wandering had passed away. Of that Wandering the Danish settlements in Gaul and Britain may be looked on as the last stage. The Norman conquests of Apulia, England, and Sicily, perhaps even the Crusades from one point of view, may be looked on as forming a transition from the days of national migration and settlement to the political warfare of later days. The Norman Conquest of England, in the care with which legal pretexts were brought to justify it, in the anxiety of the Conqueror to allege the highest motives for his enterprise and to distinguish it from enterprises of mere brigandage, shows the change which was coming over the age. The days of such invasions as those of Cæsar and Claudius, of Hengest and Cerdic, of Ingvar and Swegen, had now passed by. We have henceforth more to do with the ambition and policy of princes, often indeed zealously backed up by their subjects, than with great stirrings of nations. There might be wars between England and France; there might be mutual invasions of England and France; a French prince might be called to the crown of England and an English prince might claim the crown of France; but there was no chance of the French nation wishing to conquer and settle in a body on the soil of England; there was no chance of the English nation wishing to conquer and settle in a body on the soil of France. There was no longer room for anything more than the kind of warfare which the world has been used to for many ages, warfare which, in Western Europe at least, whatever it seeks, never seeks the displacement, seldom seeks the absolute bondage, of any people.† In warfare of this kind, warfare which has gone on between England and France in every century from the twelfth to the nineteenth, England was, for many reasons, much more likely to be the invading than the invaded party.

* On the use of such phrases as '*rex transmarinus*,' and the like, see *Norman Conquest*, i. p. 565, 616.

† The limitation to Western Europe is perhaps needful, because the wars of the religious orders in Prussia, Pomerania, and Livonia, did really lead to the bondage, and in some parts to the utter displacement, of the earlier inhabitants. In this case, however, there was no transfer to the earlier kind of invasions than to the real crusades in the last of which they professed to carry on the work.

deserved the name of a campaign. Of the third class I have already spoken; the range reaches to the last enterprises on behalf of the banished Stewarts. If we take the geographical view, and look on Normandy and France as a geographical whole, we may carry it back the other way to the Norman support given to the banished Ethelings in the days of the first Harold. But all these invasions—to give every one of them that name—make together a small matter compared with the mighty warfare of Edward III. and Henry V.; they are not much compared even with Henry VIII.'s conquest of Boulogne. Down to the loss of Calais the King of England always kept some substantial possession, more or less, on continental ground. The short occupation of Dunkirk, the long occupation of Gibraltar, do in some sort continue the same series. But neither the King of France nor any other continental potentate ever held for a week together any real possession on English ground.

We thus see the obvious causes which, throughout these wars, tended to make England the invading power rather than France. A great island has, from the earliest times, commonly wished to keep some kind of foothold—what the Greeks called a *Peraia*—on the mainland. A continental power has no such temptation to win for itself a *Peraia* in the island. England had also, as an inheritance from Norman and Angevin times, a constant temptation to meddle in French affairs, and she was thoroughly able, if she thought good, to carry warfare on to French ground. France had no such temptation to meddle in English affairs, nor was she equally able to carry warfare on to English ground. The island was naturally stronger at sea than the continental kingdom. After the maritime activity of the Danes and Northmen went down, before the maritime activity of Portugal and Castile began, England was, beyond all doubt, the first naval power of the ocean. Even on land, the political and social condition of England gave her every advantage over France for great military enterprises. The French kingdom was still growing at the cost of its own vassals; in the second great stage of the Hundred Years War, it was torn in pieces by domestic quarrels; the state of society in France allowed only of a feudal army strengthened by foreign mercenaries. During the greater part of the Hundred Years War, England was thoroughly united, and, even when she was otherwise, the plots and warfare of reactionaries against Henry IV. and Henry V. did not tear the land in pieces like the strife of Armagnacs and Burgundians. Scottish warfare was a local scourge to the border shires; it never seriously impaired the real strength of the kingdom. And England had, what France had not, that national infantry, worthy successors of the warriors of Stamfordbridge and Senlac, who had lost nothing of their prowess by exchanging the sword and axe of their forefathers for the deadly arrows of their conquerors.

England therefore had far more temptations than France to act as

the invading power, far better means than France for carry invasion on a great scale and with vigour. And in this whole it is almost instinctively France that we mainly think of. I merely because France is naturally suggested by the modern with a mention of which we started. It is because France has been the rival power, the invading and the invaded power, through the whole story. The French story is spread over centuries together. attacks or contemplated attacks are as it were episodes. The "the Medway" form an episode in the seventeenth century; but it is an episode; they never came before or after. The greatest danger came not from France but from Spain; but that again was an Spain was terrible for a while in the sixteenth century; there was from Spain before or after. What may conceivably happen in come from the growth of new continental powers, it is not our to reckon. As yet, since the days of national migrations the Channel has been the main scene, both of invasion from England invasion of England. As yet the invasions from England have surpassed, if not in number, yet certainly in importance, the of England. We have kept up our insular character, and greatly disturbed continentals on their own ground. The continentals have disturbed us very little on our ground. The one question in mind as touching the proposed scheme is, as I started by saying or will it not interfere in any way with our character as island our ancient position as *alter orbis*?

EDWARD A. FREE

[Permission has been asked by more than one writer to contribute matter respecting Miss Cobbe's article on Vivisection, which appeared in number of THE CONTEMPORARY REVIEW. It is impossible to continue the controversy, but at Miss Cobbe's request it is stated that a reply by her to Yeo's letter to the Editor in the last number of the Review will be found in the *Zoophilist* of June 1st.—EDITOR.]

END OF VOL. XLI.

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